1: Gayton
624

Yokuts NS29

[Material on the winatum, the official messenger and sub-chief, will also be found in Categories 202, 796 and 769. --Analyst]

1: Gayton
796

Yokuts NS29

[For information on the annual mourning ceremonies, see Category 769. --Analyst]

[P. ia]

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E. W. GIFFORD R. L. OLSON

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000 [P. id contains no TEXT]

YOKUTS AND WESTERN MONO ETHNOGRAPHY

I: Tulare Lake, Southern Valley, and Central Foothill Yokuts

BY

A. H. GAYTON

ANTHROPOLOGICAL RECORDS
Vol. 10, No. 1

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1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 NS29 Yokuts NS29

PREFACE
[P. iii]

114 The ethnographic data presented herein were collected for the Department of Anthropology, University of California, on a number of field trips during the years 1925 to 1928; [122] in 1929 and 1930 the work was additionally aided by a fellowship of the National Research Council.

Some of the material then gathered has been published in separate studies, namely, Yokuts and Western Mono Pottery-Making (1929), The Ghost Dance of 1870 in South Central California (1930), Yokuts-Mono Chiefs and Shamans (1930), and with Stanley S. Newman, Yokuts and Western Mono Myths (1940). Unpublished but accessible data on the use of jimsonweed by the Yokuts and Western Mono are embodied in "The Narcotic Plant Datura in Aboriginal American Culture" (Thesis, University of California Library, 1928).

The only original material now remaining in the author's hands are twenty-five or more genealogies and a file of several hundred personal names; these will be contained in a *future publication since this* already lengthy ethnography could not support ad[illegible]

A valuable addition to my own records is the material on the Chukchansi collected by Miss Barbara Thrall (Mrs. Arthur Wood Rogers) in 1938. On her marriage she generously gave me her field notes to incorporate with my own on Yokuts culture. Mrs. Rogers' material is the result of but two weeks' stay at Coarse Gold, and its richness, for so brief a contact, is a tribute both to her abilities as a budding ethnographer and to the Yokuts as facile informants. A regrettable accident prevented Mrs. Rogers from continuing her work for the length of time she had planned. The myths she recorded will appear in a separate paper by Rogers and Gayton, "Twenty-seven Chukchansi Yokuts Myths (in press).[1]

The basic picture of Yokuts culture as drawn by Dr. A.L. Kroeber in his Handbook of the Indians of California has remained unchanged by later ethnographic data from the San Joaquin Valley. Rather, the picture has been filled out, the composition has gained balance, and the colors have been heightened by more intimate knowledge of the life depicted. Perspective has been added and depth increased. By means of Dr. Kroeber's initial publications, The Yokuts Language of South Central California, Indian Myths of South Central California, and the ethnographic sketch in his Handbook, a cultural orientation was already provided when I began my field investigations.

I have drawn upon Kroeber's early work and upon Mr. F.F. Latta's little book, Uncle Jeff's

---

[1] Since published; see Bibliography.

PREFACE

[P. iii b]

114 Story, to augment my incomplete data on Tachi culture, of which it is impossible to get a full description today. Another addition to my Tachi notes comes from Mr. E.W. Gifford, who kindly gave me his record of Tachi moieties and genealogies.

I am indebted to Dr. Stanley S. Newman for the lively account of a Yokuts war, and to Mr. Donald Scott for the photograph of Yokuts specimens in the Peabody Museum, Harvard University.

A very valuable contribution to the anthropologist's knowledge of the Yokuts is Dr. Stanley S. Newman's Yokuts Language of California.[2] The archaeology of Valley Yokuts territory, already investigated by Gifford, Schenck, Heizer, and others, has been summarized by Dr. Waldo R. Wedel in connection with his own researches at Buena Vista Lake.

A few brief papers from the pen of Mr. George W. Stewart have preserved glimpses of Yokuts life with which he came in contact through his many years of service with the Visalia Land Office. Like Mr. Latta, Mr. Stewart had keen sympathy and respect for the native dwellers in the San Joaquin Valley. One of Mr. Stewart's longer papers and the recent culture element study of Dr. Harold Driver have been examined but not used in the preparation of this ethnography.[3]

Published papers on the Western Mono tribes were few at the time of my field work, chiefly Kroeber's linguistic study, Shoshonean Dialects of California, and Gifford's works on Northfork Mono myths and social organization, "Western Mono Myths" and "Dichotomous Social Organization in South Central California."[4] Since that time Gifford's ethnographic account of the Northfork Mono has appeared, but the scantiness of the data in 1925 is indicated by the brevity of treatment received by the Mono in Kroeber's Handbook.[5]

114 A more thorough knowledge of the Western
Mono peoples in contact with the Yokuts of the
foothills was exigent to a broader understand-
121 ing of Yokuts culture and therefore, after
working with the Wukchumni Yokuts of Kaweah
River, I visited their Shoshonean neighbors to
the north, the Waksachi. The contact proved
too fruitful to abandon after brief interviews
and consequently fairly full accounts were got
121 of both Waksachi and Wobonuch life. So com-

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[2] Since published; see Bibliography.

[3] The Yokuts Indians of the Kaweah River Region. Sierra Club Bulletin, 12:385-400, 1927; Culture Element Distributions, VI: Southern Sierra Nevada, UC-AR 1:53-154, 1937. (See Bibliography for explanation of abbreviations.)

[4] JAFL, 36:301-367, 1923; UC-PAAE 11:291-296, 1916.

[5] Handbook of California Indians, 584-589.

PREFACE

[P. iva]

121 pletely had these Western Mono absorbed the culture of the San Joaquin Valley tribes that to separate it from Yokuts for purposes of publication seemed not only artificial but impractical. The result was a somewhat unwieldy mass of material, the sheer bulk of which has been largely responsible for the long delay in preparing it for press.

Even now the record which follows is merely that: a record of ethnographic facts unaugmented by comparative references and unadorned by interpretative conclusions. The random allusions to other cultures often are more remote than immediate, casually calling attention to some ethnic similarity of piquant interest. For those who would completely comprehend the civilizations of the natives of the San Joaquin Valley, two valuable papers on the

[TEXT CONTINUES TOP OF P. ivb---ANALYST]

Postscript

114 Since the above was written, certain changes have taken place. A summary paper, "Yokuts and Western Mono Social Organization," largely based on the data herein, has been published (1945), and the materials in the thesis, "The Narcotic Plant Datura in Aboriginal American Culture" are being augmented and prepared for publication. Wherever possible, bibliographic references have been brought up to date.

000 The kinship systems originally incorporated herein have been withdrawn and probably will be combined with the genealogies and personal names in a later paper. Kinship systems of several Yokuts and Western Mono

[TEXT CONTINUES BOTTOM OF P. IVb, ---ANALYST]

PREFACE

[P. ivb]

121 cultures of adjacent tribes must be consulted, namely, Dr. Erminie W. Voegelin's Tübatulabal Ethnography, and Miwok Material Culture, by S.A. Barrett and E.W. Gifford.

My gratitude is cast in two directions -- ooo to the many informants whose amiability and sincere interest sustained them through tedious inquiries and labored explanations, and to those members of the Department of Anthropology at the University of California who sponsored my work and leniently permitted me to prolong its completion: more particularly to Mrs. Josie Alonzo, Mrs. Mollie Lawrence, Mr. Sam Osborn, and to Dr. A.L. Kroeber, Dr. Robert H. Lowie, and Mr. E.W. Gifford.

Santa Cruz, California
September 13, 1943

A.H. Gayton

Postscript

ooo tribes are available in the publications of Kroeber, Gifford, and Driver.

An editorial decision to divide the present ethnography into two sections will facilitate both publication and subsequent use. Therefore it will appear in two parts with the subtitles: Part I, Tulare Lake, Southern Valley, and Central Foothill Yokuts, and Part II, Northern Foothill Yokuts and Western Mono. The Index will be found in Part II.

Here I should like to add my thanks to Mrs. Mary Anne Whipple for her meticulous care in preparing the manuscript for press.

November 8, 1945

A.H.G.

INFORMANTS

Below are the names and approximate ages of contributing informants and the tribes about which they gave data. The initials are those under which they appear in the text. Asterisks denote major informants. Interpreters, none of whom were important as personalities, are listed separately. About eleven individuals who will remain unnamed were tried and rejected as informants.

Yokuts: Lake Tribes

*** J.A. Josie Alonzo, 65, Chunut, Wowol, Tachi, Telamni, and Nutunutu
** M.G. Mollie Garcia, 80, Tachi and Telamni

Yokuts: Southern Valley

** M.A. Martha Alto, 70, Paleuyami and Yaudanchi
* F.M. Frank Manuel, 65, Bankalachi
B.J.A. Big Jim Alto, 70, Yauelmani and Hometwoli
D.F. Dick Francisco, 80, Koyeti

Yokuts: Central Foothills

*** M.L. Mollie Lawrence, 70, Wukchumni and Gawia (blind)
** S.G. Sam Garfield, 65, Wukchumni and Yaudanchi
** M.P. Mary Pohot, 55, Wukchumni
** J.P. Joe Pohot, 60, Wukchumni and Patwisha
* J.B. Jim Britches, 70, Wukchumni
K.G. Katie Garcia, 30, Wukchumni (and a star interpreter)
L. Lottie, 60, Wukchumni
M.S. Mary Samwihat, 100, Yaudanchi
J.W. Jim Wilcox, 70, Yaudanchi
T.W. Tillie Wilcox, 70, Telamni
A.M. Annie Marlo, 60, Chukaimina
* P.M. Pete Marlo, 60, Chukaimina
Mo. Mollie, 60, Chukaimina
** P.D.W. Pony Dick Watun, 70, Choinimni, Gashowu, and Entimbich

Yokuts: Northern Foothills

* E.M Ellen Murphy, 70, Kechayi and Gashowu
* B.W. Bill Wilson, 90, Dumna
C.D. Chicago Dick, 70, Chukchansi
* N.W. Nancy Wyatt, 50, Chukchansi
M.W. Mike Wyatt, 95?, Chukchansi
* J.R. Jack Roan, 80, Chukchansi and Southern Miwok
* P.R. Polly Roan, 50, Chukchansi
M.N. Matilda Neal, 70?, Chukchansi

Transitional Yokuts-Western Mono

*** S.O. Sam Osborn, 65, Michahai and Waksachi (blind)
** B.O. Bob Osborn, 75, Waksachi
D. Dinky, 55, Michahai and Waksachi

Western Mono

*** M.J. 'Merican Joe, 80, Wobonuch
** Jn.W. Jane Waley, 65, Wobonuch
* Jo.W. Joe Waley, 75, Wobonuch
* G.D. George Dick, 40, Wobonuch and Entimbich (and a star interpreter)
B.S. Basket Susie, 60, Wobonuch
D.S. Dead Susie, 75, Wobonuch and Entimbich
M. Martha, 60, Wobonuch

Interpreters

M.L., K.G., S.G., G.D., Lillian and Marian Wyatt (Chukchansi), and Martha Waley (Wobonuch)

PHONETIC KEY

104

a, e, i, o, u	as in Spanish
ɛ	as in met
ɩ	as in it
ɔ	as in off
ü	as in German für
ö	as in German könig
ə	the obscure vowel of about or idea
ai	as the vowel sound of eye
ei	as the vowel sound of hay
oi	as the vowel sound of boy
iu	as the vowel sound of you
g	as in gig
ⁱ	superior vowel, whispered
j	as in jig
ñ	as in sing (nasalization)
š	as in share
č	as in church
ṭ	postalveolar or palatal placement
x	deep or gutteral aspiration
h	simple aspiration as in hand
ʼ	glottal stop
·	raised period, protraction of a vowel sound
´	accented syllable

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[FACING P. 1]

Western Mono NS25
Tübatulabal NS22

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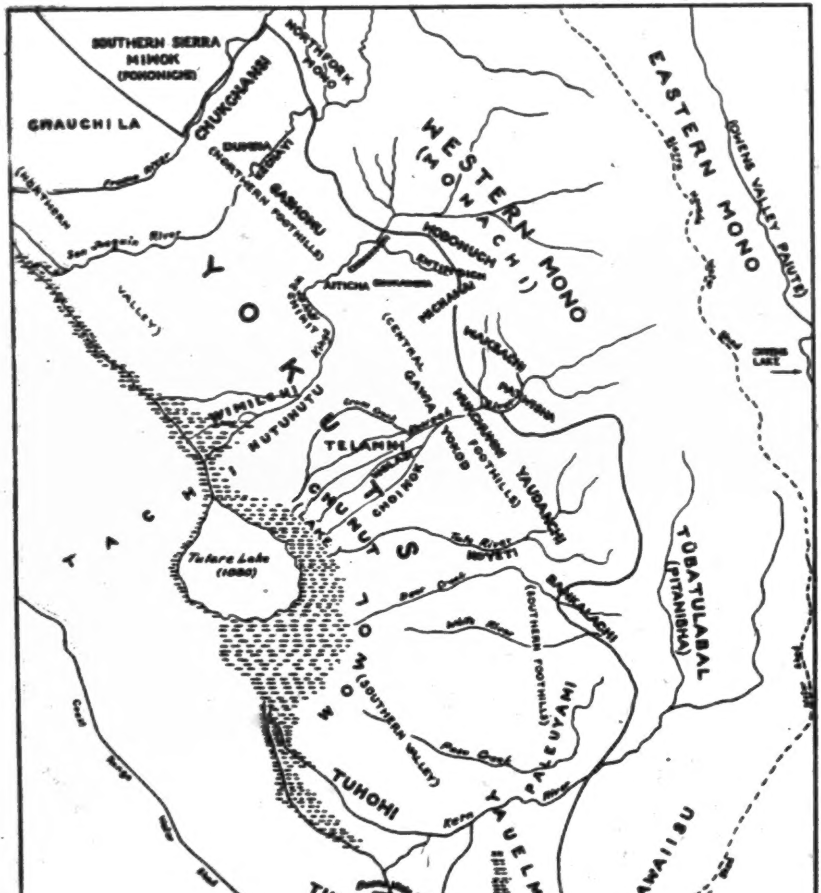
Y
M
101
131
133


SOUTHERN SIERRA MIWOK (POHONICHI)
NORTHFORK MONO
CHAUCHILA
CHUKCHANSI
DUMNA
KECHAYI
(NORTHERN
(NORTHERN FOOTHILLS)
GASHOWU
Fresno River
San Joaquin River
Y O K U T S
VALLEY)
WESTERN (MONACHI) MONO
EASTERN MONO
(OWENS VALLEY PAIUTE)
HOLKOMA
HOBONUCH
ENTIMBICH
AITICHA
CHOINIMNI
MICHAHAI
CHUKAIMINA
WIMILCHI
NUTUNUTU
Kings River
(CENTRAL
GAWIA
YOKOD
WAKSACHI
PATWISHA
WUKCHUMNI
FOOTHILLS)
YAUDANCHI
TELAMNI
WOLASI
CHOINOK
CHUNUT
LAKE
Cross Creek
Kaweah River
TACHI
Tulare Lake (1850)
Tule River
KOYETI
Deer Creek
White River
BANKALACHI
(SOUTHERN FOOTHILLS)
TÜBATULABAL (PITANISHA)
Owens Lake
WO WOL
(SOUTHERN VALLEY)
PALEUYAMI
Poso Creek
TUHOHI
Kern River
YAUELMANI
TULAMNI
KAWAIISU
CHUMASH (TOKYA)
KITANEMUK
Coast Range
Sierra Nevada

Map 1. Yokuts and Western Mono tribes (after Kroeber)

[P. 1a]

YOKUTS AND WESTERN MONO ETHNOGRAPHY

PART I: TULARE LAKE, SOUTHERN VALLEY, AND CENTRAL FOOTHILL YOKUTS

BY
A. H. GAYTON

INTRODUCTION

[P. 16]

177 The ethnographer who works with a subjected people and attempts to recapture their vanishing culture must strive to set his findings definitely in time, to define for others the limits of the time-plane in which the customs described were known to have existed. Fortunately for those of us who have dealt with Yokuts culture the answer is relatively simple. The span of contact with Europeans and Americans, compared with that for some other regions of North America, has been brief, so brief that aboriginal life still flourished late in the nineteenth century. The majority of informants consulted in 1925 were born in native houses in native villages, and while outward destruction of their culture progressed rapidly during their lifetime, they thus not only had seen and experienced traditional Yokuts life themselves but had heard firsthand from their parents of the native ways then currently disappearing.

101 131 177 The civilization described herein, then, is that of the early youth of living informants and that of their parents and even grandparents, for often it was the grandparent who informed or instructed the young, for whom the old people's joy of reminiscence assumed a new and poignant significance in the face of their culture's palpable decadence. The years 1885 to 1860 cover the youth span of my older informants, the years 1860 to 1830 the mid-span of their parents' lives, and 1830 to 1800 the mid-span of their grandparents' lives. The bulk of cultural detail recalled was seen, experienced, or heard about in the years 1840 to 1890 approximately; in other words, it is Yokuts and Western Mono life of those years that we have recorded and described. Naturally, even in 1840 the picture was not uniform for the entire valley, for though the advent of the Spaniards on the coast in 1769 had not seriously disrupted native living in the San Joaquin Valley up to 1820, by 1840 the lake tribes nearest the Coast Range had begun to feel uneasiness and American penetration had started in earnest. By 1850 the stimulus of gold-seeking and land-seeking brought white settlers into the valley

101 to stay, and for the first time the foothill
peoples experienced the dismay previously
131 suffered by the lake tribes as the intruders
increased in numbers. Still, after the hostilities
177 of 1851 and certain dislocations resulting
from attempts to reservationize the
natives, a balance of peace between Indians and
whites was established and Yokuts life went on.
The villages in the foothills resumed their
habits and the displaced Indians from the
fertile strip between the lake and the foothills
straggled in for haven.

101 In the upper hills the Western Mono,[1] who
up to 1850 were entirely undisturbed by white
131 intrusion, were still not on easily friendly
terms with their Yokuts neighbors below them.
177 Even as late as 1870 a mutual antagonism was
manifested by both the Penutians and Shoshoneans,
648 although in differing degrees depending
on how far these natives were thrown together
because of pressure from a common enemy, the
American strangers. The Ghost Dance of 1870,
diffused into Yokuts territory by Mono proselytizers,
was the first social affair in which
these two groups mingled freely, and even then
mutual suspicion was not entirely dispelled.

The outward similarities of culture now to
177 be found between Yokuts and Western Mono are
largely a veneer assumed recently by the latter.
To analyze both cultures for the segregation of
items into culture-historical compartments is
a formidable and intricate task which I do not
propose to undertake here. Yet some indication
of the major features of the question may be
given in brief.

Clearly the ceremonies which adorned and characterized Yokuts culture -- the Jimsonweed Ritual, the Rattlesnake Ceremony, the Annual Mourning Ceremony with its components of Huhuna Dance and Shamans' Contest -- came to the Western Mono only as introduced performances. Probably few Wobonuch or Waksachi had witnessed them in Yokuts villages until, after 1870, they were free to go there as trusted visitors, or

---

[1] Including those called Northfork by Gifford (see Bibliography) and spoken of collectively as Monachi herein.

177 when, also after 1870, Yokuts performers came to Mono villages to present the aberrant spectacles for entertainment. Before 1870, but probably not before 1850, a diffusion of some aspects of the above-mentioned Yokuts ceremonies may have been started by Western Mono individuals, shamans particularly, who, only as individuals, acquired for their own repertoires certain functions such as the handling of rattlesnakes, the taking or administering of jimsonweed, or the exhibition of power by making and propelling airshot.

171 More fundamental and undoubtedly predating the Yokuts-Mono junction unwittingly effected
613 by the whites, is the social organization common to both cultures. This includes (1) the
619 basic patrilineal lineages (with their totemic animal symbols) which lived either in tiny
621 hamlets or larger villages depending on locale, under a chief and his henchman whose offices
177 were determined primarily by inheritance, secondarily by popular choice; and (2) the further grouping of these communities into a self-conscious "tribe" having a name (Wobonuch, Waksachi, etc.) and dialectic distinctions.[2] With these named, dialectically distinct social groups or tribes is linked the concept of a "home spot" which is a Miwok feature also, as is the moiety concept shared by some but not all Yokuts and Western Mono. In other words, the historical relation of Yokuts and Western Mono social characteristics is embedded in the larger history of social organization in the entire southern half of California.[3]

171 Stemming from the totemic lineage is the practice of redeeming the totem animal by
613 purchase and the totem-function bond--Eagle or
177 Cougar as chief, Dove or Roadrunner as messenger, Bear dancing and Coyote clowning, features shared by Western Mono and Yokuts.

171 Another basic similarity between the upland Monachi culture and that of their valley
778 neighbors lies in the realm of supernatural beliefs and powers. The attitudes toward super-
177 natural power, the method of obtaining it, and the uses to which it was put are identical. However, the Western Mono shamans did not go in for specialization as did the Yokuts, with their individual powers for controlling weather, rattlesnakes, and water creatures.

On the side of material culture a more
177 even exchange has taken place since trade relations have always, apparently, been maintained
439 for mutual benefit, with Western Mono serving as middlemen when the Eastern Mono (Owens Valley Paiute) did not want to risk entry into Yokuts territory. However, a few items are

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[2] Now summarized in Gayton, Yokuts and Western Mono Social Organization.

[3] See Kroeber, Shoshonean Dialects of California, 114-122; cf. Steward, Basin-Plateau Aboriginal Sociopolitical Groups, 50-57, and fig. 7 showing Owens Valley Paiute (Eastern Mono) band areas.

177 known to have been recently adopted by the Yokuts from their Mono neighbors, i.e., the 439 triangular winnowing tray and the picturesque hooded twined cradle which are now made by Yokuts women instead of being bought from the Monachi. And, though it is yet to be proved, [174] I believe that the pottery-making of the Yokuts foothills is a craft derived from the Western Mono, linking with the Southern Basin Shoshoneans and the Navajo rather than with the pottery-makers of Southern California.[4]

Western Mono have adopted Yokuts houses 177 and have made one innovation, at least, in [342] adapting a thatch covering to the two-post oval frame (Waksachi).

In the realm of mythology the Western Mono have accepted many Yokuts myths, yet share with their linguistic relatives of the Basin tales not told by the Yokuts.[5]

Today many Yokuts are on the Tule River 178 Reservation; a few families have been permitted to live almost undisturbed on the large ranches 171 of white landowners along the foothills. Some Yokuts and Western Mono have small claims of their own on which they dwell as poor ranchers or woodsmen. Little of the aboriginal life shows in this existence, save for the continued use of acorn foods and the few implements needed for their preparation, and basketmaking, an art which flourishes because of tourist trade. Some mothers still confine their infants in the hooded cradle. Native language and kinship terms are in use; family totems are retained, and official functions are aberrantly performed on rare occasions. Otherwise the life of Yokuts and Monachi is scarcely distinguishable from that of poor white farmers and laborers in the San Joaquin Valley and Sierra Nevada foothills.

133 Before entering upon the ethnography which follows, the reader should be familiarized with the geographic aspect of the San Joaquin Valley in aboriginal times. Naturally enough, the environment of the upper and lower foothills has changed but little, whereas the great valley floor was unbelievably different in the past from the completely dry, hard plain it is today. There is no better way to present the picture of the past than to permit eyewitnesses to speak for themselves. There were many travelers in the area who left records of their experiences with the troublesome mire of the tule swamps and of their awe-struck admiration for the scenery of the Sierra Nevada,[6] but no account so well fits our purpose as that of Lieutenant George H. Derby, who in May, 1850, made a circuit of the valley for military re-

---

[4] Cf. Tschopik, Navaho Pottery Making, 70 ff.; Hill, Navajo Pottery Manufacture, 16, as regards pit-firing in the west Navajo area.

[5] Gayton, Areal Affiliations of California Folktales, 595.

[6] E.g., Estudillo, Frémont, Carson, Bunnell, Bidwell, and others.

133 connaissance.[7] He entered from the west via San Miguel Pass, already trodden by Spanish predecessors, turned south, then east, to go around the south end of Tulare Lake, then northeast, stopping to make a short digression to the south-southwest, thence back and continuing northward beyond Kings River. After crossing the San Joaquin River at the ferry north of Tulare Lake, he eventually turned south, skirting the west shore of the lake, and left the valley by the pass to San Miguel where he had entered.

On May 1, 1850, after leaving Dick's (San Lorenzo) Creek in the San Miguel Pass, Derby was about to enter territory south of the Tachi villages on the west side of Tulare Lake.

> I started accordingly about 10 A.M., and, crossing two ranges of low hills over a broad smooth trail, arrived at the shore of the great Taché [Tulare] lake about 1 P.M. We were unable to get close to the water, in consequence of the tulé which environed it, extending into the lake from two hundred yards to one mile, as far as the eye could reach. With a glass I could distinguish the timber at the north and the tulé at the south ends of the lake, the length of which I estimated at about twenty miles, but we could not distinctly make out the opposite or eastern shore. The peaks of the Sierra Nevada, at this place twelve thousand feet above the level of the sea and covered with perpetual snow, appeared in close proximity, and, rising far above the horizon, seem to us to come down precipitously to the very edge of the water. The distance from our encampment to the lake we estimated at eighteen miles, or nearly a day's march, and as the country passed over was a perfect desert, and I found here no forage for the animals but wire grass, the water standing in the tulé brackish, and no wood at all, I concluded to return immediately to camp . . . . An examination was made on the 2nd . . . which terminated favorable, a good path being found through the southern extremity of the valley, and a trail leading apparently around the south end of the lake[8]

On May 3, Derby's party left the Dick (San Lorenzo) Creek camp and went 24.5 miles "from the termination of the pass," reaching the lake and camping upon the sand.

> We found here a ridge of sand about one hundred yards in width, and twelve feet above the level of the lake which divides the water of the northern or Taché from the bed (now nearly dry) of the southern or Ton Taché lake. This last is little more than a very extensive swamp, covering the plain for fifteen miles in a southerly direction, and is about ten in width. It is filled with sloughs and is of course impassable except with the assistance of

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[7] Farquhar, The Topographic Reports of Lieutenant George H. Derby, 251 ff.

[8] Ibid., 252.

> boats or rafts. The gradual receding of the water is distinctly marked by the ridges of decayed tulé, and I was informed, and see no reason to disbelieve, that ten years ago it was nearly as extensive a sheet of water as the northern lake, having been gradually drained by the connecting sloughs, and its bed filled by the encroachment of the tulé.
>
> We crossed the slough on the 4th, being assisted with rafts of tulé by the ranchería of Sin Tache Indians [Chunut or Wowol?] which we found established at this point. Proceeding on over the desert which we found very painful traveling for the animals, encamped at the southeast point of the lake, having made 12.64 miles.[9]

The following day, May 5, Derby gained the east side of the valley by traveling 15.38 miles, "over a continuation of the barren sandy desert which had been our route for the last three days," where he reached a few cottonwood trees on Moore's Creek (now called Deer Creek).

On the 6th he went up Moore's [Deer] Creek 12.20 miles, being then "about five miles west of the high peaks of the Sierra Nevada." As there was good camping with cottonwoods, willows, some large oaks, and luxuriant grass, he arranged to leave his military escort there for the time being.

On the 7th he ascended the creek for about twenty miles, "a small rapid stream, about fifty feet wide and about two feet in depth. We discovered two small branches upon each of which we observed the remains of a large rancheria. The banks of the stream, as well as the hills surrounding, were heavily timbered with oaks, and three large species of pine."[10] This would, presumably, be in Bokninuwad territory, for on the 7th he went but eight to ten miles north from Deer Creek to Tule River, the southeast extremity of which empties into Tulare Lake. Koyeti occupied its banks at the edge of the foothills; within the foothills lived the Yaudanchi.

> This stream has two branches, the upper portion of which are well timbered, but the banks are swampy near the lake, and for a long distance in the plain, the tulé running up to within five miles of the hills. All this time the stream was about one hundred yards wide, from twelve to twenty feet deep, and very rapid, which last is a general characteristic of all the streams to the east of the lake. Upon its upper banks and their vicinity in the hills, plenty of large pines are found; lower down it is well timbered with the different species of oak, sycamore, cottonwood and willow.[11]

On May 8, Derby changed his direction of investigation to the south-southwest. Having

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[9] Ibid., 252-253.

[10] Ibid., 253-254.

[11] Ibid., 254.

133 gone eight miles he crossed Gopher Creek, which probably dried during the summer, and after having gone a total of thirty-four miles he camped on Cottonwood Creek which he said was a constant stream. This took him through a no-man's-land unclaimed, so far as we know, by any Yokuts tribe.

[134] [136] The soil was not only of the most wretched description, dry, powdery and decomposed, but was everywhere burrowed by gophers, and a small animal resembling a common house rat... of a whitish grey color, short round body, and a very strong bony head. These animals are innumerable, though what they subsist upon I cannot conceive, for there is little or no vegetation. Their holes and burrows, into which a horse sinks to his knees at almost every step, render the travelling difficult and dangerous. The low hills south of Gopher Creek extend about eight miles into the plain, their summit being about on the same level as the plain between that stream and Moore's [Deer] Creek, and are singularly intersected by valleys running nearly south and north, which are crossed by other numerous small valleys running nearly east and west, thus dividing the whole of this portion of the valley into blocks of hills about a quarter of a mile square, and from one hundred to three hundred feet in height.[12]

Continuing southward on the 9th, Derby passed through country we believe belonged to the Tuhohi. He went thirteen miles along the north branch of the Kern River.

...a very broad deep stream with a current of six miles an hour, which, rising high up in the Sierra Nevada, discharges itself by two mouths into Buena Vista lake near its northern extremity. Three large sloughs also make out from the river near its mouth and from an extensive swamp in the plain upon the north bank of the lake. We found the river impassable with animals.

On the 10th, having got across Kern River, he reached Buena Vista Lake in Hometwali territory.

Buena Vista lake is a sheet of water about ten miles in length and from four to six miles in width; it lies about eight miles from the head of the valley formed by the junction of the ridges of the Coast Range and Sierra Nevada. Like other bodies of water in the valley it is nearly surrounded with tulé, and upon its north and east banks there is found a heavy growth of willows. A slough, some sixty miles in length, connects it with the swamp and bodies of standing water in the bed of Ton Taché, and through them with the great northern lake. The surrounding land is sterile and unproductive when not an absolute swamp, with the exception of

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[12] Ibid., 255.

> 133 that portion lying immediately at the head of the valley, and among the ridges of the surrounding hills, where are some extremely fertile and well watered spots.[13]

When returning to his encampment on Moore's (Deer) Creek he followed a course fifteen miles west of his route down.

> We found it, however, of precisely the [137] same character throughout -- barren, decomposed soil, and no trace of vegetation but a few straggling artemesias, except upon the margin of the creeks. Gopher creek we found entirely dry, at the point of crossing, its shallow stream sinking in the sandy soil some eight or ten miles above.

On May 13, Derby reached Tule River at a point which was 7.16 miles from Moore's (Deer) Creek -- probably close to the present site of Porterville. Here, Derby reported, the Tule River was 150 feet wide and he had to use wagon floats to get his party across. This was in Yaudanchi or Koyeti territory.

> 133 The country much improved in aspect from the time of leaving Moore's [Deer] creek, and 137 upon Tulé river, and during our march upon the 14th, we passed over rich tracts of arable land, fertile with every description of grass, and covered in many places with a fine growth of heavy oak timber.[14]

133 Continuing north nineteen miles, Derby's party the next day reached the Kaweah River, at that time called the San Gabriel but renamed the Francis by Derby himself -- a name which did not persist. He was in country inhabited by the Choinuk, Wolasi, and Telamni, on the Kaweah River branches, and above them at the edge of the hills were the Gawia, Yokod, and Wukchumni.

> This stream flows nearly west from the hills and empties into Taché [Tulare] lake about twenty miles north of its southeastern extremity. It is, at the point upon which we arrived, divided into five branches or sloughs, four of which separate from the main river, about five miles above, joining again from one to ten miles below, while the southern branch has a separate and distinct branch from the Sierra, and joins the main stream in the marshy ground near its junction with the lake. The country, some eight miles in length by six in width, contained between these branches, is a beautiful smooth level plain, covered with clover of different kinds and high grass, and thickly shaded by one continuous grove of oak of a larger and finer description than any I have seen in the country.

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[13] Ibid.

[14] Ibid., 256.

> 133 At this time each of the creeks was at its height; they are deep and rapid, and four of them much wider than Tulé river.[15]

The condition of the country between the territory of the Wukchumni and Gawia on the [312 Kaweah River and that of the tribes on Kings River was much as it is now (save for oases of 311] agriculture made possible by modern irrigation), and the region seems to have been without native villages, the area probably being used only for hunting and seed-gathering.

On the 15th and 16th of May, Derby's party completed the crossing of the Kaweah sloughs (the "four creeks"), left the Cowees (Gawia) on the 17th and headed for Kings River.

> [134] ... our course lay over a barren sandy plain, interspersed here and there with spots of vegetation, but in general a perfect contrast to the rich soil upon the river Francis [the Kaweah]. About 6 miles from the fifth creek we observed four isolated hills or buttes about six hundred feet high, two of them ranging nearly north and south, and about two miles apart. At the first of these is a constant spring of water....We arrived upon the banks of the Kings River at about 5 P.M., having travelled 23.66 miles in a direct line across the plains.[16]

After a day spent on Kings River, probably at about the present site of Centerville, having ridden up the north bank about fifteen miles and having talked with one or two white men established at the ferry, Derby wrote as follows.

> The Kings River is the largest stream in the valley, at this time of spring floods about three hundred yards wide, with a rapid current and water cold as ice. It is about sixty miles in length, rising in two branches high up in the Sierra, which uniting about forty miles from its mouth flow in a southwest direction through the hills and valley, and empty into the Taché [Tulare] lake at its northeast extremity. Its banks are high and well timbered, and the country in its immediate vicinity is apparently fertile. It forms five sloughs like the Francis, but they are much wider and the country between them is swampy and difficult of access. There are no less than seventeen [161 rancherías of Indians upon this river, numbering in all probably about three thousand, in-36] cluding those situated among the hills of the [648] vicinity. Of these those living upon the lower part of the river are friendly and well dis-[181] posed toward the whites; those high up among the hills are entirely ignorant, treacherous and mischievous I was informed by Colonel Hampton, at the upper ferry, that the Cho-e-minee [Choinimni] rancheria, situated in his

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[15] Ibid., 257.

[16] Ibid., 258-260.

[P. 5b]

> 133 vicinity, and numbering about ninety warriors, had been quite troublesome of late.[17]

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133 On the 19th, Derby went southwest 19.84 miles, probably through Wimilchi territory, and encamped on the edge of the swamp three miles above the mouth of Kings River opposite a Nutunutu village.

> [501] I was anxious to cross the river and visit it, but was informed by the Indians a large body of whom swam across to our encampment, that all the country in the vicinity was overflown, and that it would be impossible to cross even if we were to construct "balsas" of tulé owing to the rapidity of the current. It was evident enough that the country was overflown.[18]

The following days, 20th to 23rd, Derby's party spent struggling through mire and crossing eight sloughs to reach the Sanjon de San José, the waterway between Tulare Lake and the southern bend of the San Joaquin River. The Tachi lived to the west of it with a few on the east side near the Nutunutu; above them toward the San Joaquin were the Apiachi.

> In all these sloughs a strong current was running southwest, or from the San Joaquin river to the lake. The country over which we passed between the sloughs was miserable in the extreme, and our animals suffered terribly for want of grass. There being no wood upon the plain, except an occasional willow on the largest slough, we could make no fires ...
>
> The "Sanjon de San José" is a large deep slough about forty miles in length, connecting the water of the Taché [Tulare] lake with the San Joaquin river, with which it unites at its great southern bend. At this time it was about two hundred and forty feet in width, with an extremely slow current setting toward the river.
>
> The whole country for forty miles in extent in a southerly direction by ten in width, between the San Joaquin river and the Taché [Tulare] lake, is during the rainy season and succeeding months until the middle of July, a vast swamp everywhere intersected by sloughs, which are deep, miry and dangerous.[19]

After getting aid Derby's party reached the bend of the San Joaquin River, country attributed to the Pitkachi, on May 24.

> At the time of our arrival its [the San Joaquin River] waters were at their highest

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[17] Ibid. Although the Choinimni cannot be held entirely blameless of treachery, it seems doubtful, in the light of the Mayfields' happy experience in the same years (1850-1852), that Garner's murder and other instances of "treachery" should be ascribed to them. The Monachi neighbors are suspect.

[18] Ibid., 259.

[19] Ibid., 260-261.

[P. 6a]

> 133 stage, the back water from the river had filled the innumerable sloughs extending from its banks in every direction across the valley, and I was informed...that the whole country to the north was overflown...The point at which we encamped at the southern bend was about ten feet above the level of the stream and for two miles in extent north and south was not overflown... At this time the river at this point was about two hundred yards wide and from ten to twenty feet in depth, but during the dry season it falls to from four to two and a half feet.[20]

On the 26th, Derby and party started southward on the west side of the San Joaquin River and Sanjon de San José, skirting the western edge of Tulare Lake, bringing them again into Tachi Indian country, for they were near to completing their circuit of the great valley floor.

> At a distance of twenty-two miles from the San Joaquin, we crossed the dry bed of a stream flowing during the rainy season from the Coast Range to the lake, upon the bank of which we found a few cottonwood trees and a little grass; but with this exception the whole valley south of the bend, between the Coast Range and the Taché [Tulare] lake, we found miserable, barren, sandy desert, with no vegetation save a few straggling artemesias, and no inhabitants but attenuated rabbits and gophers.
>
> We encamped upon a slough connecting with the Sanjon upon the 28th...We encamped upon the shores of the lake on the 29th, having made 17.32 miles and on the 30th reached the
> [161 361] débouche of the Pass of San Miguel...passing en route the rancheria of the Tinta Taches, situated upon the northwest extremity of the lake and containing about two hundred and fifty or three hundred inhabitants...We took up our line of march for Monterey by the same route that we had passed in coming out, upon the 31st, and arrived there without incident.[21]

Such was the San Joaquin Valley before American agricultural projects diverted, distributed, or absorbed the waters which filled the central basin to form the lakes and sloughs

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[20] Ibid., 261.

[21] Ibid., 262.

133 and feed the great tular. To the west of its
central waterway was barren ground little used
[224 save for rabbit drives by the Tachi; to the
east was the fertile land watered by snows of
311] the Sierra Nevada and shaded by the magnificent
roblar, the great oak forest. Barren land
spots were uninhabited, for as yet the great
valley was not overpopulated and seed and game
were plentiful. No famine nor wars for food
are reported by the natives.

133 It will be seen that the dwellers about
the lake and its fringe of swamp or tular had
22 a very different environment from those of the
tree filled foothills. Yet nowhere was the
food quest a problem. Nothing could be more
misleading than labeling the people of the San
Joaquin Valley, whether the Yokuts lake tribes,
the tribes of the foothills, or the Monachi of
the mountains, "seed-gatherers" or "seed-eaters,"
as though their diet were preponderantly
vegetarian.

133 Fish and water fowl abounded in the lake
region, supplemented by ground squirrels,
136 rabbits, and antelope from the near-by plains.
In the foothills and mountains rabbit, squirrel,
quail, pigeon, dove, and deer were the commonest
meats. Early travelers, Spanish and American,
testify in open amazement to the plentiful
supply of game constantly at hand.[22] Acorns
[262] and seeds are not to be discounted as less important
than meat, but they were not more important
in daily diet.

262 The tabu on meat or grease which was enjoined
at all times of religious or spiritual
stress was not thought of as a personal sacrificial
abstention because of the preciousness
of meat: rather, meat and grease were substantial
nutritious foods, ever at hand, and
were to be omitted like the solid seed foods in
order to attain that peculiar exalted physical
condition brought about by fast or by the
mechanical emptying of the stomach with tobacco
and lime. Lack of food, whether meat or vegetable,
did not constitute one of the hardships
of life for the Yokuts and Western Mono.

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[22] Example of abundance: in the vicinity of Yokohl Valley (Yokod-Wukchumni territory) four men shot 300 quail in two days. Visalia Record, vol. 3, Nov. 7, 1861.

YOKUTS: TULARE LAKE

CHUNUT AND TACHI

INTERTRIBAL RELATIONS

The tribes living in the swampy territory
101 around the Tulare Lake were the nucleus of a
Yokuts culture which differed in many respects
184 from that of the foothill and hill people. The
divergence was not merely that due to a fundamentally
different ecological background; it
was manifest also in their dichotomous social
organization and ceremonial practices. The
lake tribes' cultural link was with the Yokuts
of Kings River and northward, and with the
Wowol to the south rather than toward the eastward
hills.

The localities and intertribal relations
115 of the lake tribes are presented by Kroeber,[23]
and to his information we have little to add.
Our Tachi informant (M.G.), long away from
childhood scenes, was unable to formulate precise
information on her native village region.
The need for two interpreters to translate her
conversation (Tachi to Wukchumni, Wukchumni to
English) did not add clarity. The Chunut informant
(J.A.) excellent in other respects, was
unclear on local topography, whereas her
knowledge of names and locations of distant
tribes was remarkably accurate. The information
obtained from these two women has been
added to that of Kroeber and mapped in Local
Map A (map 2).

According to M.G. there was no intercamp
578 or intervillage quarrelling among the Tachi. But
bitter feeling, resulting in occasional fights,
609 existed between the Tachi and the valley tribes
living north of Kings River, known collectively
to the Tachi as Hoshima (hoˊšima, northerners).
The Nutunutu, as the nearest of these, were
specific enemies of the Tachi. If these people
attempted to come into Tachi territory for
seeds or game, the Tachi "met them halfway and
made them go back." The Chunut did not fight
the Hoshima, M.G. said (but see Chunut informant's
account, p. 9).

The Tachi were on friendly terms with all
439 the groups bordering on the lake, but particularly
with the Wowol who came as far north as
436 the Wolasi in their balsas to trade. They tied
the balsas to tules and slept on them at night.
The Wowol wanted a grass-seed food and traded
shell money in return. The Wowol acquired the
shells from the Toˊkya (Salinan), who lived at
čuˊlama,[24] near the ocean, and far west and

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[23] Handbook, 474-486.

[24] A Salinan site on Cholame Creek, an upper tributary of the Salinas River.

439 south of the mountains (the Coast Range). The
Tokya ate the fish from the shells and traded
436 these to their inland neighbors. Usually the
buyer made them up into money: this was what
the Wowol did. The Tachi went to Wolasi
villages to trade with the Wowol, but no
farther south, as Yiˊnɛl was the most southern
Tachi village. The Tachi, Wolasi, and Chunut
traded seed foods in exchange.

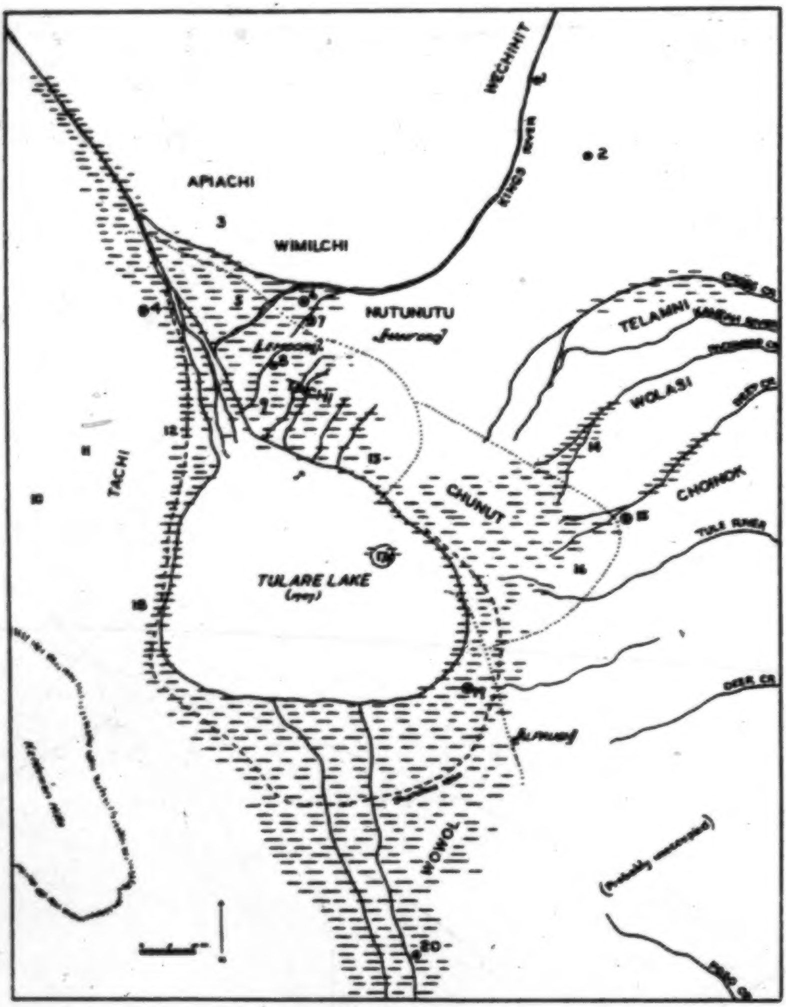
439 The Telamni came out to the Wolasi to
visit but not to trade (sic). They, the
574 Wechihit, Wolasi, and Chunut came to Tachi
mourning ceremonies at Tɛlweˊyɩt. The Gawia
did not ever visit so far west.

The large Tachi village called Tɛlweyɩt
361 was on the edge of the lake south of the
present town of Lemoore. An important chief
115 there was Lučuˊši. The informant M.G. was born
there; after her marriage she moved "a little
east up the river [Kings?] to a village called
Gaiwɔˊšyu. The barren area west of Tulare Lake
which extended as far as the Coast Range and
was roamed over by Tachi was called Utjuˊi.
(Kroeber places a village, Udjiu, in this area.)
There was a pond near Loston Hills.

The Chunut informant, J.A., gives a differ-
578 ent picture of Tachi relations, but her less
361 intimate view of the situation makes it seem
unreliable. She states that the Tachi, Wowol,
and Chunut fought frequently, with the Tachi
and Nutunutu as allies against the combined
Chunut and Wowol. Tɛlweyɩt, a Tachi village,
was at Summit Lake. At Wokoˊn were a series of
camps among which the Tachi moved, especially
when one camp had been visited by death. J.A.
named Honoˊtan (to stop suddenly) and Čiˊyi
(bones) as two important Nutunutu villages,
both near Kingston. Čiyi is undoubtedly
Kroeber's Chiau. A chief there was Oliˊkɩs,
nicknamed Nai'naiˊ'i'ɩs (Squint-eye) because
he was cross-eyed. The Nutunutu was a very
large tribe, J.A. said.

101 The Chunut on Tulare Lake had Tachi and
Nutunutu neighbors toward the north. Their
131 land extended eastward almost to the present
site of Tulare (city), east of which dwelt the
Wolasi. The main Chunut rancheria, which J.A.
pronounces piˊsras, a pronunciation I believe
is a corruption of "Pierce's Ranch," was near
Farmersville, which she claimed was Chunut
territory (čunuˊtači pa'an). Near Tulare (city)
101 was a bottomless pond called mikeˊyɩt; things
which fell in were never recovered. The Chunut
484 frequently walked over to the ocean across the
131 mountains to the west, provided relations were

101
131
133


WECHIHIT
KINGS RIVER
2
APIACHI
3
WIMILCHI
4
5
6
7
NUTUNUTU
TELAMNI
WOLASI
TACHI
11
12
10
13
14
CHUNUT
CHOINOK
TULE RIVER
15
16
TULARE LAKE
18
DEER CR.
WOWOL
(Probably unoccupied)
20

Map 2. Local Map A: Lake tribes

Y
101 friendly with the intervening Tachi (and, pre-
131 sumably, Salinan).

Wowol territory was somewhat west and
[484] elsewhere south of the Chunut. One important
village was called Yiwɔ´ni. An island in
Y Tulare Lake belonged to the Wowol; it was
[361] called witi'tsolo´wɩn. On it was a village
which J.A. and her mother visited by means of
Y balsas. They had a relative there. On the
[164] island was a tremendous number of bleaching
bones which J.A. says were those of humans who
had died of smallpox.[25] The visit was probably
made between 1860 and 1870; it was "before the
big earthquake."

South of Bakersfield lived people who "had a lake in the middle of their mountain. It dried in the summer." (This may be Castac Lake, possibly a small lake near present Tehachapi.) This tribe was called tipe´kɩl yoko´č (red clay people) "because they lived in houses plastered with red clay, with tule roofs which were covered with mud." The people who live there now are called Tejon (whether this was Fort Tejon or Tejon Ranch some distance to the east, J.A. could not determine; probably the former, which is near Castac Lake).

Y The Tokya (Chumash and Salinan) lived "on
[439] the coast"; the Salinan of Chulame were called
Tokya also. Various types of shell money were
got from them. J.A. had not heard of Mutulu
(a coast Indian raider mentioned by Wobonuch informants) or other individuals from the coast, and believed that the valley people went out to do their trading rather than that coast people came in. She, too, says that the bought shells were worked into money by the Yokuts purchasers.

At Ventura lived the Ititu´wɩt, but J.A. does not know whether this was the Yokuts name for these people, or what they called themselves.

T The Kawe´sa (Kawaiisu) lived east of Tejon,
toward the hills "and talked something like the
[411] Monachi." They were noted for their large bows
and arrows.

T The Ričiki´tu (Pitanisha) lived at Whiskey
101 Flat "over back of Kern River." At another
time J.A. said Ričikitu was "the Mexican name
131 for the Pitani´sa who lived at Pita´nɩn, where
there was a deep little river."

Y

Localities

103 The following sites are located on Local
131 Map A (map 2). Places known to be villages are
marked with a dot and circle.

1. mu´sahau: a Wechihit village
2. wewa´yo: a Wechihit village
3. wo´hui

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[25] Powers mentions a "plague" which took many lives in the Fresno River region a few years before his visit (Tribes of California, 380).

[P. 9b]

103 4. tɛlwe´yɩt: a Tachi village
5. ugonə
131 6. hono´tan (to stop suddenly): a Nutunutu village
7. či´yi (bones): probably Kroeber's Chiau, a Nutunutu village
8. gaiwa´šiu: a Tachi village
9. wai´u
10. u´djiu
11. go´lon
12. či
13. yi´mɛl
14. waita´čuiyui
15. pi´sras (Pierce's Ranch?): a modern rancheria
16. č'iu´ta
17. witɩtsolo´wɩn: a Wowol island village
18. wa´lna
19. yiwo´mni: a Wowol village
20. sukwu´tnu: a Wowol village[26]

Two places not definitely located were: 21, wo´kon; 22, mike´yɩt, a "bottomless" pond near the present city of Tulare.

Warfare

578 According to J.A., who says she derived much of her knowledge from an old Wowol woman now dead, the Chunut and Wowol were particularly friendly and both were on bad terms with two allies to their north, the Tachi and Nutunutu. [20] Signal fires were built on occasion, and warnings and arrangements for battle were made. [727] Doctors were particularly sought out as victims in a battle, and vengeance was wreaked by flaying and impaling their corpses. Head-taking was practised as well as flaying.

701 624 726 There was no war chief, nor did an ordinary chief take any special part in battles, though the account secured by Newman (see below) indicates the contrary. Any brave man, particularly one with Raven (ho´toi) as a supernatural helper, would lead war expeditions. 726 Rarely were more than two or three persons killed. [727] J.A. thinks the bodies remained unburied (which seems unlikely unless the losers were completely routed). She disclaims knowledge of motives for war.

That battles were frequently prearranged is clear from J.A.'s statement, Newman's account, and the account of a battle between the Pitanisha and Altinin.[27] This does not preclude a sudden flare-up such as that described by J.A. when two doctors found themselves unwelcome among the Nutunutu. A certain captiousness or predisposition to fight is suggested in two Yauelmani tales, wherein a mere shout in

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[26] Possibly the Wowol village called "Bubal" by early Spanish explorers (Gayton, Estudillo, 70 ff.); some further information on Southern Valley sites is contained in Wedel's Archeological Investigations at Buena Vista Lake (particularly pp. 12-17).

[27] Kroeber, The Yokuts Language, 274.

726 the distance is regarded as an invitation to battle.[28] A narrative of a famous fight, recorded by Dr. Stanley Newman, has been contributed to this record. Lemondo, one of the leaders, was known to the Chunut informant, J.A.

Lemondo and Tabsa[29]

726 They knew that they would fight. The Yaudanchi sent a man, who said that they would
fight in a certain number of days. The
202 [Southern] messenger (hɔ·ye·lis), sent by the
539 Bankalachi, Koyeti, and Tinlinin, asked him how
many [Northern] tribes were allied. He was told that there were three, the Chunut, Choinok, and Wükchamni, and that they would fight in seven days. On being questioned, the [Northern] messenger asserted that he was sure of this, for the leaders had decided upon the time. The [Southern] messenger then said that the Bankalachi, Koyeti, and Tinlinin were not ready yet, but that they would send their own messengers [to get an intertribal agreement upon the time?].

[After the Southern messenger had returned and] made inquiries, the [Bankalachi] leaders told him that it would take them five days to complete their preparations. The next morning they sent him to Tinliw, saying that he should return in five days, for at that time they wanted to know when the [Tinlinin] could come. The [Southern] messenger then went to Tinliw, where the people were numerous, and told their leader, Lemondo, that he had been sent. Lemondo ordered his workers (ťsɔ·ẃihni') to assemble the people. He asked the [Southern] messenger whether his news was good or bad and was told that it was bad. His messengers ran swiftly.

One of them went to the Tejon people. On approaching, he shouted and the people gathered immediately. Their leader told them that the news was probably bad, that they had better get their bows and prepare themselves. By the time the messenger [of Lemondo] arrived, they were ready. He told them that the leader [Lemondo] wanted the people to come to his house immediately; they were to listen to one who had come from far off. The people were advised by their messenger to get their bows and their necklace charms [talismans]. Some of them got grizzly-claw necklaces, others got falcon-head necklaces, and still others got eagle-head necklaces.

When they reached the leader's [Lemondo's] place, one of their leaders took them where many people were assembled. There the [Southern] messenger was asked for his news. He reported that the Bankalachi leader wanted the people, for a battle was to take place. On being asked what tribes were angry, he answered that they were Northerners--the Chunut, Choinok, and Wükchamni. At this some of the people asserted that the Northerners were a useless lot, that the Southerners would give them a

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[576] [28] Gayton and Newman, Yokuts and Western Mono Myths, 87, 88, abstract 11, note 1. Nevertheless, to approach a village or isolated house without calling out was ill-mannered and regarded with suspicion.

[29] Recorded in Yawelmani dialect by Stanley S. Newman from Frank Manuel, Bankalachi.

726 good clubbing. In reply to further questions,
the [Southern] messenger told them that his
202 leader wanted the people in five days, for the
[Northern] messenger would return in five days
539 and again in seven days. Some of the warriors
were very happy; they promised that the people
would arrive at the proposed time.

The [Southern] messenger returned to his leader and reported that he had been successful in persuading the [Tinlinin] people to come in five days. [After five days] the people arrived at the leader's house. The warriors immediately began inquiring who their opponents were and when the fight was to take place. They were told that the Northerners were their opponents and that the seventh day had been chosen for the battle.

The Northern messenger also arrived on the fifth day. He reported that he did not have much news: his people would come to fight on the seventh day. The [Bankalachi] leader said that his people were ready and asked where the tribes would meet. He was told that the place was Chiteetiknawahsiw (tsiti·tik̓nawa·siw, literally "sliding-place, place where one makes oneself slide"; according to my informant, this place is situated near Deer Creek).

The day of their departure arrived. The
[Southern] people went to Gayliw (gayliw, liter-
ally "waiting-place, meeting-place," identified
as "Lookout Mountain" by my informant), from
where they could see other people coming. They
then descended to the plains and fought there.
[411] They used only arrows and obsidian (t̓a·sip̓),
with which they pierced each other. Half of
the Northerners were wiped out, and some of
them ran away. Some of the Bankalachi were
killed too. Some of those who had run away
went far to the west and reported to the Tachi.
A Chunut messenger told the Tachi that the
Northerners had been wiped out by the Southern-
ers.

The Tachi leader immediately sent his messenger to Tabsa. After receiving Tabsa's greetings, the [Tachi] messenger told him that, according to reports, the Wükchamni had been wiped out by the Southerners. Tabsa assured the messenger that he would leave with his people in two days. After the two days had elapsed, Tabsa went to the Tachi. He asked the Chunut messenger, who was still there, what had happened. The messenger told him that his people had fought and had been badly beaten. Tabsa then hurried him off to gather whatever Chunut warriors remained and to bring them back immediately. The messenger returned home and told the warriors that their allies were speeding preparations to fight the next day. The Chunut joined Tabsa, who again asked for information about their battle with the Southerners. They told him that half of their people had been killed. Tabsa decided that they had better fight the following day. The Chunut messenger offered to carry the news to their enemies, for he knew where they were. Tabsa told him to go immediately.

The [Chunut] messenger journeyed all night, and the next morning he reached the enemies' camp, where he was greeted. He told them that the Tachi had joined his people and asked if they knew of Tabsa; they replied that they did know of him. It was agreed that they would fight the next day in the plains. The messen-

[P. 11a]

726 ger then returned to the Tachi and informed
them of the arrangements that had been made for
202 the battle. Tabsa was pleased.
The next morning they left and met their
539 enemies at the appointed place. They fought
for a long time, shooting at each other and
dodging. Some of them ran away. Tabsa and
Xenilal grappled with one another for a long
time. But Tabsa became exhausted, for Xenilal
was a very large man. Finally Tabsa got away
and spoke from a distance. Neither of them had
any more arrows; they worked on each other with
necklace charms.

728 At last Tabsa said that they had better
quit fighting, now that all of their comrades
539 had run away. Xenilal agreed. In reply to
Xenilal's question, Tabsa promised that he
would never fight again. The Tachi had been
severely beaten. Then Tabsa and Xenilal conferred; they were friends now. Tabsa told Xenilal that he thought they should not fight with each other but should live peacefully ('inestam, literally "in a good manner"). This leader seemed to be a remarkable man. He said that soon he would arrange to have the Northerners and Southerners assemble, so that they could see each other peacefully. This remarkable man was going to make a feast in seven days. He went on to say that Xenilal and his people need be afraid of nothing, that they should bring their comrades and wives. Xenilal asked when the feast would be held and was told that it would probably take place in seven days. The final greetings were exchanged, Tabsa repeated his hope that they fight no more but live in peace, and the two leaders departed for home.

The people had missed them; they thought that their leaders had killed each other. When Tabsa arrived among the Tachi, his comrades were still there. They expressed their surprise at seeing him, saying that they had thought he was dead. He assured them that he had not been killed, though Xenilal was a very powerful (ṭipni') man. He then asked the people to assemble at his home and added that it would be best for them not to fight again. The Tachi people agreed. On being questioned about the date of the feast, he said that he would start preparations immediately on his arrival home.

After he had returned to his home, Tabsa
announced that the feast would take place in
seven days. He warned the people not to "talk
about anything" when the Southerners and the
[202] Chunut arrived. Then Tabsa sent his crier
(wína·tim) south to carry the report to all the
Tinlinin, Bankalachi, and Koyeti. The crier
invited these people to the feast and assured
them that there would be no more fighting.

574 The people went to the feast; all the
Tinlinin and Bankalachi came there. As soon
728 as they arrived, they were stopped and presented with bead (liína') money. This is Indian
539 money. They feasted heavily, eating fish and
many ducks and wild geese. At the end of the
feast the Southerners were again given bead
money. Then Tabsa spoke. He said that he did
not think it good for them to fight; he thought
it better that they should see each other peacefully, just as they were doing now. Then he
told them all to return to their homes and to
live peacefully.

Property

Although there were no defined tribal 421 boundaries, customary usage gave people the 423 feeling of ownership of certain land. It was not the land but the produce and game available on it which was the matter for concern. In this way there was a sense of tribal property or "home land." As individuals, women rather than men felt ownership of those places where they and their mothers had gathered seeds. Families did not own land, nor did the captains. According to the Tachi informant (M.G.) a woman went to one place to gather seeds and her daughters went to the same place. Another woman would not come there without invitation, but went to her own patch. If she trespassed, a quarrel ensued. A stake (šo´nıl) marked the end of a woman's claim; a series of these several feet apart might be set up to include an area about forty feet square. Such plots had no special name.[30] A woman had such a special place for each type of seed. Her daughters continued to use the plot after her death; a sister might claim it if there were no daughters. If there were no close female relatives, M.G. thought it would be used by some woman friend who belonged to the same moiety.

A young married woman returned to her mother's plot to gather seeds. If it was too far away, she remained at home to do the cooking instead of going with her mother-in-law. Her own mother would send or bring her foodstuffs from time to time, but the mother-in-law gave her nothing. The young woman cooked for the entire family while her sisters-in-law went with their mother to do the gathering. This, [591] of course, was during patrilocal residence, which was the customary home of newlyweds in the lake area.

According to M.G., men did not own fishing or hunting places even in the above sense (but on this point a male informant's opinion is needed). They went anywhere within tribal [224] territory for game. Game was never sold, but was often given to friends. Men gathered tule roots more often than women, but whether the men, like the women, had individual claims on gathering places M.G. does not know.

SHELTER, SUBSISTENCE, UTENSILS, AND CRAFTS

Houses

No adequate description of houses was ob- 342 tained for the lake region. Two types are well known, the long communal house and oval individual house; but the gabled house pictured by

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[30] The informant insisted that this property marking was a very old custom. The interpreter had never heard the word for the marking stake until the older women explained it to her, she claimed.

[P. 12]

Western Mono NS25

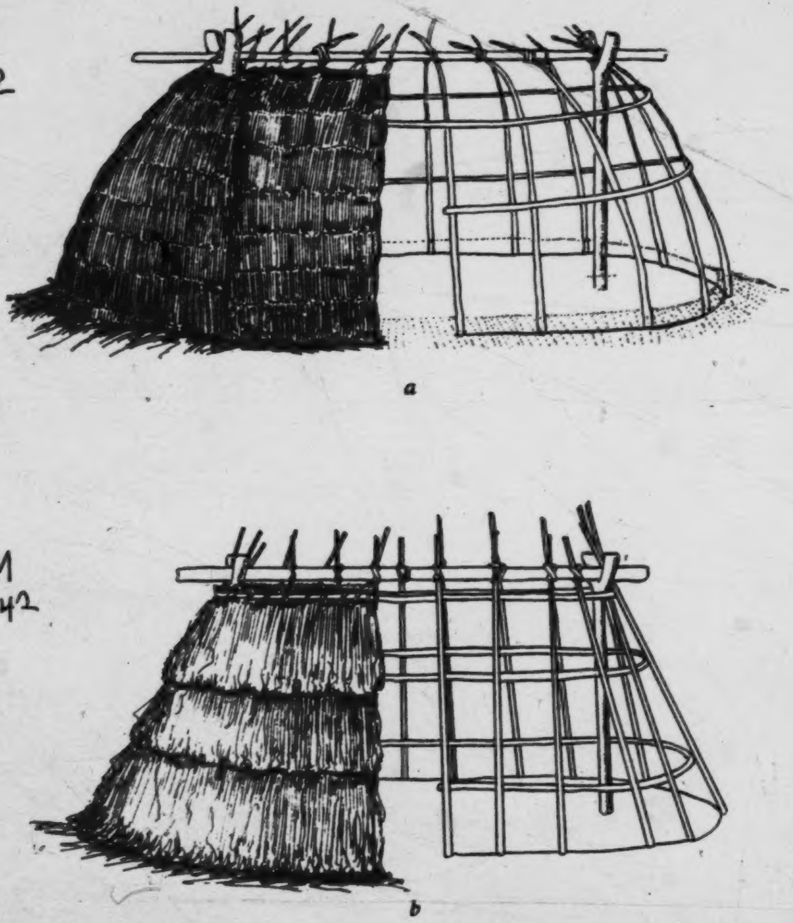

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Fig. 1. Yokuts and Western Mono oval houses. a, Valley and Central Foothill type, 2-post, mat-covered. b, Waksachi, 2-post, thatch-covered.

342 Powers, described by Kroeber, and presumably the one meant by Estudillo with his phrase "dobladas sus puntas" was declared unfamiliar by both informants.[31] The conical house was not used here.

The house with oval floor plan and with walls arched into a rounded top was the most common type of dwelling in the valley area generally, according to J.A. and M.G. (fig. 1,a). Two forked posts linked by a tie-beam formed the basis of this structure. Upright poles of willow were set into the ground in an oval line around the center posts and the tips pulled inward and downward and tied to the center beam. Strengthening horizontal withes were tied around this framework. Large mats of tule were hung on the frame and pegged down to the ground. A slot was left along the center beam for the smoke to escape.

The tule mats which covered the frame were
about 8 feet high and 10 to 12 feet long; their
height roughly equaled the distance from the
ground to the center beam. Truly rectangular
mats were made by laying the tules alternately
tip by butt to equalize the differences in
their tip and butt diameters; such mats were
342 used on side walls. For the rounded ends of
the house somewhat fan-shaped mats were made by
285 placing the tules butt by butt, thus giving a
greater width at the base of the mat than at
the top. Men gathered the tules, whereas women
made the mats. The reeds, already sorted by size
and length, were laid out on the ground. The
[284] individual stalks were held together by rows of
single cords of milkweed twine looped once
around each stem (a half-hitch may have been
meant). The rows of binding cord were a hand-
span (about 9 in.) apart. All the rows were
worked forward at once rather than completed
one at a time.

342 Technically, the long house was really an
extension of the oval frame. There was a
series of forked center posts supporting a
continuous ridgepole formed by overlapping and
lashing its units. The overlap did not have to
coincide with an upright. Willow withes held
the side poles, which were bent toward the
center at their tips and were matched by a
parallel withe on the exterior which held the
tule mat covering in place; both withes were
called tumlu´ʼus. Smoke escaped through a long
slot left at the ridgepole. The long communal
house was partitioned by means of mats.
[592] Sections of the house were apportioned to sons'
families, each family having its own fireplace,
[354] and, if the house were large, its own door.
Such a house was "just like a street, you could
look right down the middle and see everybody's
fire and what they were doing" (J.A.). The
long house was covered with tule mats
(woi´yohono; tule-covered house: woi´yohon ṭi).

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[31] Powers, 370; Kroeber, Handbook, 521; Gayton, Estudillo, 83.

342 The frame was called tumlu''us. The oval house was covered with mats of tule or, where available somewhat away from the lake, a grasslike shrub (kana´s.ta).

The floor of dwellings was not excavated in the lake area since moisture and flood water would seep or run in. Contrarily, if a house site on a rise of ground could not be obtained, the floor was artificially built up by bringing in baskets of earth. For the same reason sleeping places were raised up on a low framework of wood (willow). The Wowol particularly had [352] these, and the Chunut and Tachi who bordered close on the lake. The usual tule mat flooring and bed padding were used.

Kroeber's statement on the long house is somewhat contradictory. It may be partly based on Powers' illustration.

> ... the mat-covered, gabled, communal kawi of the Tulamni, Hometwoli, Wowol, Chunut and perhaps Tachi. The roof pitch was steep. Probably each family constructed its own portion, with door to front and back, closed at night with tule mats. Each household had its own space and fireplace, but there were no partitions, and one could look through from end to end. These houses sometimes ran to a size where they accommodated a little more than 10 families. A shade porch extended along the front. The tule stalks were sewn together with an eyed bone needle and string of tule fiber.
>
> The Yauelmani and their neighbors of the southern plains off the lake approached this long structure in aligning their wedge-shaped tule houses or dumlus, but kept each contiguous family domicile separate.

Kroeber goes on to describe the oval house, attributing it to the Wechihit and Tachi of modern times and stating that it may be made with or without a center ridgepole. The house mats were made by wrapping each stalk to the next with "a hitch in a single strand of string," whereas floor and bed mats were sewn. The Wechihit "use a covering of tall mohya stems, reaching from the ground to the ridge, and held in place by several horizontal poles lashed to the framework. This type of house was called te or chi."[32]

A Wechihit informant (J.At.) said houses in her village near Sanger were all mat covered and were placed in any order along the riverbank.

At Telwey.t both long and oval houses were constructed. At Piaras, the village in Wolosi territory, the oval house covered with grass mats predominated. On the north shore of Tulare Lake Jeff Mayfield saw long houses of the Tachi.

The houses at the lake were the thing I noticed most. I do not remember having seen a

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[32] Handbook, 521-522.

342 house there like those upstream. Generally
they were built of thin tule mats and were
quite long. Some of them were at least one
hundred feet long. A sort of wooden ridge was
erected on crotched poles set in the ground and
the tule mats were leaned up against it. Everything else was of a more temporary nature than
I was used to at Sycamore Creek [Choinimni
territory].[33]

342 A chief's house was usually larger than
554 the rest, likewise his storehouses. J.A. remembers
622 Konti's which stood on a rise of ground:
"he was always having little parties there."
The long house made possible the practice of
[184 patrilocal residence customary with the lake
591] people (but not with those of the foothills).

The bottoms of mat-covered storage bins
343 were raised off the ground. When a tree was
available, a storage bin would be set up in its
branches. Their construction was like that of
the foothills (see Wukchumni).

The ramada was used throughout the lake region.

Subsistence

22 The subsistence of the tular region was
composed mainly of water birds, fish, rabbits,
262 and two staple flours made from iris seed and
tule roots. According to M.G. deer meat was
not obtainable even by trade, antelope being
the only available large game animal. Bear
meat, which the Tachi were not afraid to eat,
was also scarce. Elk were too fleet for a
hunter afoot, but were pursued on horseback.
Weasels, coyotes, and lizards were not eaten;
[825] it is possible some people ate snakes. Bats
(čε´mŏεm) were not eaten, as they were supernatural
assistants. Rabbits, cottontails, and
squirrels were got by hunters in communal
drives on the barren country west of the lake.
There long nets were set up and groups of men
deployed to herd the creatures into them. Mayfield
states that the men formed wings and,
armed with sticks two feet long, closed in in a
pair of arcs and incapacitated the fleeing
animals by hurling the clubs at them.[34]

[231] The eating of dogs M.G. (Tachi) attributed
to the Chunut. This practice Powers mentions
as generalized Yokuts, saying that the Yokuts
raised dogs for the purpose. Estudillo
witnessed the killing and eating of dogs at a
celebration near the foothills. However, a
Kechayi informant denied the practice for her
[184] people with a circumstantial story,[35] and Mayfield
does not mention it, so the usage may not
have extended to the northern foothills.

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[33] Latta, Uncle Jeff's Story, 31.

[34] Ibid., 33.

[35] Powers, 379; Gayton, Estudillo, 75; Gayton, Ghost Dance of 1870, 72-74.

[P. 146]

262 The grubs (ɔm´nol) of horseflies and of bees were eaten; the bees were smoked out with a damp tule smudge. The ground wasp (po'a´onai) larva was said to be eaten by the Telamni (it was scarce in the tular). This was called [252] tapɨsi, was roasted on coals and eaten with acorn mush. Caterpillars (mane´ča) were skinned (singed?) and eaten.

[225] Turtles (ṭu´ñkɔt) were plentiful. They were stabbed under the throat with a sharp stick, put on hot coals, and roasted; then the shell was broken off and the larger entrails were discarded.

226 A great variety of fish was available for all the lake people. The Chunut informant 262 spoke of the following. "Greaser" fish (tawa´'at) was a black fish with a large head and small body. The chub (tu´kɔnu) had "fat all over his tail." The steelhead (?) or "lake trout" was called e´pɨs. The brook trout (?) (so´lul) was colorless save for a red edge on its forked tail. The minnows or young of any fish were called ta´hɨs. Salmon (da´ṭu) were well known and greatly depended upon, but eels were said to appear only at Sanger on the Kings River. A certain fish (u´duṭ) had a large head like a catfish but was not the same thing, for catfish were called tamṭa´na "because he has whiskers" (tamu´ṭanin, whiskers he has). The crayfish (keṭa´keṭat) were common, as were water mussels (ka´pap, the shells; ṭa´sɨp, the flesh). Abalones (ṭo´nɨk) were known only by their shells which were brought in from the coast.

226 Fishnets (to´noi) were dragged between the shore, where one end was fastened, and a balsa which moved in an arc toward the shore. Diving for fish was a common practice, as in the foothills. The Tachi procured fish for Estudillo by diving with hand nets.

> At 9 A.M. came four Tache chiefs...Thirty-seven young men accompanied them, all of them prepared with hand nets for catching fish in this San Gabriel [Kings] River. This they did [147] before my very eyes, with great agility, diving quickly and staying under the water so long that I prayed. Some remained under five credos [during five "Lord's prayers"], others no less than three.[36]

A corral (wise''i) for catching fish was made in shallow waters by setting up buttonwillow stakes and intertwining them with tules. Persons waded about with baskets catching up the fish which others drove into the corral. This method of fishing was seen by Mayfield, whose description is included for its graphic qualities. It appears that it was the Choinimni who used the weir while at the lake.

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[36] Gayton, Estudillo, 78.

[P. 15a] Tachi

> 226 The tribe I was with had an interesting way of catching fish on the lake shore. A weir of willow wicker work was built out at an angle from the shore for a distance of fifty or sixty yards. Then a large group of Indians would wade out beyond the weir and close the opening. This group would form a semicircle sometimes a mile long.
>
> After the circle was completed they would close in, all splashing and yelling and driving the fish into the shallow water behind the weir. In this shallow water were two or three Indians wading about, each with one of the bottomless [sic] wicker baskets that they used up the river for catching fish in pools. When they felt a fish with their feet or saw a ripple made by a fish they would clap the basket down and catch it. It was not possible to see the fish as the shallow water soon became very muddy.[37]

Another type of weir, consisting of two long wings, was erected in shallow water. No drive was made; men waded in in the early morning and dipped up fish with hand nets (po´hač).

According to Mayfield a special raft for fishing and hunting was used by the Tachi at Tulare Lake.

> [501] This raft was constructed in a different way.... It was wide and flat and would pass over very shallow water. It was pointed at the ends, but the points were not raised as they were in the raft used on the river.
>
> In the center of the fishing raft was a large hole. Through this hole fish were gigged much as they were from the platform on the river above.
>
> A few feet ahead of the hole was an earthen, or mud, hearth. On this hearth a fire was kindled, and the cooking was done.

He also describes a novel method of fishing in the tular.

> Tules will float on the water, and the Indians make use of their buoyancy. On the lake, and sometimes in sloughs along the river, the tules used to float about loose. The wind would drift them into great mats near the shore. The fish used to collect under these mats and we used to walk over them and spear fish from them.[38]

227 The Tachi fishing implement, as described by M.G., was a single-pointed harpoon (to´´okoi). The hooked point, about two inches long was made of a pelican wing bone which was lashed to the detachable foreshaft with sinew. The foreshaft, about one foot long, was attached to the oak handle by means of a length of tule fibre cord.

226 Fish poison (yao´ha) was made from a white

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[37] Latta, Uncle Jeff's Story, 32-33.

[38] Ibid., 30,32.

[P. 15b] Tachi

Fish poison (yao'hn) was made from a white
226 flower which was pulverized and thrown over
278 quiet water or a pond. The fish were scooped
up in baskets as they came to the surface. The
same flower was used in an infusion for head-
aches; it grows commonly on the plains (not
identified). Another poison, undescribed,
called t·'l·l, was mentioned by M.G.

Ducks, mudhens, and other water fowl were
223 caught with nets set up among the tules, but
the exact manner of operation of the nets could
not be described. The Wowol secured ducks for
Estudillo; "...in less than half an hour, with-
in my sight, they caught many with snares which
they had in the lake."[39]

Again Mayfield supplies an eyewitness description from the Tachi.

> Sometimes three or four Indians would go out on the lake on one of the fishing rafts and hunt ducks and geese and stay out there as long as a week. During this time they poled the raft around through the tules and ate and slept on it.
>
> They would throw loose tules over the raft and themselves, forming a blind. Then, through the hole in the center they would slowly pole the raft...In this way they would approach within a few feet of ducks and geese and shoot them from the blind with bows and arrows.
>
> Sometimes they would catch the ducks that flew overhead with a net. This net was a good deal like the net fishermen use to take trout out of the water after they have hooked them. It was about two feet across the mouth. They also snared ducks and geese among the tules.[40]

222 Of vegetable foods, sopas (arrowhead?) was
the staple.[41] It was not put in a mortar at
first, but in a depression in the ground, where
it was trampled. The leaves and seed pods were
[252] picked out; the seeds were put in a mortar and
pounded. The flour, wetted with water, formed
a mush called soʹpas·n saʹsa. There is a
doctor's song about this foodstuff.

[251] Tule roots (puʹmuk) were gathered, dried,
pounded, and used as a flour for mush. Tule
seeds (tsos)were also used. Before they
ripened, the tule heads were tied together in
bunches where they were growing. When ripe,
the seeds were knocked off into a basket and
the heads released. In February J.A. said,
"We should be going around now to see how they
are getting along. Then maybe next month tie
them up."

Acorns in the neighborhood of Kingston
[481] were available to the Tachi. They went up
there after them; men climbed the trees and
shook down the acorns with hooked sticks while
women collected them in burden baskets.

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[39] Gayton, Estudillo, 72.

[40] Latta, Uncle Jeff's Story, 32.

[41] On another occasion J.A. said sopas was a plant with "large leaves and red berries."

222 Several vegetable foods were identified
from growing specimens by J.A. The word ṭo´mul
262 is used to cover all green plant foods, but is
also specifically applied to all clovers, to
yellow mustard, and, as bitter greens (ki´yɨt
ṭomul) to brown mustard. Clover (ho´lom) was
eaten raw while young and tender. Mustard
greens were cooked, and today bacon is added.
Fiddle-neck (ka´lu) and filaree (po´halo) are
eaten with salt grass while in the tender stage.
A plant, known by its Tachi name ya´hal, but
unidentified, was valued for its seeds which
were mashed and eaten. A plant with reddish-
purple flowers, ka´syɨn, has tiny edible seeds
which are greatly prized; they are rolled into
a ball and eaten as we would candy (undoubtedly
red maid, Calandrinia). Grass nuts (tsa´lu,
Brodiaea) were valued for their small nutty
roots which were roasted and eaten whole or
mashed into flour. A yellow prairie flower
(oto´hon) was used in some way as a food. There
were many others which must have been well
278 known and used. Horehound (ohoi´yon toi´yu,
757 translated as cough medicine) was cooked and
the liquid drunk for a cough. J.A. said the
[177] plant was an introduction of the white people.
752 A Mexican introduction is "five spot" or
spotted mallow (malpas, Spanish), the leaves of
which are cooked, mixed with castor oil, and
used as a poultice for pleurisy or kidney pains.
The mashed roots of jimsonweed (Datura) were
used as a poultice on broken bones, or on any
excessively painful injury, by the Tachi, al-
though M.G. claimed that they did not use it
ceremonially. The Chunut used it ceremonially
and as a medicament. J.A. reports that the
mashed leaves were put on sores. An elderly
man who did this became delirious for a day or
two, but recovered. For fractures a poultice
of mashed jimsonweed roots was tied on after
the skin about the fracture had been scarified.
Such a poultice was applied to Motsa's shoulder
when his clavicle was broken. Another man at
Pisras drank a decoction of jimsonweed when he
was badly injured by being thrown from a horse.
Any person, not necessarily a "jimsonweed
handler," used the plant medicinally.

137 A few other plants were identified by J.A.
Blue lupine, not used for anything, was called
snake's-urine (ya´hɨn ṭuyu´hun). Bird's-eye
(a gilia) was called owl's-eye (tukla´lai´ɨn
tsa´tsa), and owl's-clover was known as coyote's-
penis (po´təlo kai´'iyɨn). Two kinds of "wire
grass" which grew in water, one coarse, the
other fine, were called ka´pi and o´'wun (the
words for knife and balsa).

757 The Telamni, T.W., reported that toyo´ho,
a plant with flat green leaves which gave milk
278 when mashed and which "had no flowers," was
boiled and the liquid applied to snake bites;
it reduced the swelling. The plant grew in
Cutler's field in Drum Valley.

372 Firewood was difficult to obtain. Dried
313 weeds and tules, eked out with willow, were the

372
313 usual materials. Dead willow wood provided only "a slow and punky" fire.

Mortars

412 The stone mortar and pestle (koi´wus and po´lwai) were obtained through trade with people of the foothills. Mayfield comments that mortars taken by the Choinimni to Tulare Lake were not brought back. Because he saw one dug up at a previous camping site, he believed they all were buried, but more probably many disappeared in trade to the Tachi.[42] The oak mortar (pe´wus), gotten from neighbors in the roblar, was used with a wooden pestle (ma´ta) (M.G.).

Kroeber states:

> [322] The most common form of these among the Tachi was one of white oak. The flat-bottomed wooden block was a little more than a foot high, half as much again in diameter. Except for a narrow rim, the whole upper surface was excavated a few inches, chiefly by fire; but the actual pounding was done in a smaller doubly sunk pit in the center. The pestle was the same as on bedrock. Even the hill Chukchansi knew the wooden mortar, which they called Kowish; and the Choinimni used it.[43]

J.A. insisted that the metate or flat grinding stone (hise´ts) and mano or grinder (lo´wat) were used before Mexican intrusion. Particularly they were used for unshelled seeds, which were rubbed on it, then transferred to the mortar for pulverizing. "All ordinary people had them." Kroeber illustrates a flattish grinding stone from the "Kings River Yokuts" but seemingly there is no textual reference to it.[44]

Bedrock mortars were, of course, unavailable in the valley plains and lake region.

Powers states:

> Around the lake and on Kings River one will often find a family using a well-made stone mortar. They always admit that they did not manufacture these implements, but happened on them in digging or found them on the surface, and that they belonged to a race other than their own. They sometimes have the ingenuity to improve on them by fastening a basket hopper around the top to prevent the acorns from flying out. On the west side of Tulare Lake these mortars are very numerous, and of course they must have been carried thither from the mountains.[45]

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[42] Latta, Uncle Jeff's Story, 31, 37.

[43] Handbook, 527-528, pl. 45.

[44] Ibid., pl. 66.

[45] P.377. "Thither from the mountains" is probably thither from the Coast Range, not the Sierra Nevada.

412 The Telamni wooden mortar was described by B.O., a Waksachi informant, during his dis-
322 cussion of trade (see Pt. II). The mortar was made from the crotch of an oak tree which, being of mixed grains at this point, was very hard. It was burned down to a rough size, then burned at the heart and the charcoal scraped and chopped out. This treatment was given inside and out until the desired size was reached. A slender pestle of stone was used with it.
[438] These mortars the Telamni sold to the lake-dwellers, Chunut, Tachi, and Wowol, preferring for themselves stone mortars of both large and small sizes which they also bought from the Waksachi or intervening Wukchumni.

Pottery

323 Pottery was not made by the lake tribes.[36] Even a knowledge of it in old times was denied by M.G., while J.A. said she had seen it made by Wukchumni women (M.P. and daughters) but did not remember how. My demonstration of the motor actions of making a "rope" of clay merely elicited a description of firemaking. Red clay
[134 was sometimes shaped with the fingers into little dishes (ţipe´k‹l ki´w‹s). It was chief-
757] ly valued as a medicament smeared on the chest. A reliable Wukchumni informant (M.L.) said that
[438] pottery was traded to the lake people.

Basketry

285 No detailed description of basketmaking techniques was obtained from the Chunut and
438 Tachi informants, but both had important statements concerning forms and materials. This aged Tachi informant (M.G.) repeatedly affirmed that the lake people did not make coiled baskets in old times, that the coiled pieces were obtained by trade. The Wechihit and Choinok had coiled wares, she believed, but the foothill people, Wukchumni, Gawia, and Yaudanchi were the ultimate source for lake trade. In exchange, the handsome tule mats from the lake were prized in the foothills. The Tachi, Wowol, and others dwelling in the tular used a twined technique exclusively on tule and willow materials. There is little remaining evidence of the tule wares, as they are perishable in texture and not attractive as museum pieces.

285 In the collections of the University of California are a few pieces from "Santa Rosa Rancheria, Lemoore" which might have been made by a member of any lake tribe, and a few tule baskets of miscellaneous provenience.

The following basket types were described by M.G. (see figs. 2, 3). An open conical basket (čoto´t), which might be large or small, was made of triangular tules (pumu´k). A seed

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[36] Vide Gayton, Yokuts and Western Mono Pottery-Making.

285 basket made of tules was called a'nas, while an openwork one for fish also was called čotot. A stiff willow basket for seed-beating was called čama'l. All these were twined. The informant J.A. said that both coiling and twining were done by Chunut, Telamni, and Wolasi, but the technique used depended largely on the materials available. Two typical Yokuts shapes, the shouldered or bottleneck basket and the large conical burden basket, were obtained mostly by trade. The shapes which she knew and named were as follows. The circular coiled winnowing tray (tsa'pɨt) and a larger, flatter tray for gambling (tai''iwan). Two small basket types have incurved tops, one (po'mɨk) has a simple curved side, the other (tsot pomɨk) a flared straight side which eventually curves inward at the neck. The bottleneck basket (o'sa) was known but seldom used. The large burden basket (anas) was bought from the foothill people. The seedbeater (ha'lai) was handled. The basket cap (pukiu'was) was known to have been used in the old days, but was not an addiction as it was with women of northern California.

[482] The tumpline (tsono'lhi) and carrying net (tsuno'lus) were known to J.A., but she did not know how to make them.

The Telamni informant, T.W., whose home had been among Telamni in contact with the Wukchumni and Gawia more than with the Chunut and Tachi, described Telamni baskets as follows. Coiled types were the coiled winnowing and gambling trays (kayo'to); a large, flat-bottomed, flaring-sided basket used for cooked mush and given as a gift basket (kotčao'); and the shouldered or bottleneck basket (osa). The twined baskets were the large conical burden basket (a'ñaš); the oval, handled seedbeater (ča''aiči); and the large, somewhat globular, cooking basket decorated with bands of red (po'dano).

The tumpline she called šu'ñlɨk, the soaproot brush ṭoho'ṭ.

Blanketmaking

286 The Tachi made blankets (woi'yon, the word used for mats) of strips of mudhen skins. Rabbits were scarce in the tular, consequently blankets of their skins were obtained only by trade. The chief source was the Wimilchi tribe living up Kings River out of the tular area.

Nevertheless, rabbitskin blankets were made by the Tachi, according to Jeff Mayfield. He describes the process as a kind of looping or netting, not weaving. Variations of the blanket were used as shawls, skirts, blankets, and baby covers.[47] [text continues on p. 214]

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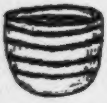
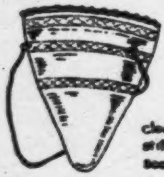
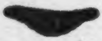
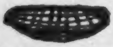
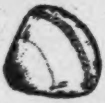
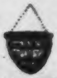
[47] Latta, Uncle Jeff's Story, 33. It is possible that the lake people with whom Mayfield spent his time were Wimilchi and Nutunutu at the lake sloughs rather than the Tachi proper.

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 NS29 Yokuts NS29

[P. 18] Western Mono NS25

Y
W
285

ANTHROPOLOGICAL RECORDS

	TWINED BASKET TYPES			YOKUTS			WESTERN MONO	
				CHUNUT	WUKCHUMNI	MICHAHAI	WOBONUCH	WAKSACHI
1	COOKING BASKET		close twine; always 4 red bands in plain or herringbone pattern	?	pota'na	po·no	poto·n	tapano'š
2	BURDEN BASKET		close twine; stiffened with soaproot juice	obtained from the foothill tribes a'nas	a'haš	a'naš	wo·no po·no	?
3	SEEDBEATER		medium open twine; handled	ha'lai	yamaki ta'myuk	ča' phai	patso·'	tanaho
4	SIEVE		fine open twine; no handle	?	ta'myuk	ča'phai	pu''an	?
5	FISH SCOOP AND CARRIER		coarse open twine, no handle	?	e'pai	ča'phai	pu''an	?
6	WINNOWER		close twine; stiffened with soaproot juice	unknown	obtained by trade ?	obtained by trade ?	ta'a'li^{u}a	?
7	HANGING BASKET OR CAGE		open twine; cage has lid	used by all tribes (native word not recorded)				

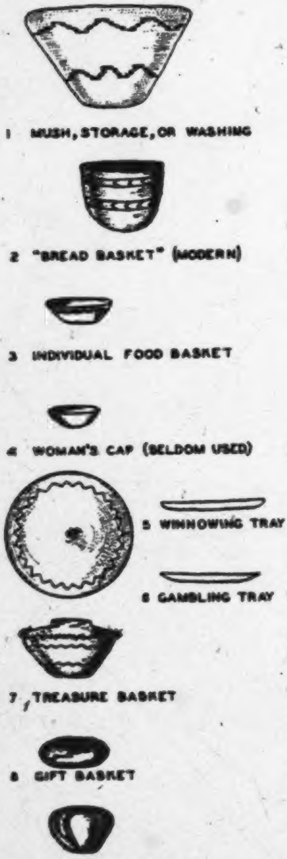
Y
[827]
[438]

Fig. 2. Yokuts and Western Mono twined basket types.

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 NS29 Yokuts NS29

[P. 19] Western Mono NS25

Y
W
285



COILED BASKET TYPES	YOKUTS CHUNUT	 WUKCHUMNI	 MICHAHAI	WESTERN MONO WOBONUCH	 WAKSACHI
1 MUSH, STORAGE, OR WASHING	?	?	o'oki	sai'op	?
2 "BREAD BASKET" (MODERN)	used exclusively for storing loaves of bread (native word not recorded)				
3 INDIVIDUAL FOOD BASKET	?	ka'čao	amat	?	o·po
4 WOMAN'S CAP (SELDOM USED)	pukiu'was	waki'nits	amat	?	pi·kwo'ĕ
5 WINNOWING TRAY	tsa'pit	koiyo'ṭo	kaiyo'ṭo	sai'ya	?
6 GAMBLING TRAY	tai'iwan	tai'wan	tai'wan	sai'ya	(Patwisha) bo'gtu
7 TREASURE BASKET	little used by Chunut o'sa	o'sa	o'sa	o'sa	?
8 GIFT BASKET	po'mik	(8 and 9 are shapes made by the Chunut and probably by other Lake tribes)			
9 TREASURE BASKET	tsatpo'mik				

Fig. 3. Yokuts and Western Mono coiled basket types.

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 NS29 Yokuts NS29

[P.20]

302

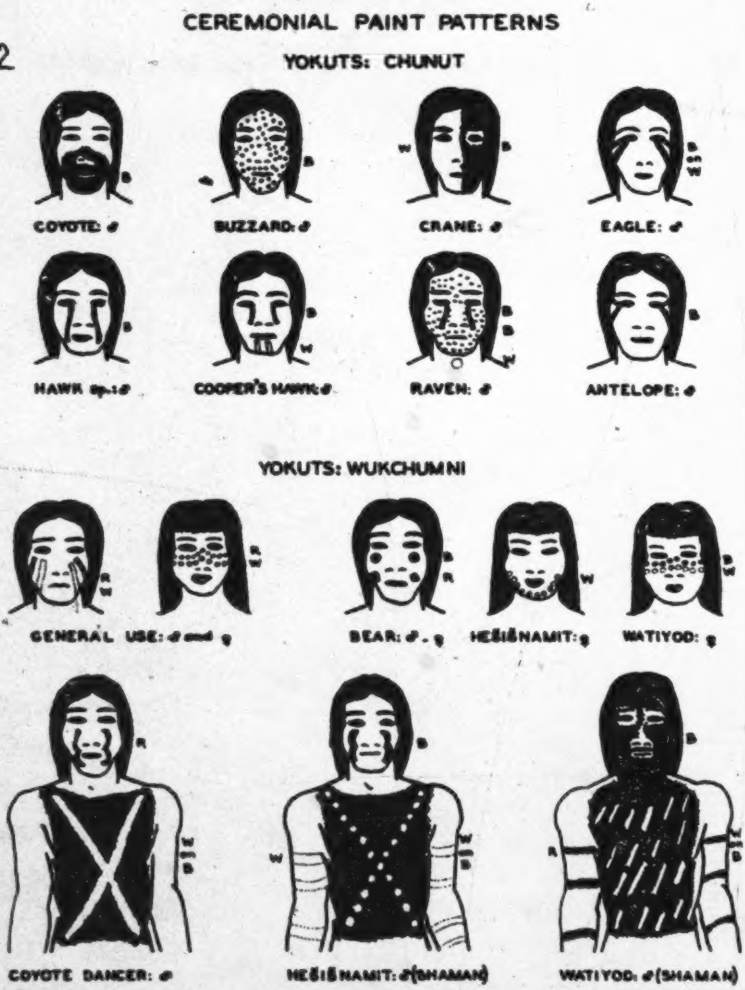

CEREMONIAL PAINT PATTERNS
YOKUTS: CHUNUT
COYOTE: ♂
BUZZARD: ♂
CRANE: ♂
EAGLE: ♂
HAWK sp.: ♂
COOPER'S HAWK: ♂
RAVEN: ♂
ANTELOPE: ♂
YOKUTS: WUKCHUMNI
GENERAL USE: ♂ and ♀
BEAR: ♂, ♀
HEŠIŠNAMIT: ♀
WATIYOD: ♀
COYOTE DANCER: ♂
HEŠIŠNAMIT: ♂ (SHAMAN)
WATIYOD: ♂ (SHAMAN)
B
W
R

Fig. 4. Yokuts ceremonial paint patterns: Chunut and Wukchumni.

[P. 21a]

Balsa Construction

50 The balsa, made of triangular tule, was called tule boat (pumuk o'wan). It was made in three sections, a long central bundle and two smaller, fatter, lateral ones which formed slightly raised sides. Tules cut for the purpose were laid out on the ground or on ramada tops to dry.

An average-sized balsa held comfortably six people and their traveling possessions. [516] Everyone sat cross-legged. When there was more than one passenger a man poled at each end, the two men poling on opposite sides. The pole, of willow, was called owo'wɛn ai'yai according to the Chunut, J.A., but sa'hat according to the Tachi, M.G. Paddles of wood were not used. Women never poled unless necessary. The making of balsas and poling were men's work, as was the gathering of tule roots: [524] The Tachi informant said children would have crude little balsas of their own or would sit astride a large bunch of bundles tules when playing in the water.

Painting

302 Painting was a favorite form of ceremonial ornamentation with people of the valley and lake region. The general word for paint was otsoi'amin. [386] The colors were black (ka'lyan) made from charcoal, red (hoi''iyu) obtained in trade from the mountains, and white (ho'sot) made from burned shell (but at another time said to be white clay). All these were pulverized in little mortars and mixed with grease for application. Several patterns were de- 302 veloped as symbolic of the wearer's totem animal (fig. 4). The pictures call for certain 825 comment. Coyote (kai'yu) had black about the mouth. Crow (ka'nkas) had black dots over the entire face. Sandhill Crane (u'lats) had white covering the entire right side of the face. Eagle (ṭo'hɛl) had two short black lines extending diagonally outward from the eyes and, about the lower neck and shoulder plane, a band of solid white which represented the bald eagle's white neck and at the same time was thought of as Eagle's sacred talismans of eagle-down rope. "Chicken Hawk" (su'hup) had long black lines representing tears from the inner corners of the eye to the sides of the mouth: "he cried all the time because he was lonesome." Cooper's Hawk (poi'yon) had similar black "tears" and two vertical white lines on the chin. Antelope (soi'yol) had two black lines radiating widely from the eyes. Prairie Falcon (li'mɛk) had three parallel oblique stripes on each cheek, white, black, white, and tied his hair up in a special kind of "screw" on the top of the head. J.A. knew of no Bear pattern.

302 White stripes and spots were made on the body just as one wished. J.A. said a person

[P. 21b] Tachi

302 could paint his face any way he liked if he did
not want to follow a totemic pattern. After
ceremonial washing a man's face was covered
with red paint; sometimes a little white paint
was put on a woman.

The following information is from Mr. E.W. Gifford, who kindly put his data on Tachi moieties at my disposal.

The Tachi employed moiety face paints. The
302 toxelyuwic painted a "pink" stripe of wild rose-
616 bush powder[48] from the edge of the hair on the
forehead down to the tip of the nose, and a
[824] horizontal stripe under each eye. A small
black spot was added under each horizontal
stripe of pink.

The nutuwuts moiety painted the right side of the face solid white, the left solid black. No spots were added.

It seems probable that the informant who
gave these data described patterns character-
istic of some animal (lineage totem) associated
with each moiety. There is no suggestion of
specific moiety patterns from any informants of
[613] moiety-divided tribes. The lineage is the
essential unit; but if forced to characterize
moieties, an informant will choose some im-
portant animal (lineage totem) of each, most
frequently Coyote and Eagle. Without further
detail being given, it would appear that all
persons of one moiety or the other had these
animals as totems. I believe it is thus with
the two paint patterns described to Gifford:
that the informant oversimplified.

Money Manufacture

The shells for money were obtained whole
436 from the Tokya (Chumash, Salinan, or other
321 coastal people to the west). By laying them on
a rock and giving them a sharp blow with a
[439] stone held in the hand, they were broken up
into several parts, which were again cracked
into smaller pieces by the same method. Each
piece was given a circular shape by rubbing
down its edge on a large, flat, hard rock. The
[412] discs were then drilled by means of a drill
(wa'lai) of bone which was imbedded in the end
of a button willow stick. The palm of the left
hand,[49] gummed with fish glue, rolled the drill
[237] on the left thigh while the right hand pressed
the disc against the rotating tip.

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[48] Concerning the possible derivation of this powder Professor N.L. Gardner, of the University of California, writes me [Gifford]: "There is a fungus growing on certain species of roses which causes distortions in the branches of the rose, such distortions being filled with masses of orange colored spores. It is barely possible that these might make a temporary pigment."

[49] Practices with the left and right hands are uncertain with this informant, who is herself left-handed.

[P. 22-a] Tachi

PLEASURES

Tobacco

276 Tobacco (so´go'on) grew on the west side of the lake, particularly at Udjiu west of [249] Huron. It was not cultivated or pruned. When full grown the leaves were gathered, dried, pounded, moistened, and made into cakes called po'on. It was smoked in cane pipes (hal'a, cane). (The cane grew only in the foothills; none grew near the lake.) Wood, stone, or clay pipes were not used.

The Chunut informant said that tobacco was mixed with baked, ground shells (ka´pap), moistened, and drunk only by people who sought supernatural power. It caused vomiting and induced spurious dreams "that were good for nothing." The drinking of tobacco was denied by the Tachi informant; this and J.A.'s evident disapproval of the practice suggest that the custom was not a general indulgence among the [757] lake people. J.A. said tobacco and lime mixture was most frequently used as a salve or poultice applied to a painful spot. Doctors used it to cure by chewing it up, spitting and blowing it onto a patient. If a patient were very ill, the doctor himself would smoke and eat tobacco to induce a narcosis in which he saw the cause of the illness.

Ordinary persons smoked tobacco whenever [757] they felt so inclined. If frightened, they would chew a little tobacco.

Games

524 The Tachi informant, M.G., briefly described several familiar games.

616 The hand game (wehala´nw·ca) was played by both sexes, but at night only. There were three or four on a side, opposed by moieties. One pair of sticks was used; they were hidden under a blanket. Guessing and hiding were accompanied by singing. Twelve counters were used, and playing continued until one side had acquired them all.

The walnut dice game (huču´·š) was played by both sexes, but in the daytime only. Moieties were opposed. Eight dice were thrown, counting thus: two or three up, 1; all up, 3; all down, 4.

526 616 Shinny (ko´nw·č) was played only after a mourning ceremony, according to M.G. (This may be a misunderstanding derived from two interpreters.) Both sexes played, opposed by moiety. The field for play had the starting point in the center and a goal post at each end. The Tokelyuwich moiety played toward the western post, the Nutuwich toward the east. Each side had its own ball. The object was to be the first to hit the goal post. There was no return play to the starting point.

[P.22-b]

526 616 The pole and stick game (aiki´wɨč) was for men only, moieties were opposed, and it was played at any season of the year. Although M.G. says her husband, Tsai´wal, was a good player, she does not know the count.

[184] The pole and tossed hoop game (hole´wɨč) was not played by the Tachi or, M.G. thinks, by the Wechihit. Once a Telamni man came over to Tɨlweyɨt and showed them how to play, but it was not carried on.

[765] Matching lines was a game played by two men of opposite moieties on the last [celebration] day of a mourning ceremony. It was done in the daytime; no songs accompanied it. Each man had a gambling tray under which, on the ground, he made a long and a short mark. The man who was matching his opponent won if his long line were on the same side, i.e., opposite his opponent's.

J.A. described a favorite Chunut and Telamni game which figures in a Chunut myth.[50] This she called k'a´nal (she gave aiki´wɨč as a general word for games); it was played only by men. A pole of button willow (kai´'iwan) or another straight willow (sala´'am) about 8 to 10 feet long was set up in the ground. Fastened to it at the top was a ring (sota´'al), about twelve inches in diameter, of pliable willow wrapped with tule string. A ball (ai´yak') made of tules wrapped into a spherical shape[51] was tossed through the ring. The player stood about fifteen feet away for tossing, farther away if he were shooting arrows through the ring, a favorite alternative. A successful throw counted one, but if done twice in succession the player "won everything."

String Figures

524 The cat's cradle was called by the same word as the carrying net (tsuno´lus). J.A. knew only two types. One was the "sweathouse" of other regions, inappropriately called "tule house" by J.A., and when doubled, that is, one on each hand, "two tule houses." The second type is the European "cutting trick," which J.A. did not name but which she demonstrated as cutting finger, wrist, and neck.

Flower Festival

301 221 The magnificent sea of wild-flower blooms which covers the San Joaquin plains from March to May was greeted with rejoicing by the people dwelling there. During this season young people went out to pick the flowers and to construct crowns of flowers for themselves. There

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[50] Gayton and Newman, 17.

[51] Informant was uncertain of ball's construction.

[P. 23a]

301 were many songs connected with this practice,
but J.A. could not recall them: one song ran,
221 "Now I am making a crown (se´ma) of flowers."
And there was an expression, "to go flowering."[52]
Old men who could not wander out in the fields
would ask children to make crowns for them too.
There was no ceremonial significance to this
activity, which was probably more widespread
than one might expect, as there are hints of it
[171] from other recorders. The Miwok wore flowers,
"particularly as wreaths," and the Maidu on the
American River had a dance in which girls wore
flower fillets and pelted spectators with
flowers.[53]

KNOWLEDGE

Birds, Insects, Reptiles, etc.

136 The following birds were identified by
J.A.; most of them were seen about her house
825 and yard, others, like the crane, were seen
during our trips into the fields within a two-
mile radius of her home.

The western robin (wipe´lɨts, "singer")
"says 'Walk, walk, walk!' when it sings. People
in the foothills say that there are going to be
lots of blackberries when robins are plentiful."
Goldfinches (ṭowi´nɨts; from ṭowo´'ə, yellow
tule pollen) are named for tule pollen because
"they go in among the tules and get yellow dust
[262] all over themselves." They were eaten by some
people, but J.A. has not eaten them. The common
blackbird (Brewer) is called "eyes"(tsa´tsa).
Those with white eyes are said to be the
females: they are called kuta´nan tsatsa from
ku'uts, small round clamshell beads. Western
bluebirds (tsoitsoi´'ina) "come from the
mountains in winter. They say 'tsu´its,
tsu´its, tsu´its' which doesn't mean anything;
it is just his word." The mourning dove
(upla´li) "sings when she is going to lay an
egg." The meadow lark (ula´ti) "says when he
sings, 'Where you going? What you saying?'"
[237] (hu´yu tuk ma, ha´wa yuk ma). Whippoorwill
844 (wai´wai) feathers were burned, put in water,
and drunk by a woman in labor. The whippoorwill's
cry was thought to "sound like a baby."
American magpie (o´tsots) was pine´ti, advice-giver
to the birds in mythical times, "just
like a lawyer." Killdeer (ka´tsa) frightened
people as they crossed the bridge to the land

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[353] [52] J.A. said, "to go flowering, just like we are doing now." Today, during the wildflower season, every Yokuts home has a bouquet of blossoms thrust in a tin can or jelly glass even though the flowers are profuse outdoors and other domestic furnishings are of the crudest sort.

[53] Barrett and Gifford, Miwok Material Culture, 222-223; Powers, 325.

136 of the dead. The following birds were named
without comment: belted kingfisher (tsutatu´-
825 klas); Steller's jay (tikai´ya [*sic*]); Cali-
fornia jay (tai´tai); hummingbird (general)
(hehe´tsui); Gairdner (?) woodpecker (ko'wo´-
k‹ts); California woodpecker (tiwe´sa); Cali-
fornia [Valley] quail (saka´la) were scarce in
old days but common now; red-shafted woodpecker
[Flicker] (pala´tat); great blue heron (wa´hat);
northern shrike (pe´lpil); western mockingbird
(tikai´ya [*sic*]); yellow-headed blackbird
(tolo´heno); pelican (ha´hal); Cooper's hawk
(po´hiyɔn); kingfisher, variant (saka´ka);
crow (ka´nkas); raven (ho´toi); sandhill crane
(u´lats); prairie falcon (li´m‹k); chicken hawk
(sp. ?) (su´hup); eagle (sp. ?) (to´h‹l).

The following were not identified but were
described with considerable accuracy by J.A.;
dubious descriptions are given with the in-
formant's own words. Flies in general (mo´nai),
housefly (pisa´tna), blowfly (ka´msal). Hornet
[184 (?) (mi´nel); the Chunut and Tachi did not eat
the nests with larvae but know Choinimni, Wuk-
262] chumni, and other foothill people did. The
ground wasp (po'ao´nai) "is mean, lives in the
ground, makes no honey and just raises young
ones." The Telamni ate the young roasted on
[262] coals, a dish called tap‹´si, which was eaten
with acorn mush. The furry bumblebee (lo´k'o)
was known and "a bee with a hard back" (was'
ha´lu). Small moths (a´nt'sa) and a "night"
moth (toino´'‹n ant'sa) were distinguished,
while a very large spotted moth was called
"eats dead people" (taṭahe ta´'ats) and liter-
ally was believed to do so. Butterflies in
general (woge´ki); the Monarch butterfly was
called metaphorically "big bee" (mat‹k lo´k'o),
and the "cabbage" butterfly descriptively
"little white butterfly" (tso´lol witsa´ha
wogeki). Dragonflies (islo´li), mosquitoes
(kas'ho´p), a black beetle (te´t‹l), and the
water weaver (soi´yol?) were mentioned by J.A.
Small ants, either red or black, were called
by the same name (ke´n‹ts); tree ants (ha´sa')
"smelled bad when killed"; the big ants which
made hills were called "crazy ants" (lok'e´'‹ts
ken‹ts).[illegible]

The tarantula (ṭu´muñ) was "a widow a long
time ago"; less commonly the tarantula was
called "bear" (noho´'o). J.A. does not think
they were poisonous, "just mean, Mexicans
sometimes make them fight." A large white
spider (ko´lol k‹´lwai) makes a web (otsṭi´ho)
"just like crochet. We say about Spider, 'He

[192 [illegible] J.A. says this is derived from the Spanish loco, that
there was no concept or word "crazy" in the old times.
828] Three young girls who ran around with Mexicans, got drunk,
etc., were called both loco and aleṭe´'‹ts by the other
Indians. The latter word means foolish or irresponsible,
"crazy" in the American slang sense, not demented. J.A.
insisted that alete´'‹ts is not a native word, but I can
find no Spanish source for it.

136 carries string' (to´ntom si´lwa)." The black
spider with red spot on belly (Black Widow?) is
825 called me´tsa, a term applied to powerful
shamans, which means "true, real, big, powerful."
Another spider with black, red, and
yellow markings is called "coyote" (cai´'yu)
"because every time it is thrown away it comes
back. These are all mean and bite. The Wowol
call to be bitten by one 'to be broken'
(ṭa´ṭaiṭa´ṭai)." This is because a paralysis
results so the limb is immovable "like broken
[752] to pieces." There was no attempt at medicinal
cure; no swelling resulted and mobility eventually
returned.

The centipede (ta·ka´l ta·ka´l) was feared because "it stung with its feet and there was no cure, you just died." The scorpion (pite´tˑts) was "partner to that other one [centipede], he lives in the ground, has six legs, a round body and a little tail that sticks up and stings you. It hurts awful but you don't die."

Lizards in general were called ko´ntedi.
136 "Kontedi was Coyote's son." A big blue lizard
825 was solo´toi'i. A small lizard (wile´li) and
773 another one "with colors on it" were known in
the foothills and called by the same name.
"This one sang when he went to dance: 'You are
not supernatural; Lizard is supernatural' (o´ho
ma ṭˑ´pni; wile´li tˑ´pni)." Lizard was sometimes
euphemistically referred to as "my ten
fingers" (ṭi´yˑ nan pu´ntuk), referring to his
hands which served as the pattern for human
hands.[35]

Pollywog (se·yao´siyao'i) "had some kind of song in old times; another one (po´'olˑlwai) was like a pollywog but bigger." Waterdog (we´tpot) "looked just like a baby." Another creature which might be a skink, as he was "something like a waterdog but more like a lizard," was called alaṭa´na.

> 136 Once I [J.A.] was out picking wild onions;
> I was kneeling on the ground when I heard some-
> 825 thing say "tststs" near by. "What's that?" I
> said. My nephew showed me an alaṭana right under my knees. He said, "That's alaṭana. Isn't he pretty?" Then he told me that you must always say how pretty he was or he would make you sick. So I just kept on picking onions and said, "My, isn't he pretty," although I didn't know whether it was a boy or a girl. He has little eyes, nose, mouth, and ears just like a person.

Frogs in general were called koi´'ˑtswat.
The bullfrog was called e'oi´ˑts by the Tachi,
but wipelˑts (singer) by the Wowol and Chunut
"because he sang all night." Children liked to
[262] pull them out of ponds but were always told to
put them back. They were never eaten.

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[35] Gayton and Newman, 56, abstract 9, note 4.

136 Two unrecognizable creatures were described by J.A. One was called "acorn"
825 (e´s·n) "because it is red like an acorn. It comes out of the ground just after sunrise and flies off." The other (čitbɔ´bi) might possibly be horned toad; it lives in the ground, has horns, a tail, is flat, is gray with black spots, it has four legs but walks rather than hops.

Nature

821 Thunder (kunumu´mwiya) is personified in charmstones called u´nok (see Rain-Making, p. 37)

Unok can be dreamed; when it likes you, you can find pretty ones. Unok is thunder: there are four brothers, two are triangular tule (pu´muk) and two round tule (po´ton). Poton is soft, rolling thunder and Pumuk is loud and explosive.

Once after sundown on the day of a big storm Teresa saw a man on the horizon, he was wearing ceremonial feather garments and was dancing the kam [the ordinary doctor's dancing step].

J.A. amplified her statement later (1929). She said thunder is made by two brothers who shake tules. Pumuk, the triangular tule, is the worst, he is mean and smashes things. The little flat tule, Poton, is the little thunder which says, "ta,ta,ta,ta, boom." Lightning is thought to be part of thunder, is called ka´l·l; a mild thunder [lightning?] is called kal·la´mi.

[755 If a person were feverish, a layman with supernatural power might rub him all over with
823] a charmstone (unok). These charmstones are "part of the world, they came that way, they were not made by anyone." Doctors did not use them.

821 The rainbow (sai´yap, Chunut; yo´nina, Wukchumni [J.A.]) is made of flowers. It has
262 four stripes: the purple-red stripe is of ka´sy·n flowers whose seeds are greatly prized; blue is of tsa´lu, grass nuts; the yellow is oto´hon, a yellow prairie flower; and the orange of waṭa´gu, a wild flower "that looks something like a marigold." These flowers or their seeds are all edible except watagu. A rainbow forecast a plentiful food supply, "it will bring a good world [year] and plenty to eat"; but it had no supernatural significance.[35]

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[35] A Palligawonap whom Powers interviewed at the Tule River Reservation stated that "the rainbow is the sister of Pokoh [the creator] and her breast is covered with flowers," but he also said that some thought a rainbow marked the first menses of some maiden (p. 395).

821 Earthquakes (ye´lya) were infrequent, and not attributed to any special cause by J.A. When she was a little girl, she and her little sister were sitting on the ground together when a very heavy earthquake came (1872 ?). She said it caused a tree to fall over.

823 A flood (hu'u´lu'un) of unusual proportions forced all J.A.'s people to seek refuge on a hilltop when she was little more than an infant; she remembers no other. Floods have become infrequent owing to intensive irrigation in the San Joaquin Valley.

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

Officials

622 Chunut chiefs functioned much as those of the foothills, according to J.A: they set the time for mourning and other celebrations, discouraged quarrels, assisted poor people, and played host to visitors. The position was inherited in the paternal line. The chief's wife and children were also called by the chiefly title, ti´ya, but while a brother was called tiya, his children were not unless he succeeded to the position.

622 554 J.A. stressed the chief's wealth, but could not specify exact methods of acquiring it. She implied that the chief made a slight profit on all money exchanges which he handled. Moreover, any traveler coming with something to sell first went to the chief's house, as any visitor would, where the chief had the first opportunity to buy and, as a result, could resell at a higher price. J.A. said, "Anyone down here who saved money could get to be tiya," but one had to dream [of Eagle], and "anyone who helped poor people was called tiya." But such a man was not confused with the chief of a chiefly lineage, and he could not acquire an Eagle lineage totem by this means. His prestige was due to his success, and his influence lay in his personality.

622 Every village had a chief. If groups of people happened to camp together there might be as many as three chiefs, any one of whom officiated over all the people regardless of their moiety affiliations.

While J.A. stated that women became influential as chiefs in their own right, she could not name any, "this was just what she had heard about the old times."

Regarding Motsi, J.A. said that she was not a chief herself; she was the mother of Mu'ustu, the wife of J.A.'s paternal uncle, Pohasa, who was a chief. "Motsi wanted to be called tiya because she had lived with Bob 'Tista," a doctor of chiefly lineage who had much personal influence among the Indians of the plains.

About 1875-1880, at Pisras, there were three captains, Pohasa, Tokelyuwich moiety, 622 Chunut; Tipwatswat, Tokelyuwich, Wowol; Halha´lis (Joe Thomas; José) Nutuwich moiety, Tachi. Pohasa's son died before he was old enough to officiate as a chief, and Tipwatswat (Charlie Thomas)[57] succeeded Pohasa in importance. Some years later Tipwatswat wanted J.A. to be a tiya because she was a paternal niece of Pohasa. This suggestion she rejected "because she would have to entertain visitors and strangers and she had no man to protect her from doctors." Wep·s, J.A.'s brother, acted as a tiya on ceremonial occasions.

The last Tachi chief of importance, Kanti, had no children, brothers, or sisters that J.A. can recall. When he was very old he gave a feast at which he selected three men and two women, all of chiefly lineage, to continue the duties which yet remained to them in their disintegrated culture. Motsa, whose father had been a Tachi chief and who was himself already known as a chief of dubious personal repute, was maternal "nephew" (mother's cousin's son) to Kanti. He was said to be about Kanti's own age; Kanti selected him as a successor. The other four were Sokai (Joaquín), a Tachi; Gomep·s (George García), a Wolasi, and his sister, Watsmat; and Yaowatat (Tachi) a daughter of the Tachi chief, Joe Thomas.

Estudillo mentions four Tachi chiefs, Mariano Tiesar, Goolill, Cullas, and Chilaxas, and two Nutunutu chiefs, Taija (perhaps a corruption of tiya) and Chata, his nephew, and a chief of the Wimilchi, Coytisa. Three chiefs from the same region he assigns to two unidentifiable villages or tribes, Guchita (or Guchaita) and Hocha of Guchetema, and Guchalne of Tatagui.[58] This was in 1819.

J.A. did not know of Lučuši, the chief at Təlwey·t.

The official messenger (wina´tem) had
624 much the same duties as in the foothills. Both
202 chiefs and shamans had these assistants, being called respectively, ti´yan winatem and a´ñutun winatem. While J.A. says that Dove was the totem for either class of messenger, she has at other times stated that Roadrunner (o´ioi) might also be a messenger's totem.
[616] Moiety distinctions did not hold for chief's messengers, who served a chief irrespective of his moiety. J.A.'s husband, Tsupa, a Tokelyuwich Tachi [Hutsammi], said he "sometimes didn't know which side he belonged on because he was a tiya's winatum."

A chief's messenger, when going on an
[293] official visit, carried a long cane called site´lami, to the top of which was attached a strand of beads. (J.A. could not say what became of this strand but implied that it was left somewhere.) On entering a village he went directly to the chief's house where he was

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[57] Joe Thomas and Charlie Thomas are not related.

[58] Gayton, Estudillo, 78,80.

[P. 26 a]

624 served food. The first bit that he put in his mouth he spat out "just like Dove."[59]

[202] The Chunut had an official not found in the foothills. This was the pine´ti or lane´ʼi, official adviser. J.A. had difficulty defining his functions. Magpie (o´čoč) was his totem, but his duties were not associated with either moiety. Seemingly he acted as a go-between for ordinary persons and a chief. "If a man wanted to kill a doctor, he would go to pineti to make the request. He'd be told to wait until pineti had consulted the captain." However, he did not speak at ceremonies for chiefs, who often talked directly to the people. Another official made proclamations for the chief.

The official proclaimer was hile´t·ts, a 624 term often applied to crow (kankas), his totem, 786 just as Dove is often referred to as "winatum." The chief paid this man to make announcements for him. If at a mourning ceremony a chief was ready to collect money, he would call the announcer, give him "about ten cents," and tell him to go through the camp telling the people "to pay now."

Kroeber equates a Tachi official "hohotich" with the "hilet·ts" of Yauelmani and "hiauta" of Yaudanchi, classifying them all as clowns "whose business it was to mock sacred ceremonies, speak contradictorily, be indecent, and act nonsensically."[60] It would seem that hilet·s should not be in the clowning category.

Another man who was not a tribal official 624 but had a specific function was pine´w·ts (the hiau´ta of the foothills). This was a man of [787] great bravery who would kill doctors; such a man dreamed of Cooper's hawk. While his functions were the result of his private special powers, his services as a destroyer of malevolent shamans brought him public recognition.

622 On Tachi chieftaincy we have Gifford's information gathered in 1915, which agrees in large part with that given by the Chunut J.A. in 1928-1929. The José of Gifford's data is Joe Thomas, according to J.A.; her information regarding the woman Motsi corroborates Gifford's.

616 The Tachi possess moiety chiefs. The title of the chief is diya. A male chief is 622 described as noča diya, a female chief as mukela diya. In one recent case of succession the Tachi "elected" a cousin of the decedent to the position. Both were toxelyuwiš. The informants said that a close relative of a dead chief was "elected" anciently, always one of the same moiety, of course. However, a dying chief might name his successor, his son, for example.

There were always two chiefs in a settlement, one for each moiety. In 1915 Joaquín Robert was the nutuwuta chief in the rancheria

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[59] This evidently refers to some habit of the mourning dove.

[60] Handbook, 497.

[p. 26b]

616 south of Lemoore, and Brown Wilson, nineteen years of age, the toxelyuwiš chief. The latter 622 succeeded his father [Motsa]. In response to my question, it was stated that the toxelyuwiš chief was regarded as slightly superior to the nutuwuts chief. Anciently, in case of warfare the two chiefs acted in concert.

Although the Tachi roved within their habitat, the principal village (čeemit) of the Tachi was Walna, at the northwestern corner of Tulare Lake. There were dual chiefs there, one for each moiety. The earliest chief remembered by the informant was a toxelyuwiš chief named K'anti, whose totem was the eagle. When this chief died, he was succeeded by his son who bore also the name of K'anti.

The nutuwuts chief at Walna, contemporaneous with the younger K'anti, was José (baptismal name). The contemporaneous chiefs K'anti and José were friends (noičiw·s), but not relatives, so far as the informant knew. The two modern chiefs of the Tachi are distant relatives of K'anti and José.

José did not inherit his chieftainship from his father Čoiiwai, who was not a chief, but a shaman (anču); Čoiiwai was a nutuwuts man of the coyote totem. José was his son by one of his many wives. José was appointed chief by the nutuwuts people because the preceding chief died without male heirs and his daughters did not want the position.

José was married twice. From his first wife Meyula he separated. José's second wife, Motsi, was a female toxelyuwiš chief at the present village near Lemoore. She was nominated [554] for this position by her second husband, Bob Bautista, a nutuwuts man of influence in the community, being a rattle-shaker and singer (wipelit). Before becoming chieftainess Motsi had the crow for her totem, but following her elevation, the eagle. It was said that the toxelyuwiš chief always had the eagle for totem. This example seems to strengthen the case for an association in the Tachi mind between the chief of birds and the chief of men.

The chief's messenger is called winado and the message feather which he carries is called laasis. Over the shaft of the feather beads are slipped, one for each day referred to by the message, as, for example, when a group is invited to a ceremony at a fixed time.

622 Powers mentions a Tachi chief, one Santiago, who had two sons, Ka-teh (Kanti?) and Ku-to-mats, "of whom Kateh was the first-born, but he [Santiago] designated the other to succeed him, because, as Kateh ingeniously acknowledged, 'he was the smartest'."[61] This was [776] about 1871. J.A. states that "after Kanti died his spirit returned [went] to a place called Kantu over towards the northwest where there is a large church and many Mexicans living. Kanti's spirit is in that church."

Moieties

616 The Tachi, M.G., gave information on moiety manifestations and the classification of

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[61] Powers, 371.

616 totemic animals. The words tokɩlyuwɩč and nutuwɩč she aligned with west and east respectively, and the head of each as Crow and Coyote, respectively.

Further categorizing was as follows.

Tokelyuwich, west	
ka ʼnkas:	crow
ho ʼtoi:	raven
lɩ ʼmɩk:	falcon
upye ʼʼi:	mourning dove
hi ʼtyi:	raccoon
te ʼpɩk:	seal[62]
poho ʼʼot:	weasel
po ʼhiyɔn:	Coopèr's hawk
šo ʼʼšoʼ:	"chicken" hawk[63]
Nutuwich, east	
kai ʼyu:	coyote
ulo ʼʼi:	black bear
soi ʼyol:	antelope
ma ʼčwi:	elk

A member of one moiety "respected" all the totemic animals of his moiety, but had one animal as his lineage totem. Members of the same moiety should not marry. Persons with the same lineage totem could not marry, nor could cross or parallel cousins. Moiety members called each other merely "friend."[64]

In playing games and in mourning ceremonies, moiety members were reciprocally opposed. In the doctors' contest, which was a feature of the mourning ceremony, there was no moiety opposition, but there was tribal opposition. Sometimes there were doctors from different tribes on one side, but no men of the same tribe would be opposed. Doctors on the same side might be relatives or "just friends."

With respect to moiety manifestations in other tribes, M.G. had rather definite ideas. The Hoshima (northerners) called people of the same moiety cousin, i.e., literally sibling. The Choinuk and Chunut had the same divisions as the Tachi. The Wowol had, too, she believed, but it was not customary for a Tachi to ask a Wowol what his "pet" (totem) was. She was uncertain whether the Gawia and Yokod had moieties.

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[62] M.G. twice gave tepɩk as seal, her interpreter adding "just like you see in the circus." Kroeber gives töpük as beaver (The Yokuts Language, 242), as does Gifford (ndebig). J.A. agreed with M.G., also giving tepɩk as seal. I think we may be sure that the animal M.G. meant was seal, regardless of the correctness of the name she used. Pages states that "seals and otters occur as far as one hundred and fifty leagues upstream in the Rio de San Francisco" [San Joaquin River and its sloughs](Pages, A Historical, Political and Natural Description of California, 77).

[63] This is probably osprey, as given by Gifford. M.G. could only say of the bird that "he went up to a little pool in the mountains and got fish there."

[64] For the Tachi kinship system see Gifford, Californian Kinship Terminologies, 81-82.

[P. 27b]

616 A village was not necessarily ruled by two chiefs, one of each moiety. Some camps would 622 only have one chief, another large place, like Tɨlweyɨt, might have three. At Tɨlweyɨt there were Lučuši, and [name forgotten], Tokelyuwich, and Kanti, Nutuwich. She said Prairie Falcon was the totem of Lučuši, Prairie Falcon and Raven of Kanti, and did not recall the third.

616 Gifford's information on Tachi moieties, their functions, and totems follows.

The moieties are called by terms cognate with those of the Chukchansi and Gashowu moieties, viz., toxelyuwiš and nutuwuts. The former is rendered "west side," the latter "east side," and [these terms] were said by the informants to be derived from the stems toxi (west) or toxil (eagle) and notu (east). Elsewhere[65] the probability of these terms really referring to "downstream" and "upstream" has been discussed, although my Tachi informants gave hosim for "upstream" and homoti for "downstream."[66]

The aged informant Mary Fernando stated that her father was a neophyte at San Miguel Mission. He told her that the Salinan Indians of the vicinity had two "sides" (moieties) which corresponded to toxelyuwiš and nutuwuts.

With the Tachi, and at least the Nutunutu, moiety exogamy is said to have prevailed.

[776 Similarly, guardian spirits obtained in dreams were often mountain lions and bears rather than totemic animals. A man might be- 787] long by birth to a group having the coyote for totem, but get a bear for a guardian spirit. [See Gifford's report on Halhalis, p. 36.]

The Tachi informants described the totemic moiety situation by saying that anciently as well as now people had birds and mammals as "pets"...the term "pet" really is to be interpreted in the sense of totem. There would seem to have been less actual keeping of birds and mammals in captivity than among the Chukchansi, perhaps because of less fixity of habitation.

Associated with the toxelyuwiš moiety are the crow (kankus), the eagle (toxil), the roadrunner, the killdeer, the osprey (soksu), the raven (hotoii), the antelope (soyul), and the beaver (ndebig).

Associated with the nutuwuts moiety are the following creatures, if identification by native description is correct: coyote (katyu), the burrowing owl *Speotyto cunicularia* (wečiča), the screech owl *Otus asio* (tokleli), the great horned owl *Bubo virginianus* (hutulu), the short-eared owl *Asio flammeus* (sawiyu), an owl called solili (translated as "billy owl," which would

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[65] Kroeber, Handbook, 494.

[66] These terms which refer to north and south fit with the Tachi topography, where the flow of water between Buena Vista and Tulare lakes and the Sanjon de San José into the San Joaquin River is from south to north. (There must have been some misunderstanding between informant and recorder, however, for hosim [north] would be downstream and homoti [south] upstream.) In the eastern portion of the valley where the rivers flow west or northwest, the downstream-upstream analogy fits with the moiety names Tokelyuwich and Nutuwich (westward and eastward). A.H.G.

616 be Speotyto cunicularia), the male sparrow hawk Falco sparverius (tütic), the female sparrow hawk (liklikča), the marsh hawk Circus hudsonius (istis), the prairie falcon (limik), the Cooper's hawk Accipiter cooperi (pohiya'), the sharp-shinned hawk Accipiter velox (kohuiye), the skunk (čok), and the seal (nahaat). Perhaps of mythologic significance is the statement of one informant (Sam Thomas), that "we have forgotten our (limik's) language and speak wečiča's instead."

Eagle and coyote are respectively the heads of each moiety, or perhaps more correctly each group of moiety totems, though more often crow and coyote are used as eponyms for the two moieties. Apparently, the eagle is especially connected with the moiety chief, for in the case of the woman Motsi who became a chiefess, it was said that originally the crow was her "pet" as it was her father's, but when she was elevated to office the eagle became her "pet." Moreover, it was said that a toxelyuwiš chief always had the eagle for totem.

[576] Tachi meeting and not knowing one another's moiety, say: "Hatnuk kwun puus? What is your pet" (literally "dog")? A nutuwuts person replies: "Katyu. Coyote." A toxelyuwiš person replies: "Kankus. Crow." Sometimes a toxelyuwiš person names the killdeer instead of the crow.

The Chunut informant, J.A., aligned animals as moiety totems in the following way.

Tokelyuwich, west	
ka´nkas:	crow
su´hup:	hawk
l‘m‘k:	prairie falcon
o´čoč [sic]:	roadrunner
ulaṭi:[67]	meadow lark
ho´hwimus:	swan
tsu·toktə´klus:[68]	kingfisher
koiyot’wat:	frog (small)
o’o´y‘ts:	frog (large)
ma´čw‘s:	elk
y‘tsa´hats [sic]:	antelope
sopas, pumuk, tsos, etc.:	all seeds
Nutuwich, east	
cai´yu:	coyote
weṭi´ṭi:[69]	pygmy owl
hutu´lu:	"hoot" owl
təkla´li:	"screech" owl
poho´’ot [sic]:	weasel
poho´’ot:[70]	ground squirrel
tu´nul:	wildcat
a´dza:	fox

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[773] [67] Meadow lark was "mean" in the prehuman world; he was a cannibalistic gambler (see Gayton and Newman, 17).

[68] Kingfisher had supernatural power; he helped doctors.

[69] All owls were "doctors," and were Nutuwich. Pygmy owl was the first doctor, and he was "often on both sides [moieties]"; people quarreled about this "because he was a
[262] doctor's [dream] helper and could easily be on both sides."

[70] Ground squirrels were eaten by Tokelyuwich people.

[P. 28b]

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tepık:[71]	seal
naha ‘’at:	otter
kıyo ʾkıut:	badger
hoi:	deer
či ʾu:	cottontail rabbit
tsa ʾpal:	jack rabbit
mamıl:	blackberries

During a discussion which added nothing definitive on the classification of animals by moiety, J.A. added the following to her list of Nutuwich animals: Cooper's hawk (pohiyɔn)[72]; pelican (hahal); bat (tcımtcım)[73]; rattlesnake (ta´mhana); a bird "like kingfisher but bigger" (ṡakaka); Steller jay (ṭikaiya).

Of no moiety were ducks (wa´tswats, duck; u’lui´lum, drake); whippoorwill (waiwai); two unidentified birds, one "sang sometimes and used to be like people" [lived in prehuman era] (yıtswahats), and the other (la´ptana) "walked lame like a seal."

Eagle (tohıl) was "on both sides because both moieties had chiefs."

, The animals listed are not all lineage totems, and few are dream helpers. It appears that those creatures which are not lineage or dream totems, and do not serve as food, are arbitrarily forced into the moiety alignment. [182] The informant's uncertainty may in part be due to the disintegration of her culture and the disappearance of the wild life; it may also be an indication of an attempt to carry the classification beyond its normal limits.

Ordinarily a child followed the paternal moiety, but the rule was not rigid. In a large family a man might "give his wife" one or two of the children: they would assume the duties and tabus of the maternal moiety. Tribal affiliations, too, were normally patrilineal, but J.A.'s daughter, whose father was without moiety (i.e., a Hutsammi "southerner" from Tule River Reservation), "didn't feel like them and followed her mother's people."[74] Ordinarily, even after marriage, a woman continued to associate herself with her paternal moiety in any situation where moiety alignment was called for.

Moiety exogamy was usual but not obligatory, as the genealogies disclose. Since line- [613] age was the fundamental regulator of marriage (the consanguineal tabu group), no difficulties arose as the result of rearing a child in the maternal rather than paternal moiety. Members of the same moiety who knew themselves to be

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[71] These animals were caught in rivers and lake "west of Lemoore," and at Summit Lake little ones were caught in nets; the Tachi informant M.G. also insisted tep.k was seal "just like you see in the circus."

[72] He was "official shaman killer" ("daredevil") of all the birds.

[73] Bat was a dream helper.

[74] This was doubtless due, at least in part, to the fact that the girl's family lived among Chunut, Telamni, and Wowol in a rancheria where moiety functions prevailed.

616 distantly related called each other yoko´čnɨm (person my, or "my people"); other co-moiety members they merely called noči´nɨm (friend my). Members of the same lineage referred to themselves collectively as ta'a´tinɨm (relatives, or "my own folks",. It was permissible for co-parents-in-law (ma´kši) to marry, but this rarely happened. No cousin marriage, either cross or parallel, up to and usually including thirdcousinship, was permitted.

The ceremonial functions of the moieties are mentioned elsewhere. In brief, reciprocal opposition prevailed at first-fruit rites, at ceremonial washings, possibly at one purely social dance, during games played at mourning ceremonies, and during the hand game. It did not affect the Shamans' Contest, the Rattlesnake Ritual, nor did it in any way appear in the more personal aspects of shamans' activities such as curing or persecuting their fellow men.

616 796 Redemption of totem animal.-- The rite of making a payment for a totemic animal was called siwa´lunɨts, and was confined to Eagle and Coyote by the Chunut, according to J.A. Sometimes a man from the foothills would come to a plains chief with an eagle, which might be a live bird or dead. In either case the bird was put down on a mat with its wings outspread and, under supervision of the Tokelyuwich chiefs, persons of that moiety cast bead money over it. All the spectators, regardless of moiety, wept. The money (all or part?) was given to the visiting man by the Tokelyuwich chief, who kept the eagle. But members of the Nutuwich moiety were responsible for its final disposition. If the bird was dead, they took [231 184] it back to the foothills for burial; if alive, it was they who freed it. Eaglets were never kept and reared as in the foothills.

A dead coyote was "redeemed" in the same way by people of the Nutuwich moiety, but this was not, apparently, a public affair. Any Nutuwich person who wished to would pay for the [778] coyote, whose carcass would then be buried, its hide being kept as a talisman.

Bears were not redeemed.

[231] Occasionally people kept pets; a Tokelyuwich chief might keep a pair of crows. J.A.'s mother once had two baby skunks, which she kept and fed on a tray.

For the Tachi Gifford gives the following, which agrees well with the Chunut information save on the matter of coyote redemption.

> The people of one moiety might kill the "pets" [totemic animals] of the other moiety, but not of their own. This prohibition applied not only to a man's own pet, but to all of the totems of his moiety. Nor might a man have a person of the opposite moiety kill one of his moiety's pets. In fact when one was killed, it was the duty of the people of the moiety with which it was connected to redeem it and bury it properly.

616 796 Eagles belonged to the toxelyuwiš moiety chief. Dead eagles were danced over and carefully buried.[73] People not of the toxelyuwiš moiety who wished to obtain money would kill an eagle and take it to the people that owned it, the toxelyuwiš people. The eagle thus killed was a free wild bird, not a captive. When the toxelyuwiš people saw the eagle being brought, they would arrange blankets upon which to lay the body and then cry for the dead bird, scattering beads over it. Beads were also given to the man who brought the eagle. The nutuwuts people did not cry for the dead eagle.

For a slain coyote no ceremony was held; in fact, anciently people were afraid to kill coyotes. No animal of the nutuwuts moiety received such respect as the eagle of the toxelyuwiš moiety.

...Although some of the creatures [totemic animals] were occasionally kept captive ... there would seem to have been less actual keeping of birds and mammals in captivity than among the Chukchansi, perhaps because of less fixity of habitation.

LIFE CYCLE

Birth and Infancy

844 [756] If delivery was difficult, it was attributed to the evil force of some shaman. Ordinarily no man was present during a childbirth, but a shaman was called if necessary. He knelt before the squatting woman, held the top of her head, pressing his sacred talisman upon it, then similarly pressed her abdomen and sprayed a little water on it. Then the birth occurred; it was attributed to the power of his talismans. Sometimes women lay on a bed of hot ashes before the birth in order to hasten it. A decoction of burned whippoorwill feathers was thought helpful.

The cord was cut by an assisting female relative with a cane knife (ka·pi) which was used for no other purpose. The placenta and cord were put on the end of a buckeye stick and shoved down under the water in some secluded corner of a stream or pond; the stick pinned the objects to the mud at the bottom.

The navel stump (tutu´sami) was put in a little skin bag (nowadays beaded) and worn on a string about the neck. J.A. knew no purpose for this custom. The father of the infant ate no meat until the stump had come off.

846 The mother remained on a bed of hot stones and ashes for about two weeks. When she got up she was washed by her husband's mother and presented with some new clothing. This little ceremony was called hiam e´p'ɛn (ep, to wash with water, to swim). The eating of meat was

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[73] The eagle buried with abalone ornaments over its orbits may be an example of this practice from the more southerly Yokuts near Buena Vista Lake (Gifford and Schenck, The Archaeology of the Southern San Joaquin Valley, pl. 13).

846 not resumed until after the first menstrual period following on the birth; the diet was exclusively warm cereal food such as acorn mush, sopas seeds, etc. J.A. said a Choinimni girl, a daughter of Sumtiw·s "nearly died" because she ate gooseberries, raw and cold, after having a baby..."she should have waited longer."

The baby was named about three or four 852 weeks after birth. The parents gave a "little 553 party" (wiči lonu´'iw·s) at which food was served to guests who came with gifts. There was no singing or dancing. J.A. does not know who selected the child's name, but believes that names could be chosen among those from either parent's lineage; her daughter Yuki'at is named for her paternal aunt.

854 The infant's first cradle was the soft tule mat (wa´tsas hu´toñ). The second cradle (watsas) was the type with forked-stick frame, upon which the child remained until it was able to walk and then sleep on the ground as adults did.

844 A prospective Tachi mother ate no meat, only roasted roots of the flat tule. Delivery took place in the home; afterward the woman lay face downward on a bed of hot ashes. The placenta and cord were put in water. The navel stump was worn on a neck string by the child until it reached puberty. Kroeber states that the Tachi preserve the cord by having the child wear it over its abdomen. Surely the navel stump was meant.

551 The Tachi had different names for men and women, but M.G. could give no rule by which they were distinguished, "You just knew." She said that a girl might be named for her maternal aunt, and a boy for his maternal grandfather. This stressing of the maternal side may be accidental, nevertheless Gifford mentions the bestowal of names by maternal as well as paternal relatives, as follows.

[553] Children were named by old relatives for dead relatives, sometimes for living relatives also. Nicknames were also bestowed and in the course of one's life he might be labeled with five or six appellations. Informants professed to know the meaning of none. If a person's namesake dies, the person goes by one of his other names or else he is renamed. In the case of the young chief Kanti, however, such was not the case. He continued to be known by this name after his namesake (his father) died.

The younger chief Kanti is a good example of a person with a plurality of names. He had two other names applied to him, also in infancy. They were Ha'čau and Wallo'. For none of these names could the informant give meanings. The chief José also had two additional names: Siwulik, bestowed by his father, and Osowoii, bestowed by his father's father.

The woman Yawata was named by her mother's mother in infancy. Motsi was named by her mother.

Puberty

[841] 881 Menstruation was called paiya´hɨn (pai´ya, blood; lit., "to be blooding"). A little ceremony was made for a girl at the termination of her first menses. J.A. recognized her own puberty as neglected due to disrupted native life; however, her mother made "a little party" for her after her first menstrual period. She was washed, and dressed with beads and earrings for the first time. She abstained from meat throughout the ensuing month and for six days of her next period. Then she was washed with a decoction of "some kind of weeds" and was permitted to eat meat. She was informed that to eat meat at this time would cause a hard ball to grow in her abdomen and that, if she attempted to steal meat to eat in secret, she would die. J.A. regretted that she had not been sent out to swim at night as part of her puberty training or taught "to mind her dreams" as she should have been.

Marriage

584 591 A young man went to a girl's house and remained there if she accepted him. For about a year he hunted and helped his father-in-law. Then the couple removed to his parents' home where, if there was room, they remained permanently. The function of the moiety in marriage is discussed under "Social Organization."

582 613 The lineage was primarily a nuclear exogamous group and secondarily, the moiety. Though it was usual to marry without one's moiety it was not compulsory, as is evidenced by the genealogies. No cousin marriage was permitted, and a couple known to be remotely related could not marry without unfavorable comment.

On Tachi marriages and affinal usages Gifford has some remarks.

[606] The term nukatmin means "my relation." Mother-in-law and father-in-law tabus were in force. There was also a partial tabu against a man talking to the wife of any man he called agas (mother's brother, mother's brother's son, etc.). Cross cousin marriage was not practiced, though it was said that anciently it was and that a man might marry either his mother's brother's daughter or his father's sister's daughter. I have no genealogical evidence to support this statement.

Death

764 [152] The Tachi informant had lost a grandson about a year before my visit and wept when mourning ceremonies were discussed, although the child's mother, one of the interpreters, showed no outward distress. Consequently no information on death or burial was obtained from the Tachi or Chunut informants, beyond the

764 fact that cremation was once practised, the remaining bones and ashes being buried. Relatives moved to a different locality to ease their grief; "they would get sick if they cried all the time." J.A. said the Chunut burned the house of a deceased person, whereas the Tachi merely moved away. M.G. denied any notions of life in the afterworld.

The following is from E.W. Gifford's notes on Tachi moieties.

> At a funeral three women from each moiety, six in all, attended to making the funeral pyre, or nowadays to digging the grave. They were appointed by the respective moiety chiefs. These women were called onotim. According to [838] my informants, berdaches (lokowitnono) had no established functions at funerals. Kroeber states the contrary for Yokuts in general.[76] His information being the older and positive is probably more reliable. Moreover, with a scarcity of berdaches women would no doubt function as substitutes.

The ceremonial functions of the toño´čɨm (corpse-handler) at the time of a Tachi's death are given in some detail by Kroeber.[77]

> 765 764 The Tachi had a more elaborate ceremony, known as tonochim hatim, "Tonochim's dance," on the occasion of the first gathering after a death. In this the performers wear long false hair, made to project over the forehead like a beak. They represent long-billed birds called yakeyakman, perhaps loons. They have the privilege of taking for themselves any property, which must be redeemed by the owners after the dance. They draw a mark on the ground; whoever crosses this is captured by them and thought to be unable to leave his imaginary inclosure. Even should he escape his watchers, it is believed some mysterious force would compel him to return against his will. Such a person must have his liberty redeemed by payment, else he is kept in confinement until the conclusion of the ceremony. This ritual would appear to have been a local custom.
>
> At burial, the dead person was admonished not to return.
>
> You go to another land
> You like that land
> You do not live here.[78]

Kroeber also states:

> 764 The Tachi, like some Costanoan groups, burned everyone of any account, believing that burial gave wizards an opportunity to steal the hair of the deceased and thus evoke their ghosts; but they did not bury the ashes. A group of ancient bodies discovered in the Buena

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[76] Handbook, 497.

[77] Ibid., 500.

[78] Kroeber, The Yokuts Language, 375, and Handbook, 509.

[P. 31b]

764 Vista hills, in Tulamni territory, included some skeletons painstakingly wrapped in strings or tules and others incompletely cremated before burial.[79]

775 The ghosts of the dead were believed to rise in two days and travel westward to the afterworld which was ruled over by a chief, Tip·ˈkn·ts (supernatural power one). There life was reversed; the dead slept by day, danced and enjoyed life at night; food was abundant and inexhaustible; a living person smelled foul to the dead. Ghostly relatives lived in the same domestic groupings as in life. These beliefs, practically uniform for all Yokuts people, were embodied in a myth about a man who followed his dead wife to the afterworld and who thus brought knowledge of it back to the living.[80]

SUPERNATURAL POWER AND SHAMANISM

Acquisition of Power

787 M.G. offered the following information on Tachi beliefs regarding supernatural power.

756 Not all people dreamed to get power nor, if one did, need he become a shaman. Many men and old women got "unprofessional" power. Women were never shamans.

If a significant dream came to a person he went out and "talked to it." He went some distance from his house, smoked a little tobacco, and scattered on the ground crane (ko´lṭat) down (eagle down was too dangerous). This was done whether the help was accepted or rejected; to ignore a dream helper's offer of power would make one ill. If the helper was accepted, a fast was maintained throughout the following day. The helper was called an·´čwal. Cooper's hawk (pohiyon) was a "strong" dream, i.e., this bird was the bestower of strong power.

756 Kroeber gives us the genesis of a Tachi shaman.

> The prospective Tachi doctor bathes nightly for a winter in pools, springs, or water holes, until the inhabiting being meets and instructs him, or comes to him in his sleep. In one such hole lives a six-mouthed rattlesnake; in another, a white water snake; in a third, a hawk which can occasionally be seen flying into or out of its home below the surface.

A Chunut man became a shaman by dreaming and fasting. If he wanted great power he would let a black spider (metsa)[81] bite his tongue;

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[79] Handbook, 499.

[80] Gayton and Newman, 17-19, abstracts 140, 141; Gayton, The Orpheus Myth, passim.

[81] Metsa means "true, authentic," in this case referring to black spider's great supernatural power.

756 then he would dream of the creature. When he arose he ate and drank nothing but tobacco. He absented himself from home, walking about during the daytime. If possible he went to a pond of water where some supernatural animals might come out and talk to him. He did not have to take jimsonweed.

Moiety affiliations do not limit the walaţ
616 talismans secured through dreams: thus Cooper's
hawk (pohiyɔn) can be dreamt of by anybody. So
756 could the ground owl (wetiţi), who was so commonly a shaman's helper "that people didn't know which side [moiety] he belonged on." Other owls were definitely Nutuwich, so that "if a Tokelyuwich person dreamt about owl, he'd think a Nutuwich doctor was talking about him." Such a dream visitor might even be recognized as a specific person's helper.

756 Those persons who did not want to possess ţ‧pni (supernatural power) even for private use had to be respectful to a supernatural visitation when it came onsought. J.A. declared herself such. When a young woman she ate tobacco but dreamed nothing in result. She was a little fearful of power and really did not want it.

756 One night a white spider (kolok‧´lwoi
metsa) bit her. She threw it away but it came
back to her. The spider said, "you are going
787 to dance in [at?] the fire." She replied, "No, I wouldn't do that. Om na ţ‧pni (I am not ţ‧pni). Don't bother me. I'm just a plain person."

Last year (1926) she dreamed an old man said to her, "I'd like you to be tiya." He offered her a big basket. J.A. did not want it, returned it to the old man. This man was remembering that her father's brother had been a chief. They argued for a bit, but J.A. maintained her negation. However, "she got sick later on because she didn't believe this," i.e., she made no prayerful or grateful response, had not thought of it as a supernatural dream.

A short time ago she dreamed that her present son-in-law [brother of her daughter's first husband] came and wanted to marry [?] Belle. He stood behind the door. Then he kicked J.A. over each eye. She woke up. She went to sleep again and dreamed that she was praying. Her daughter Belle stood there pointing to heaven "because some kind of devil was after her." When J.A. awoke in the morning she decided that this dream had no supernatural significance, that "there was nothing to it," that she and Belle were both good and did no one harm. She said to herself:

om na heuto´ho
not I prostitute, [to go around]

om na lowai´tna
not I male sexual partner

hina´ na na'as toţi
happy I, I not bad

om na‧as hebo´ma topo´lţi
not I to-get-rich genitals-by

756 Nevertheless, this was said in a prayerful
manner, as if to convince herself and any un-
787 known power behind the dream, that all was well.
[A neighbor of J.A.'s was said to be a prosti-
[548] tute. J.A. has tried to keep Belle out of
difficulties with men lest she "lose her grub
from the government."]

[555] In connection with dreams J.A. stated that a plain person (of no family prestige) "could dream and get to be something." A man could dream of Eagle, which would help him acquire wealth, and he would then be a chief (tiya).[82]

Dreams were regarded as actualities. If one dreamed that someone was gossiping about him, he would chide the person about his behavior at the first opportunity.[83]

The man who accepted dream help and wished
756 to become a professional shaman continued his
787 fasting, dreaming, and praying over a long
period of time. He secured walaṭ, the talis-
778 mans of his dream helper: these might be parts of animals or birds who were assisting him, or objects which they directed him to obtain. They might be a necklace of beads, or any object designated in a dream, such as a weasel skin, bird or animal heads, or a portion of the dream helper, its wing or tail feathers. The walaṭ always referred to the dream helper and was indicated by it. An exception to this is the eagle-down strings, which always were imbued with ṭɨpni and were the common "tool" for magic. J.A. said a raven's head was a "good" walaṭ, she had seen one which its owner kept wrapped in eagle down. Weasel skins were used in extracting "airshot."

A walat, once used, lost its usefulness. The owner took it out and hid it in some secluded spot, and if he wanted to live long, he would never take it out again. Owners of walaṭ kept them carefully in some private place as they were dangerous, "they got mean if they were lost or carelessly handled; they talked about you."

The walaṭ of the Chunut is identical with the ai´nɨtc of the Wukchumni. Both people used the word ana´ṭwal to indicate the dream itself, or verbally for the process of dreaming. It appears that the foothill people use the first part of the word to indicate the dream talisman (ainɨtc), the lake people the second part (walaṭ).

Sickness and Curing

755 In curing a patient a doctor took with him a flint knife for cutting, a bunch of hand

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[82] This seems somewhat contrary to the inheritable nature of the office but agrees with her statements concerning Chunut chieftaincy made at another time.

[83] J.A. complained that some neighboring Indians were "talking about" her while I was there, and I could never discover whether this was real or dreamed.

755 feathers (so´n·l or wača´m) to brush off the illness, and his talismans. Eagle-down strings were worn wrapped around the body. Special walaṭ, such as animal heads, were pressed against the patient's body and held up in different directions while the doctor prayed to the supernatural helper it represented. A powerful doctor was able to suck out sickness without making any incision.

When Poso'o was in the process of curing a person he never ate or drank, nor did he sleep. He would bathe, walk about in secluded places, and converse with his walaṭ or with some animal who would tell him what to do. A cure usually lasted two days: the first "call" was made in the evening, and was for the purpose of diagnosis. Then the shaman consulted his supernatural assistants, as above, and return to effect the cure at noon of the following day. It was then that he announced the cause of the sickness and fell to work with cutting, sucking, and brushing. If he were treating a wound which was dirty, he would blow on it, lick it thoroughly, and spit onto a tray (tsa´p·l) covered with sand. Sand, saliva, etc., were dumped on a fire.

A doctor of standing had an assistant (añuṭun winatum) who looked after his paraphernalia, prepared the medicines if any were to be administered, dressed the shaman in his ceremonial costume and painted his face, and removed the sickness, which was squeezed or spat onto a tray. The doctor's winatum, like the chief's, had Dove as his family totem.

A doctor's paraphernalia were burned on
756 his death; they were not inherited even though
[428] the man had a son who was a shaman. Neither
was there inheritance of his ritual methods. A
shaman would probably have one son who would be
a doctor: it was somewhat expected, but there
"was no rule about it" and it "all depended on
his dreams."

A family in need of a doctor would get together what they hoped would be a sufficient sum and send it to him with a request for his aid. The doctor did not have to accept; but if he wanted more money he would not demand it then but would wait until later on, when curing was under way. The mercenary attitude of shamans was emphasized as usual by J.A.

If a doctor did not want to cure a person until all his money was gone, he'd let him stay sick. If he didn't get enough money he'd let the patient die.

[754] A bad doctor might shoot a white feather into you; only he could remove it. An evil chief would pay a doctor to affect an enemy with sickness which he would not cure.[84] "When a tiya was jealous he had a doctor do his killing for him. Any doctor could work for any tiya."

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[84] See Gayton, Yokuts-Mono Chiefs and Shamans.

754 756 In such cases of deliberate harm, if a person sent for a doctor other than the one who had sent the sickness, the doctor who attempted the cure would be sickened by the evil shaman. Only a very "big" doctor could bring about a cure under such circumstances, and at great risk to himself: it was one man's power against another's.

754 825 Coyotes were thought to be "servants" of evil shamans and ṭɨpni people. If a doctor were going to injure a family or make a visit with harmful intentions, he would send a coyote ahead of him the preceding night. The coyote would go through the village barking and thrust his head in the door of the doomed house. When people heard a coyote doing this they would get up with their bows and arrows and try to shoot it. But they never succeeded, as such an animal was supernatural. When the coyote returned to his master, the shaman would dance and sing his songs. The next day the doctor would appear at the house The use of a coyote by a man who used his supernatural power to persecute others was related amongst other anecdotes of evil shamans by J.A.[85]

Shaman's Cache

756 556 778 As in the foothills, doctors were believed to have private caches where the wealth they accumulated was hidden: such a cache is called tai´wan (a big burden or storage basket). One of these is located in a little ridge about eight hundred yards north of the Lemoore Rancheria. As usual, a fabulous account was given by J.A of the beads, baskets, feathers, skins, etc., stored there. In this region these things had to be buried as nature did not offer the convenient rock shelters of the foothills. Should anyone start to dig in this hill, swarms of gnats, flies, and fleas would attack the intruder and kill him. Or if he succeeded in reaching and touching the objects, he would suffer terrific pains and sickness.

A taiwan is always guarded by some sort of creature. This one is inhabited by a personified fire: a bright light emanates from the ridge at times. It glides about and frightens people when they walk to town at night; it follows them. It is a kind of person without legs who just floats along; it is called he'u´te'ɨts ka´lɨl (walks light [or lightning]). This lightning sings:

hia´m (i) na ṭipi´newe oiyo´lomo·
now I ṭɨpni move

When the ground is plowed (by the white proprietor), the glowing light extends for about a quarter of a mile in all directions.

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[85] Ibid., 404.

756 556 778 This taiwan is an old one; nobody knows what doctor owned it. Poso'o told J.A. about it and warned her to keep away from it. He said a big sickness (tau´mui) like consumption or pneumonia would "come out" if any one attempted to disturb the place.

756 556 266 A doctor who has not practised long, yet shows inordinate signs of wealth, is suspected of being a grave-robber. Some doctors were not afraid of graves or of dead people. When they opened a grave they ate all the flesh of the corpse and left the bones scattered about.[86]

Once J.A., her daughter Belle, M.P. and her daughter Leah were out gathering wild onions on the Pohot ranch. They found a baby's skeleton: first they found a shoulder and a little hand, then a leg, and then a foot farther over toward the northwest. They were terrified and ran away at once. About a week later they heard that Halopča and his father, Etak, had dug up a little girl's grave; she was of a wealthy family and had lots of money buried with her. As these men lived up at Dunlap it was thought that they had come down via Eshom Valley to Lime Kiln Creek and thrown the remains on the Pohot's property to obviate suspicion.

683 754 Doctors who were believed to cause deaths were usually killed when someone had courage to do it. J.A. did not formulate the procedure, merely said that this was so, and that her own grandfather was killed by some Tachi because it was thought he "sent sickness."

Illnesses and Treatments:
The following were specified by J.A.

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757 Headache: de´ltal. This was cured by sucking blood (pai´yam·t) from the forehead just between the eyes.

[753] Nose bleed: ṭomo´luna. This was due to a long hair of a dead person which a ghost inserted in one's forehead. The hair lay, internally, down the length of the nose. A doctor cut and sucked the extreme tip of the nose, and exhibited the intrusive hair.

Pain: woto´kwi. Any pain was called by this term and an attempt would be made to cure it by cutting and sucking.

757 Cold: ho´sowona. This was usually not treated unless very severe. The roots of a hard-wood shrub (atsai´y·n ho´pal) were boiled and drunk for chills. To prevent cold in the chest a red clay was smeared liberally over the chest. For a bad cough, horehound was boiled and the liquid drunk. A cold which became [754] incurable (pneumonia or consumption) would be attributed to a malevolent shaman, and then a shaman would be called to attempt a cure by his methods.

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[86] Burials were shallow and not impervious to animals. However, the belief that doctors ate the flesh of dead people is mentioned from other tribes.

[P. 346]

757 Several anecdotes of individual sickness were related by J.A.

When X. was a little girl, she "had fits." A Choinimni doctor, No'hono, was paid $5.00 for cutting her at the forehead and the back of the neck, but no cure was affected. Another doctor, Kaosus, did the same thing; he extracted some intrusive hair from the back of the child's neck. She was cured.

[753] Another little girl "had fits" which were attributed to an evil man. This man, who had come to shear sheep, asked the child's father for $20.00, an amount the father did not have as he had just bought a horse. Soon after that the little girl "had a fit every time she saw that man" [a possible case of rape?]. Nohono, the Choinimni shaman, was called to cure this case also.

W.At.'s little girl "had fits" every night and morning. Her dead twin sister, Sikiyat, kept calling her. When Koyiyi had these spells she kept turning her head and looking back over her shoulder for her sister. They took her to another Choinimni doctor, Sumtiw·s (Bob of Bobtown) who gave the foregoing diagnosis; however, he said if "he got that spirit [the dead sister's] out of the child she would die." J.A. and others were skeptical of this excuse. J.A. told the girl's mother to make her smell romero (rosemary), which was "used by the padres and smells good," when she had these attacks. When Koyiyi "starts to die" lumps form between her eyebrows, but disappear when she "comes to life." Recently the child fell in a pond, but recovered herself. [Epilepsy?]

756 683 (J.A. knew of one woman doctor, Suko'ṭ·ts, who lived down at Tule River Reservation. She was not a berdache, for she had a son who, himself a doctor, was eventually killed for malpractice.[87] J.A. has seen her cure.

[754] 755 752 756 A black scorpion bit Tsomoi'yɔt (J.A.'s cousin) on her foot; it had been sent by a Wukchumni doctor. Sukot·ts was called. She sat down before the patient and talked to her dream helper who told her the cause of the trouble. (There was no dancing.) She sang a song:

tuna'ha la na we·ta'
pine tree on I wainus[88]

hiye'wuka na
where-I-am I

we·ta' puku'lu na
wainus wainus [Tachi form] I

At the end of the song she gestured up toward the pine ridges of the hills and then down to

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[87] This is the woman known as Poi''in or Bo''iyon to other informants.

[88] Wainus was a supernatural serpent (?) who lived underground; he was a powerful dream helper. See Rogers and Gayton, Twenty-seven Chukchansi Yokuts Myths.

755 the ground toward wainus. She cut and sucked
752 out the scorpion poison. "But she herself was
poisoned by it: she lived a little while after
756 making the cure, then "turned yellow all over
and died."

J.A. heard her sing the song many times;
usually it varied somewhat but its essence remained
756 the same. Her talismans of supernatural
power were an eagle's head, a weasel skin, the
heads of a baby coyote, a prairie falcon, and a
Cooper's [?] hawk. She wore many beads strung
on eagle-down cord (pisesan) about her neck and
wrists. The coyote's head hung on one of these.
It "caught the sickness" which then would be
squeezed off its nose onto a tray for exhibition.
When curing, she sat in front of her
patient and held onto his head, meanwhile calling
on her dream helpers. She "went around to
fast and dream just like a man."

755 Once J.A. was very sick with chills. Two beautiful girls with flowers in their hair came and stood at each side of her feet. They told her to ask God what she should do. Soon a little baby came and sat near her; it was sucking its fingers; she could hear it crawling about in the leaves. No one came to help her. Finally she made her way over to Poso'o's (Bob Bautista's) house. He cut her on the back of the neck and at each temple and sucked. She got better soon. A girl there cooked some atole [flour and water] for her which she ate.

When she was a young woman, J.A. had measles, "she nearly died." Her mother sent for Sapagai who came and brushed her off with his hand feathers. The sickness, which "looked like insects," he squeezed off the feathers. He cut and sucked at the top of the sternum. She recovered soon after.

756 Sumtiwɨs (Bob of Bobtown) and Tutya (Pony Dick Watun) are the only doctors left (1929). The former diagnoses by holding both wrists of the patient. About a year ago J.A. suffered from bad headaches; she went up to Sumtiwɨs. He cut over the inner extremity of each eyebrow and sucked out blood and a little white pointed object from each incision.

Poisoning

278 Another kind of injury caused by doctors
is that called poisoning, but neither it nor
753 the shamans using it are distinguished by any
special term. The poison itself is called añta´wa,
from the same word root as shaman (añtu).
Poisoning is thought to operate by means of
actual contact with poisonous substances which
may be put on any object which the victim is
likely to touch, or the poison may be administered
in food. Yet it is thought to be invisible.
Symptoms of poisoning are severe swelling
of parts (thought to have been touched by the
poison) and the vomiting of blood. J.A. gave

278 two "recipes" for poisons. (1) Jimsonweed and "some other plants" pounded up in a mortar; 753 this was called mɨts añta´wa, real or true poison. (2) A rock poison, haiyɨ´nɨl, was made of pulverized iridescent rock which was said to protrude from the ground. It "looked pretty, just like soap, all colors; nobody dared to go near it." J.A. said she "even hated to look at it."

The whole concept of poisoning is indeterminate. It was dwelt upon at length by J.A.,[89] yet, as always, she said it was more prevalent somewhere else: she claimed it was "worse up north and down at the reservation [Tule River] than around here." The foothill people, too, pointed to its southern source, claiming it spread from there after the 1870 Ghost Dance.

Both ordinary and tɨpni people were thought to resort to poison. If a person wanted another killed, he would ask someone near the person to poison him for pay, frequently a friend of the victim. If the friend refused another person would be hired to kill them both. A bad doctor would put poison on clothes left hanging about or on hair combings. If someone discovered the contaminated [787] objects and burned them--for instance, a person in a jimsonweed narcosis could see poison--it 828 would kill the doctor who had placed it there. But when this was not done sickness resulted, not only to the owner of the clothes, but also to others. Also the poison might be blown around by tɨpni people; they could not make "airshot," however.

Some further anecdotes of poisoning were related by J.A.

A woman [whose name is not recalled] was outside doing some washing. She had a baby cradled near by. Her lunch was already prepared in the house: she went in and ate it. Immediately her heart began to beat hard and she vomited blood. The baby "put up blood" too. The baby died first, then the mother, both too quick to get a doctor [white]. Nobody knew who poisoned her, "but somebody must have." This happened about fifteen years ago.

Down at Ričikitu [Pitanisha] there was a doctor who was able to shoot poison instead of resorting to the contamination method. He shot it into a woman down there who began to urinate blood; at first she thought she was just menstruating. Then she vomited blood and [683] died. A few days later the woman's husband met the doctor on the road and shot him.

W.At. had a boy fifteen years old. He suddenly vomited "a whole pan of blood and died." A white physician was summoned but did not arrive in time.

J.A.'s maternal uncle, Tɨpwa´tswat (Charlie), was a Wowol chief who was poisoned by a Humtinin chief, Laimo´ndo, from Fort Tejon. They were both at Porterville where Laimondo put poison in Tɨpwatswats' coffee. Soon after

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[89] See Gayton, Yokuts-Mono Chiefs and Shamans, 402 ff., for anecdotal material.

278 that T·pwatswats' wife was killed by a shaman. He had come to where she was sleeping and 753 pulled the blankets off her; she resisted him; she was pregnant at the time with a posthumous child and was very angry. The rejected shaman poisoned her immediately after.

Then another maternal uncle, Ha´tna (Frank) died soon after this. His daughter, Tsai´'iyat (Nancy), who did not want to sleep with a certain shaman, was killed after he had killed her father. The bereaved widow and mother then moved down to Porterville to escape the persecution which followed the family.

J.A.'s aunt, Yuki´'at (Mary), went down to the Tule River Reservation where a tiya named A´nats gave her a large handsome basket which proved to be poisoned. Yuki'at's forearm and mouth swelled up from handling it. As there was no doctor at Pisras at that time, she died.

Kanti, the Tachi chief, was poisoned by some other tiya. He got sick at his stomach and his legs swelled up.

Wep·s, J.A.'s brother, stepped on a stick and sprained his ankle. His leg swelled up and he vomited blood. Naha'at, a Choinimni doctor, cut and sucked his leg but it did no good. He was sick all winter and died in the spring. J.A. considers this a case of poisoning.

P.D.W. is in the hospital (1929). Somebody put out poison for him to sit on, "just to find out if he had power enough to cure himself." [The truth is, he went over to Friant to cure some one there and suffered exposure in the recent storm.]

Specialized Shamans

756 While the lake tribes do not seem to have had specialized doctoring, i.e., weather shamans, snake-handlers, as strongly developed as in the southern foothills, they possessed one class of shamans, the Bear doctors, who were merely dancers and transformers in the foothill regions. The emphasis on Bear shamans who were also transformers is probably another indication of the cultural alignment of the lake tribes with those to the north -- Chukchansi, Miwok -- rather than to the east. It is from Kroeber and Gifford that the present Tachi data are derived. The bit of Chunut information from J.A. concerns the Tachi; she did not recall any Bear doctors among the Chunut, Telamni, and Wowol gathered at Pisras.

Kroeber gives the following information on Tachi Bear shamans.

> Only the Tachi attributed particular curative powers to the song and dancing of the bear doctor. In fact the function of this class of shamans other than as exhibitors of their powers is not clear. They were difficult to keep killed; but they seem not to have been dreaded marauders or ferocious fighters as among the Pomo and Yuki. In the hunt, a shaman of this class might enter the retreat of a skulking bear to rout him out.[30] ... The Tachi ascribed to their bear doctors, and of course,

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[30] This statement obviously does not apply to the Tachi or other lake dwellers who rarely, if ever, encountered bears in their territory.

756 especially to those of their neighbors, the faculty of surviving repeated killings in their bear shape: the medicine man merely returns to his home the next night as if nothing had happened. A famous shaman of this kind was at San Luis Obispo in mission times, they declare. Once he was trapped and roped, in his animal form, and had the misadventure of being dragged in to fight a bull. This tale seems to include the Chumash among the tribes that believed in bear doctors.[91]

A man became a Bear doctor by the same methods -- bathing, fasting, dreaming -- by which one acquired tɨpni power for other purposes, according to Kroeber's anecdote.

> A Tachi bathed at night. At last a bear appeared in his dreams and instructed him. After many years, not before middle life, he reached the power of becoming a bear at will. He swam in a pool, emerged as the animal, and went on his errand. To resume human shape a plunge into the same pool was necessary.[92]

J.A. was told of a Bear shaman by Juana, her Tachi "aunt" (mother's cousin).

> A man was called Piwa´sa, a name referring to his Bear shamanism, although his real name was Aho´ni. He had bear's hair on his chest. When the blackberries were ripe he would turn into a bear and go to play with real bears. He would say, "I am going out to be Bear." He had a knife and killed anyone who came to kill him. When he was a little boy he dreamed of Bear; he told Bear that he was his friend; Bear became his dream helper (pu'us). All bears are [616] classed as Nutuwich but this does not mean that the man belonged to that moiety.

Gifford reports on a Tachi shaman:

> In the genealogical information obtained, but two shamans are mentioned. Halhalis is the older. He was a Nutuwuts man of the coyote totem. He was a čipni shaman, one who had derived from a dream the power to turn himself into a bear. His son Čoliwai became an ordinary curing shaman (anču).

One shaman, Solo´lo, known to J.A., specialized in ghost scaring: this practice was called anɨ´tapɨn wɨpɨ´l. He was said to have learned this from dwarfs; he just sang. He was not [sic] paid for his services.
Another man got special gambling power from his father's cutting flint, which he kept as a talisman. This made him unbeatable (yamɨ´nɨl).

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[91] Handbook, 516-517.

[92] Ibid., 514-515.

Rain-Making

789 The Chunut, Tachi, Nutunutu, and Wowol (the lake tribes) did not have special practitioners for rain-making. J.A. recalls a Pitanisha named Hutu´ [Hopodno ?] who was asked to come up to Pisras to make rain. He had an object "like an egg (se´'el) without any shell on it. When he threw this up in the air, water fell all over from it."

[823] Rain could be made, or a storm might even be caused, by the use of the charmstones (unok) found in the lake region. Any doctor or plain person who wanted to could use one. They are associated with thunder and are thought to be natural, i.e., not man-made objects.[93] To operate these a little water was sprinkled on them and they were cast out in the direction from which rain was desired: gentle rains came from the west or northwest, hard rains from the southeast. If a violent wind was wanted too, a little earth was put on the charmstone with the water.

In February (1929) J.A. and her godchild were out gathering mushrooms. The girl found an unok, picked it up and asked what it was. After she heard J.A.'s explanation she thoughtlessly threw it away, for which she was chided. As a consequence it rained and stormed for two weeks [which it did].

With the fear that the owner might be careless, J.A. has consistently refused to sell an unok she has in her trunk. When a bad thunderstorm comes up it is always said that someone has been playing with an unok.

Kroeber gives us the following with regard to Tachi rain-making.

> ...but the Tachi and southern tribes describe cylindrical stones 6 to 8 inches long, pointed at one end, as the necessary apparatus. Moistened or dipped a little into water, the amulet produced a shower; but if the doctor was angered, he plunged the whole stone in and a violent storm followed. These objects which suggest the well-known "charm stones" of the California archaeologist, but were probably a distinct though similar type, were inherited from father to son; and the Tachi go so far as to say that the theft of this amulet would deprive the owner of his power. Spirits are nowhere mentioned directly in connection with the rain-making faculty.[94]

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[93] Described and illustrated in Gifford and Schenck, 93-97, pls. 33-34. They also were used by the Indians of Lompoc, Santa Barbara, and Ventura as weather-making amulets (Yates, Charmstones, 299-305).

[94] It would seem, from J.A.'s evidence, that these cylindrical stones are not similar to, but are, the charmstones of the California archaeologist. The loss of power, through loss of the amulet, is common to all persons having supernatural power. There was always anxiety over the safety of talismans.

789 Kroeber gives "teshich gomom as the designation of 'rain doctor' or weather shamans."[95]

Supernatural Creatures

773 776 A very long time ago there were two girls called ta ñai (datura, jimsonweed). In the spring when jimsonweed was in blossom they would go out on the plains to pick these blooms. They made wreaths for their hair and carried bunches of flowers in their hands. They were very beautiful as they danced out over the plains, always at a distance from observers. As they danced they sang, "Now I shake the flowers being carried" (hiya´mi na·watsa´ meke´' elao´ni). Men were fascinated and wanted to catch the girls. They would drink a decoction of jimsonweed in order to see them better. Onlookers would ask the men what they saw, what the girls were doing. The drinkers would run off over the fields trying to catch the girls, but the girls were supernatural (ṭ‘pni) and could never be caught. (See section on "Jimsonweed.")

776 Water babies (wi´t‘p a´ki, lit., spring baby) were not uncommon in local ponds. They had long black hair and tiny hands. People did not like to see them.

A supernatural dog (ṭ‘pni pu'us) lived amongst the button willows at a pond just northeast of J.A.'s house. The dog had no special name. Some supernatural people lived there too; real people never got very close to them.

Wainus is a big snake with a human head. He lives underground, and if he likes a person will come out into view. He helps doctors, but if a person who did not want supernatural power were to see one, he would die. Chicken-hawk [756] down was sprinkled before them if seen. Bob Bautista, a prominent Tachi shaman, longed to see one "but he never did."

Miscellaneous Practices and Beliefs

776 821 An all-black dog was said to be "Thunder's dog." But during a thunderstorm any dog might be whipped out of doors until it yelped, then it would be turned loose and the thunder would cease. This refers to the belief that the Thunder Twins were fostered by a bitch, that they will cease their racket rather than have her suffer.

[301] Most Yokuts people were, and still are, afraid to wear abalone shell ornaments during a storm. If a person were caught out with one in bad weather, it should be torn off and thrown as far as possible. At the spot where it alighted "the thunder would stand right on it," i.e., lightning would strike and take it.

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[95] Handbook, 54, 518.

776 An old man whom J.A. knew once had an
821 abalone shell talisman in his pocket. Thunder saw it and tried to get it. But the man saved it by grabbing his dog and whipping her and immediately the thunder stopped.

[30] Abalone shell ornaments (sa´wi·) were worn hanging on a cord at the breast or chest where they caught the sunlight. Their glitter was thought to startle rattlesnakes into giving a warning rattle. During early spring (about April) when the rattlers were emerging from hibernation there might yet be thunderstorms, hence the precautions mentioned above.

827 A coughing spell, when not occasioned by a cold, was attributed to melancholy by J.A., who said, "I get that way when I feel lonesome. Something in my throat jumps and I can't stop it."[96]

825 If one touched eagle down and then touched someone, that person would swell up immediately. Only a person with Eagle as a family totem or a dream helper could handle eagle down with impunity.

821 Windstorms were associated with the death of shamans. J.A. said she "nearly died" once from the activities of a ghost to whom she was distantly related. After a Wowol named Soi´yi'ĭ (Manuel) who was "a big magic doctor" had died and was buried, a terrific wind arose while J.A. was sleeping "and almost turned her upside down."

An eclipse was regarded as the devouring of the moon (or sun) by some creature, probably Coyote, as believed elsewhere. Kroeber states that on these occasions an old Tachi woman would sing and dance and prayerfully beg that a little of the sun be left.[97]

At Summit Lake there was a fire in the bottom. "This is where fire started." (J.A. knows no story about it. She may be referring to a tule fire.) Burned over land (hite´na) is dangerous; if one steps on the ground, one will go down and never come up again. Just water comes up. (This probably refers to some locality of quicksands, possibly around Summit Lake.)

CEREMONIES

Jimsonweed Ritual

276 The Tachi, according to M.G., did not use jimsonweed (ma´nai) as "they were afraid of it." She saw it drunk at Čiau (Kingston) by Nutunutu but does not believe it was used by the Choinuk, Wolasi, Wechihit, or northerners

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[96] Compare Coyote's grief in a Yauelmani myth: "When Prairie Falcon died he felt bad. His heart came out of his mouth, he felt so bad. He would have died but he caught his heart as it was in the air and put it back into his mouth" (Kroeber, Indian Myths, 248).

[97] The Yokuts Language, 374.

276 (Hoshima). When it was used at Čiau, the following practices were observed.

Jimsonweed was taken but once during life, by men only, at about twenty years of age. An old man who had jimsonweed as a dream helper had charge of the affair. He took the youths away from the village for about two months, usually November and December. The drinking was not done in public, and M.G. implied that it took place at the end of the first month of seclusion. They abstained from meat for one month before, and one month after, the drinking, subsisting entirely on tule root mush (po´kto). They took an emetic before eating meat again.

The seclusion of the drinkers was not rigid; they came home occasionally to get things they might want. M.G. thought they had to do a great deal of running, but did not know what instructions were given them.

[789 756] The purpose of the drinking was to ensure a long life (čačai´nawaš, "to have roots"). These men did not become shamans, nor did they, while in the narcosis, attempt curing of others.

[752] Jimsonweed was used medicinally by the Tachi: a poultice of the mashed roots was applied to broken bones.

Gifford includes the following in his notes on Tachi moieties.

> The use of jimsonweed (monui in Tachi, tani in more southerly Yokuts dialects) seems to have had no connection whatsoever with the moieties or the totems. In olden times boys drank jimsonweed and saw many things -- the world, as the Tachi express it -- while in narcosis. Sometimes a mountain lion or bear was seen. The creature seen was usually not a moiety totem.

The Chunut, in closer contact with the foothill people, made more use of jimsonweed (ta´nai) than did the Tachi and Wowol.[30] The Wowol did not refuse it entirely but were uneasy about its powers, according to J.A. She has never taken it, and holds it in awe. She does not think it has been used ceremonially for thirty or forty years.

The Chunut jimsonweed drinking took place about February, or even earlier. Young men and women who had reached full maturity of growth might take it, and as often as they wished, provided it was in the early spring. By taking [787] it one "could see anything": one found out how long he would live, saw the causes of people's sickness, saw what shamans were doing, who was dying far away, or where lost articles were. As an example, J.A. said if somebody would take some jimsonweed now, she could find out who broke into her trunk and took her things and where they were now. (Her trunk was robbed about a month previous, while she was at Delano cooking for sheep-shearers.)

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[30] The Chumash used it as a prerequisite to the handling of weather-making charmstones (Yates, 304).

[P. 399]

276 Jimsonweed grew in abundance on the plains. Bob Bautista's wife would dig up the plants for him; the digger abstained from meat for three days before setting out on the task. The plant was sprinkled with chicken-hawk down and addressed, "Well, tanai, I'm coming after you. I'm going to bury you in ashes and make a drink of you. A man is going to drink you."

The drink was made from the roots. These were roasted on hot coals under ashes "like sweet potatoes." This made them tender and juicier, and then the sap was wrung out of them into a large basket.

787 276 The decoction was made by the leader or one responsible for the affair. He had special songs, which J.A. did not remember. She did remember a Wechihit man, Wao´du'i (Tip), who came from Sanger to Lemoore to administer it. He gave each person a small basketful, saying as he did so, "Here is your drink. See what you can. May you see what you want to see." The drinker replied by addressing the tanai. "See me. See what I am. Show me my life."

[756] While under the narcosis the drinker could see the causes of sickness. These often appeared as microcosms which they picked off the invalid and threw on the fire (not on a basket; only shamans put sickness on a basket). They could also see poison on poisoned objects and these they would toss on the fire to be destroyed. An evil shaman who feared discovery through this means would "cover" the tanai's power with his own, so that the drinkers saw nothing.

The wife of one of J.A.'s maternal uncles, Ačkoi´yat (Julia), often took a little jimsonweed in order to see her dead sister. She wanted J.A. to take it, but J.A. didn't want to. She said she was afraid she would find out that she was going to die the next day, "and if I'm to die, I'll die anyway; I don't need to know about it."

She recalls that Poso'o (Bob Bautista), a noted shaman, took jimsonweed at least twice. She also remembers that two Choinimni men took a decoction in summertime and died (as a consequence of the stronger qualities of the mature plants ?).

757 276 Jimsonweed was used for medicinal and anaesthetic purposes. It was not used thus by shamans, but by any person, even one without a jimsonweed dream helper, who knew the practical procedure.

The leaves were sometimes mashed and put on sores. An old Chunut man did this and a narcosis resulted. J.A. and his wife were much afraid of him while he talked to persons known to be dead. He recovered in two or three days.

[752] As an example, J.A. described the use of jimsonweed on Lu´tsuk (Jim), who died as the result of a fight. Early one morning J.A. was awakened by shouting; with others, she ran out and found Lutsuk "hacked all over" and bleeding profusely. They covered his wounds with

[P. 39 b] Chunut

751 plasterings of his own blood, nettle down, and mashed jimsonweed. They made him drink a brew 276 of the plant which "made him crazy for about two weeks and then he died." He became swollen [752] and the wounds refused to heal.

An old Humtinin man (a southerner), Sololo, took jimsonweed to cure a large bump on the back of his head. He was thought to have observed all the tabus carefully (meat avoidance, principally), but he died soon after.

752 For fractures the skin was scarified all around the injury and a poultice of cooked, 276 mashed jimsonweed leaves was tied all around it to make the bone mend. Motsa had his right clavicle broken in falling from a wagon. A large poultice was applied all over his shoulder, and he was cured.

For frightening ghosts, jimsonweed was 276 used in the valley as it was in the foothills, 789 i.e., boiled in the house of the dead person.

About two months ago (December, 1928) W.At.'s boy's ghost came in J.A.'s house during the night. He opened and closed both the back door and the front. She could hear him walking about softly in the kitchen. She called to him, asked him what he wanted, said she would help him if he wanted her to, but he did not answer. The next day a woman told her to cook some jimsonweed in the house to drive away the ghost. But J.A. had been eating meat and handling greasy things, so she did not want to touch any jimsonweed.

Chunut Ceremonies

796 An informant (J.At.) of Wechihit blood recalled a Wechihit (?) doctor, Toi´čɨk, who 756 handled snakes. She saw him perform the Rattlesnake Ritual at Kingston where "a little tribe, 825 not the Nutunutu, lived."[96]

Toičɨk got two or three snakes which he kept in a big bottleneck basket (osa). They were starved for six days. Then he put the snakes out on the ground. He stepped on them and picked them up and put them around his neck "to show that he was not afraid of them"; but he did not let them bite him. Everybody watched him; he was not paid [sic]. There were singers there, too. There was some purpose in this to keep people from being bitten by rattlesnakes, as it was always done in the spring.

Toičɨk could "make any snake bite any person if he wanted," but he was not "mean" and never did this. The snake ritual was called le´'alawa, the handling, dai´was or tatla´was.

796 The Bear Dance was made by the people of [184] the foothills and roblar, but not by the lake tribes. It was also denied to the Wechihit by J.At., and was attributed to the Wukchumni by

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[115] [96] The informant, who was very dull, could not recall the name of the tribe. She may have had the Nutunmni in mind. Several points in her account seem garbled or dubious.

796 her husband, W.At., who had never seen it. J.A.
knew of it, as performed by the Wukchumni and
Gawia, but she could not describe it well. She
[237 knew of one man, Sapa´te, who did this dance;
the singers used cocoon rattles; it was done in
534] the daytime. It took place in the fall, after
the acorns were down; acorn mush could not be
eaten, otherwise.

Bear doctors, however, were not uncommon in the lake region.

The Rattlesnake Ritual was not made by the
Chunut, Tachi, or Wowol; it may have been made
by the Gawia, Yokod, and Telamni; J.A. definitely
attributes it to the foothill people. She
once saw Pušl·´l·n, a Choinimni, "go around
with a snake" which he stepped on; that part
[752] was called tatlawas. She knew of no purpose in
the performance: when one was bitten by a
rattlesnake one called an ordinary sucking
doctor. Neither did she know of coyote impersonation
in this or any other connection.

First-fruit rites were merely called
"little party" (witi lonu´iw·s), and seem to
have been scrupulously observed, yet remained
unelaborated. J.A. thinks the Tachi and Wowol
were like the Chunut in the observation of
these rites, which pertained primarily to
796 berries and seeds. All seeds (pa´was, so´pas,
616 tsos, su`kum, ya'ha´'al, tsa´m·t, and ṭaltoi´ya
[mushrooms]) were classified as Tokelyuwich,
whereas berries, birds, and animals[100] were
Nutuwich. The little ritual was a reciprocal
function. The moiety associated with the foods,
as Nutuwich was with berries, would obtain a
supply of them when they first became available
each year. The chiefs called the people to
assemble, and the Nutuwich people presented
them to the Tokelyuwich, who thereupon ate them.
Then the Nutuwich were free to do so; the new
crop remained tabu to them until the Tokelyuwich
[824] had eaten of it. If Nutuwich people ate
blackberries (ma´m·l) too soon, their children
would "break out with berries all over their
bodies." The same procedure was followed with
seasonal foods associated with the other moiety.

796 J.A. referred to the Bear Dance and acorn
tabu in this connection, knowing it as an analogue
in foothill culture. However, she did
not know of any first rites in connection with
salmon or migratory birds. Clover "belonged to
[262] everybody" and was eaten at any time of year;
tobacco was also freely used. She was unable
to give any details of the ceremonial eating,
to name the participants, etc.; it seems reasonable
to assume that the chiefs and their
families were the first to partake as in the
northern foothill region.

A seed-growing dance, which was at once a prophetic ritual and display of magical powers, was given each spring by one or two shamans who

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[100] J.A. could not classify the Nutuwich foodstuffs, rather vaguely making "berries" the sole food involved for this moiety.

796 had the ability. It is classified as a "dance" by its name "magic dance" (ṭɨpni ha´tim) in Chunut. Poso'o and Sapagai (a Wowol ?) were the only two doctors known to J.A. who could do this.

In the early spring these men "were careful about what they ate"; they ate nothing made of a new seasonal crop, as, for example, young tule roots. About the middle of February they gave their performance at night by a fire. (These were individual affairs, however.) At least one singer served as accompanist (Jim Wilcox sang for Poso'o, who used a cocoon rattle). The doctor danced almost continuously all night, while the singer sang a series of songs about "birds and animals." Not all these
796 songs had words. Two of them which J.A. recalls are "soisoi maiyin" (see Wukchumni) and
539 the following:

ma´ʼan(a) gut hoi´yiuhɨn
you that come back

pa´wus mai´yɨn ye´ha ye·e·e·e·ʼha
seeds are coming, coming

uya´yi uya´yi
[exclamation]

hotɨnihɨ´nke wača´ma
[burning?] shaking hand feathers

hia´ma ṭaʼiho´awa
now reddening

so´pas inana´he
[a plant with red berries]

wi´ya ṭa´hoʼiwahɨn
will be reddening

796 At some time during the night the magic display was made. Poso'o made seeds of food plants appear on the floor by the fire; if many seeds of a certain kind were manifest, it indicated that these would be plentiful.

Sapagai's exhibition was more elaborate. He danced about near the fire. When he kicked the ground, seeds appeared all over it. Then he would stamp on the ground, and the plants themselves were there, growing. Another demonstration made use of the ornamental bunch of feathers (sonɨl) carried by doctors in their hands and used in curing processes. Sapagai would hold his sonɨl over a large tray, and when he squeezed it downwards, seeds fell from it onto the tray. But the seeds were magical, not real, and melted away before the spectators' eyes.

During this display the people would query the shaman about the crops of wild seeds for the coming season. "Where were the seeds going to grow?" He would point in certain directions, or even reply that they would be prolific near a specific person's seed-gathering place.

[P. 41a] Chunut

796 At the end of the singing and dancing,^a people who had long illnesses would be brought in to be cured. The shaman brushed off the patient with a flipping motion of his hand feathers. Neither doctor nor patients ate any meat for six days after this performance.[101] [755]

765 The Huhuna Dance, which in the foothills is part of the annual mourning celebration but may also occur as a discrete entertainment, was known in the lake region only as an adjunct to the mourning ceremonies. J.A. recalls a performance at Tule River Reservation some twenty years ago, and another in Tachi territory when she was a little girl. Her failure to give a specific account of this for the Chunut fits with the Tachi (M.G.) statement that the Choinuk, Telamni, and northerners (Hoshima) lacked the dance. For its description see "Mourning Ceremony." [184]

796 Guksai is a name mistakenly applied to Huhuna by some informants. J.A. clearly distinguished between the two and, indeed, was the one person who had seen and knew exactly who Guksai was. She saw this dancer at a mourning ceremony in Drum Valley; his performance followed immediately upon Huhuna's.

This man was a doctor. His tribal affiliation was not known to J.A., who thinks he might have been Choinimni. He was dressed, not in Huhuna's long feather robe, but in the usual doctor's regalia: feather headdress (sema and ču), feather strand skirt, white paint (hoˊšot) in streaks on his body but none on his face; he carried a bone whistle. He danced about by himself, then he would sit down for a while and sing to an accompaniment: Huhuna never sang. Guksai could not find money. But like Huhuna, he was "killed" by a doctor. In this instance it was a shaman named Manuelo (otherwise unknown to J.A.) who functioned. While Guksai was unconscious, the spectators wept but ceased as soon as he was revived. [756]

J.A. said that Guksai was never seen "down this way" (in the valley or lake region); she did not know the subject of his songs. Both Huhuna and Guksai performed solely for the purpose of making money; the spectators wanted it because "it made the people giving the fandango [mourning ceremony] cry."

536 Pleasure dances (haˊtim) were frequently held. A chief might give such little parties
517 (again referred to as lonuˊwiti) at his house. His wife and female relatives prepared
574 quantities of food, and all the guests brought food contributions for which they were paid. The guests were "anybody" of any moiety, everybody from the village went, or any visitor from near-by villages. This was "just for a good time," and neither singers nor dancers were paid. The singers used the clapper accompaniment for such profane affairs. The songs "did [534]

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[101] No payment was mentioned in connection with this affair, and my neglect to ask about it is a serious omission.

^a [i.e., of the seed-growing dance of the Chunut.

Tachi
Chunut

535 not always have words"; they probably were of
the "hai´ya hai´ya" variety. Both sexes joined
517 in the dancing. The women wore eagle-down
574 strings around their hair. The men wore the
ceremonial feather skirt (tuhu´n) if they could
get one, and painted their faces with stripes
[302] or spots of black and white. There were no
special paint patterns for this dance.^

No description of the dance steps was obtained, but J.A. made it clear that the dancing was not a group affair. A few men and women would dance at a time, which seems comparable to such pleasure dances as we know from the Wukchumni. There were no names for the dances: they were referred to as plain dance (hu´nai hati´m) or "little dance half the night" (wi´ti hati´m tu´pan toi´no).

[554] Although the chief's house was larger than
others, the cooking, eating, and dancing took
place outside.

At another time J.A. made brief reference
535 to a similar affair which she called "plain
616 fandango" (hu´nai lonu´iw‹s). This involved a
moiety division (in eating and dancing?) but it
was not reciprocal, i.e., the moieties did not
align as host and guest. It was held any time
of year. A large meal was eaten, dancing continued all night, in the morning the participants swam, ate breakfast, and dispersed. Paint was worn for this "dance."

Gifford, in his data on Tachi moieties, gives a bit of information which may be pertinent here.

> Two dances in which ... paints were used were mentioned. One of them, called toxeliwiš hatama, was danced by shamans (anču) of the toxelyuwiš moiety. A second dance, called kikitwi, was described as a round dance and was said to have been originated by the nutuwuts moiety. In its performance, however, some tokelyuwiš usually participated with the nutuwuts dancers...
>
> At a feast each moiety prepared and served the food for the opposite moiety. A feast of this sort was held in 1913, two years before my visit.

Tachi Ceremonies

114 The following Tachi information from M.G.
seems unsound in large part, no doubt owing to
misunderstanding by the interpreters and myself.
It is given as recorded. As mentioned above,
[765] the mourning ceremony was a distasteful topic
[152] and only the least "mournful" parts were spoken
of.

The Shamans' Contest was known to all the
756 plains people: "Wolasi, Telamni, everyone had
hešwaš." It was performed in the summertime
toward the conclusion of a mourning ceremony.
A winatum got the doctors together, he got
them from Čiau (Kingston, a Nutunutu village)
and from the Wechihit. M.G. saw this at Čiau.
The Wechihit were on one side and some Wuk-

^[i.e., pleasure dances. - Analyst]

756 chumni were on the other. They were not opposed by moiety, some being relatives and some just friends. There were only four doctors on each side, that is, really two doctors and their assistants.

The winatums built a large fire on each side. The doctors got close to these as it was from the fire they obtained their airshot. When ready the doctors and assistants in two files marched formally past each other and took up a position facing each other about twenty feet apart. In "fighting" they looked toward the sun from which the actual power of the shots was thought to come. They did not speak or pray to the sun but held up their hands, saying a long expirating "Ha-a-a-a!" then rubbed their hands together and then onto the large basket tray (čo´p·t) with which each was armed. There was no singing or dancing. When all was ready each doctor banged his tray on the ground, face downward, to propel the shot: "a tray held three rounds" and then had to be renewed. As the doctors succumbed they were carried aside by winatums; the onlookers wept. M.G. thinks that some succeeded in reviving themselves by looking at the sun. If this failed, the doctor whose shot was responsible was called to remove it. A doctor who revived himself returned the intrusive shot to the sender.

796
535 The Huhuna Dance was known to Tachi, Nutunutu, and Wowol, but the Choinuk, Telamni, and Hoshima (northerners) lacked it. (M.L., the Wukchumni, here interposed that her grandfather had danced it at Lemoore [in rancheria times ?] and G.G., M.G.'s son, had seen it at the Tule River Reservation.) The Nutunutu would come down to a Tachi village to see the performance, which always took place during the week of the mourning ceremony. Like the doctors' contest it was a daytime affair. The dancer's costume consisted of a "feather dress," and a cap shaped like an owl's head. He wore no paint on his face save "a little white around the mouth." He carried two long elderberry sticks which he cracked together as he jumped. He was able to find hidden money. Then a doctor killed him with airshot. M.G. recalls Kosewa as a doctor who did this; she thought both the doctor and Huhuna were Nutunutu; the doctor belonged to the Nutuwich moiety, but she did not know Huhuna's affiliations. When Huhuna died, all the spectators wept. The doctor then revived him. The spectators paid for the exhibition.

765 The Tachi mourning ceremony, according to Kroeber, lacked the effigy rite. "Among the latter [Tachi], after dancing till morning, property is given to visitors through the medium of a sham fight in which they despoil the owners. After this the chief mourner, who has arranged the ceremony and provided food for the guests, wanders through the village crying."[208]

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[208] Handbook, 501.

[P. 426] Tachi

756 The Snake Ritual M.G. knew of, saying that the Wechihit had it but the Tachi, Choinuk, 535 Chunut, Telamni, and Wowol did not. She said Pusl·'l·n was an old man who could make that [825] dance as Snake was his totem animal, but no one else, without this totem, could dance with snakes. However, Kroeber states that the Tachi had a ceremony which "approximated" the Yaudanchi rite which he describes.[103]

The Bear Dance M.G. claimed for the Tachi and Wechihit but denied to the Wolasi, Telamni, Choinuk, Chunut, and Wowol, and northerners (Hoshima). The Tachi had three Bear dancers; one woman danced it also. The performance was given in the middle of summer or at any other time for entertainment. Everybody paid a little to see it. M.G. knew of no purpose in its performance, perhaps it was performed by Bear doctors.

A beaver or fish dance (ɔ'š̆w·š̆), a shamanistic display of the foothill people, was unknown to M.G., although Kroeber attributes it to the Tachi.[104]

535 M.G. likewise disclaimed any dance which was done exclusively by women.

The pleasure dance (hata'm·č or wa'tiyɔd) was done by the Tachi, usually in the wintertime when it would be "danced all night" by an open fire. Five men of no special totem stood in a row with three women at each end. The men wore the usual upright feather headdress (ču) and had bunches of flicker feathers tied to their arms and wrists. There were three singers who sat at one side and used a clapper accompaniment (tawa'taw·l). The dancers paid the singers; spectators paid the dancers.

The onlookers would say, "What dance is that?" A singer would reply, "Deer dance," 535 referring to the songs which were about birds and animals.[105] M.G. could only remember two 539 such songs, which are doubtfully translated.

hi'awe na ko'no
Where am I, Daylight?

mosa'o wa na ko'no
Little sweathouse in [?] long I,
Daylight

In the second, Pelican (ho'hima) is singing.

he'li ipai'ya na
Pack in my head food I [refers
to pelican's method of putting
fish in his pouch]

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[103] Ibid., 506.

[104] Ibid., 507.

[105] Kroeber gives three Tachi songs, none of which seems pertinent to this discussion although one is, indeed, a dance song (Yokuts Language, 366); two Yaudanchi dance songs are about deer (ibid., 369).

[P. 439]

Annual Mourning Ceremony

769 The primary reciprocity at Chunut and
other valley tribes' mourning ceremonies was
between tribes, secondarily between moieties.
616 The tribal reciprocity was like that of the
foothills, and the tribes functioning in this
619 relationship likewise were called gi´'i. J.A.
remembers two large celebrations, one a Telamni
ceremony where the Wowol were the gi'i, and another in Drum Valley where the Wukchumni served
as gi'i to the Waksachi. On this last occasion
moieties were not involved as neither tribe was
moietized.

Once understood, the double reciprocity of tribe and moiety is very simple: opposite moieties of the opposed tribes washed each other, thus theoretically, Tokelyuwich of Tribe 1 washed Nutuwich of Tribe 2, Nutuwich of Tribe 1 washed Tokelyuwich of Tribe 2. Details are given in place in the following account of the week's ceremonial.

A little ceremony, "the private mourning ceremony," was held in the third moon following a death. The relatives of the deceased sent some money to the chief of the opposite moiety. At the end of six days the chief had much meat and mush cooked up. He appointed someone to wash the male mourners, and the food was consumed after the washing was done. This was called witi lonuwɨs (little ceremony), or one said of it teya´o wa'ha´l tsume´lnut (first cry going to wash).

769 When the time approached for the "big," or annual, mourning ceremony, a preliminary ceremony called kiyu´wɨs was held for the purpose of making plans.[106] A Tokelyuwich and Nutuwich chief assembled the people of each moiety. They all gathered and danced, and each moiety paid the other for this entertainment. The chiefs "each had a family to do the washing."

The Tachi, M.G., said that all the chiefs of a village had to unanimously favor a mourning ceremony before one could be given. There were no secondary chiefs (tuye´'i) here, as there were in the foothill tribes.

Although "money passed between chiefs" at mourning ceremonies, it was not a matter of payment for loans: the distribution of money for interest, elsewhere called laknɨ'nɨts, J.A. could not define or describe. Neither was there a fetishistic element involved.[107] "At the end of ten months they [the mourners] took money to some tia´'a. At the end of six days this tia'a had lots of mush cooked up. He washed those men," said J.A. She believed the money was given solely for the specific service of washing, not for the food.

The mourning ceremony itself (lonu´iwɨs) lasted six days. Each day for four days

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[106] Such was my understanding; no amount of questioning seemed to clarify J.A.'s statements.

[107] Cf. Strong, Aboriginal Society, passim.

769 special mourning singers (aheˊnɩč) sang in the early morning and evening; there were criers (paˊʼič) also. Everyone who felt like it would join the singers and criers in their activities, which were of short duration. The singers would put out their hands and the mournful sounds ceased. During the six days of the affair men could play pole games, but no other games.

J.A. gave the order of rituals for the Annual Mourning Ceremony thus: huhuna (Huhuna), guksai (Guksai), heswas (shamans' contest), maˊtek paˊhat ("big" cry), tsumoˊlwas (ceremonial washing), hatim (pleasure dance with women participating), and kam (doctor's dancing with songs).

On the third day the Huhuna Dance was given. [293] The performer, who was not a shaman, was dressed entirely in a full-length costume of feathers. A net closely covered his face and head, and to it were affixed two abalone discs which covered the eyes, and two feather horns resembling an owl's "ears." He had a bone whistle in his mouth and carried a little stick (see fig. 8, c). He went around the dance space and found money. (J.A. says he could see in spite of the shell discs, i.e., naturally, not magically.) A winatum had built a fire, and by it a doctor prepared his shot to kill Huhuna. It appeared to the spectators that Huhuna was unaware of his fate: they wept. When the doctor propelled his invisible shot and Huhuna fell unconscious, a winatum carried him aside. The doctor sucked out the shot, spat it on a tray; the winatum burned the intrusive matter. On Huhuna's revival the weeping ceased.

The people who were giving the mourning ceremony paid Huhuna [and the doctor, presumably]. When J.A. was a little girl she attended a Tachi (?) mourning ceremony where Tsewa (Joe, a Tachi of Nutuwich moiety) performed the Huhuna Dance; she does not know who the doctor was. Another time, twenty years ago, she saw the dance at Tule River Reservation; and again she saw it at a mourning ceremony in Drum Valley (Wukchumni territory) where it was followed by a Guksai Dance. Inferentially it appears it was not normally part of a Chunut mourning ceremony.

769 756 On the fourth day of the mourning ceremony the doctors' contest (hɩˊswas) took place in midafternoon. There was no preliminary or little contest as there was in the foothills. The contest began with the making of airshot (tuˊyus saˊmɩn, airshot make). In the dance space, which had no special name or enclosure, the doctors' winatums had built fires for each doctor. Soaproot (toˊhot) and "some other root that has little spines all over it, from the lake" were put on the fire to make the shot, but nothing visible resulted. At Pisras, and also at Ciau (Kingston) three doctors were on each side and, in the center, one powerful

769 shaman who was in the range of shot from both sides. Each doctor had a large tray (tsa´pɨt) 756 and in unison they held these -- in both hands, at opposite edges, and tray face outward -- over the fire, toward the west, the east, upward, then toward the north, the south, and face down over the fire. While the tray was over the fire the doctor drew the smoke over it with his hand. The tray was then laid on the ground and stamped on with one foot. The tray was picked up and "smearing" motions made over it with the hand and the "shot" appeared as the hand made these rubbing movements.

The doctors sang "hela´lmo ha! ha! ha!" (breathed heavily) as they did this, and a crowd of boys who had been standing on each side and who carried poles with handkerchiefs attached, joined in the "Ha! ha! ha!" and waved their poles.

The doctors, who were dressed in the usual ceremonial costume, had otter (naha´'at), weasel (po´hət), or beaver (?) (waki´'as) skins [825 fastened at their wrists. (Seal [te´pɨk] could not be used for this purpose; if it were, every- 753 one present would have pains and sickness.) These animals, which were talismans of a sort, caught opponents' shots in their mouths. The doctor could extract such shot, put it on his own tray, and return it to its sender. The shot was propelled by the usual method of banging the tray violently on the ground face downward.

When a doctor was struck he staggered about and fell down; his winatum placed a basket beside him and everyone put in a little money. At the same time the contestants shifted their position 90 degrees, i.e., to the next sides of an imaginary square.

The doctor in the center was never [sic] known to fall. It was he who must begin reviving the fallen, for only a doctor who sent a shot could extract it. At mourning ceremonies at Pisras it was always Sapagai who took the center position; up at Ciau (Kingston) J.A. saw Kosewa in the middle. The contesting doctors were all supposed to be benevolent, i.e., to be willing and able to revive their victims, because they were working for display purposes at the request of chiefs, who paid them for their services.[108]

769 The fifth day (nowadays, Saturday) people spent in preparation for the big cry (ma´tɨk pa´hat) that night. At the dance place winatums had a large fire built which was lighted at dusk. The members of the mourning families paraded around the fire twice during the night. Some of them carried "dolls" dressed in clothes and draped with beads [money] on long poles; others carried baskets, feather ornaments, or other valuable objects. When these were finally thrown on the fire, which was seemingly

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[108] But see anecdotal material from this and other informants in Gayton, Yokuts-Mono Chiefs and Shamans.

769 but pretense, two or three women winatums rescued them and put them on a blanket. These women kept the "dolls! clothes" but the frames were burned. Speeches were made from time to time accompanied by intermittent weeping.

769 At dawn, after the burning, the ceremonial washing took place. The Telamni were ranged on 783 the west side of the dance space, their gi'i, the Wowol, opposite them on the east side. This dividing was called wɨkči wɨs and made the sides yɨt ka yɨt (one to one). A chief of each moiety of the Telamni had a large washing basket set out between the spectators; their messengers gathered the bereaved who were to be washed. These people gave the messengers money for their chiefs (to compensate for the baskets which the chiefs provided?). The Wowol chiefs, a Tokelyuwich and a Nutuwich, had with them new clothes for the mourners. They or their wives washed the faces of first, the chief of th[illegible], then those of the mourners, taking the more important persons first. The new clothing was donned, and the washers received the washing baskets. The changing of clothes was called kasa´osɨl. A chief of the washers said to the bereaved, "They burned. Now you will forget and be happy" ("mɨm tulun. hi´na ma hi´nasu munɨn").

769 Then the messengers went about shouting to everyone to play games. Any kind of game might 524 be played, but the hand game was most popular as it had been tabu during the preceding days. The messengers said there would be dancing at night.

769 The pleasure dance (hatɨm) or doctor's dance (kam) was danced by men and women all 535 night. Some people who had special supernatural powers might dance also. Oṭo´ki'at (Tillie Wilcox), a Telamni, was one of the best singers and dancers, but she was not ṭɨpni, so far as J.A. knows, "though nobody can tell." Such dancing was done merely to entertain. At dawn everyone went to bathe. Then people lingered about visiting or sleeping or returned to their homes.

769 J.A. saw two large mourning ceremonies in her childhood. The last "big fandango" in the valley was made by Joaquín, a Telamni chief at Pisras. He was Tokelyuwich and was washed by Charlie Thomas, a Nutuwich Wowol chief, and his family. One woman of Thomas' family washed Joaquín and his wife. The Wowol were the Telamni's gi'i.

At Drum Valley, J.A. attended a mourning ceremony given by Co'o´po (Bill Osborn), Waksachi, Otoki'at's (Tillie Wilcox's) first husband. She thinks they were mourning for Sono´lenɨn. Their son was crying. Some Wukchumni did the washing, but J.A. cannot identify them. The Waksachi called the Wukchumni [616] gi'i. No moieties were involved, of course. Buffalo Bill's wife, Lottie, gave J.A. a basket and a red bead necklace for her help in making a cross which was taken to the grave.

769 178 Although Pohasa was an important captain, no proper mourning ceremony for him was made as "not enough people were left." For several years aberrant, rather private, ceremonies have been held, but recently Tachi of the chiefly lineage have refused to attempt any ceremonial mourning observances.

769 616 Gifford states in his notes on Tachi moieties:

> In mourning ceremonies (bahatya) the nutuwuts chief washes the faces of the toxelyuwiš mourners, while the toxelyuwiš chief does the same for the nutuwuts mourners. Each chief is assisted by three women. At such a mourning ceremony everyone cries and wails.

GHOST DANCE OF 1870

796 668 J.A. said she did not remember much about the Ghost Dance, it was "just like a dream." She was a little girl when they were living at Piaras and someone came and told her uncle Charlie [the chief, Tipwatswat] that everyone must go up to Eshom Valley. This messenger told the Tachi, Wowol, and Tule River people the same thing: no one was to stay behind. They believed they were going to see dead people, that all their relatives were coming back.

When they arrived in Eshom Valley they were told not to sleep. J.A. was too little to dance so she hung about with two girl cousins. Little children like themselves might sleep, but one big girl "died" because she slept. Lying near the fire, she remained unconscious for about an hour. Everyone went to look at her. No one attempted to revive her: she "just woke up."

Everyone was exhorted to dance, with the threat that they would die if they did not participate. A few people "died and came to life again." One girl "died fighting her mother"; she returned to life but was mentally deranged thereafter.

Shamans did not participate but reclined under shades and reported occasionally on what they heard from the supernatural world. They did not dance, even with solo performances.

One man, a Telamni, went around telling what he had heard. Such a person was called kosa´na; other tribes [the valley people] called a man like that hilet·ts, a great talker.

796 668 [534] The singer accompanists wore their usual ceremonial regalia: feather headdress and skirt, and many talisman necklaces. Their sole instrument was the elderberry clapper (tawatw‧l). J.A. recalled only one song, "Hai´na·na·ni na´na·ni·," whose nonsense syllables she interprets as meaning "I am going to be something -- a crow, snake, stick, frog, water, or anything."

796 668 535 The dance itself, called soto´twi kam (going around or circling dance) and also hi´'th‧´twi kam (to drag the feet dance) by the Chunut, was a circular clockwise progression. When, each night, the dance was being performed for the last time, the participants circled once to the right and then to the left (clockwise) three times. Some people joined hands, but women who were carrying cradles held their hands behind their backs to steady the basket and infant occupant.

796 668 [443] The dance ended at break of day. Then everyone went swimming. They ran to the water as fast as possible, men and women together. On the way back they picked up wood for their breakfast fires. There were no food tabus. Eshom Bill [Bob Osborn's father, Čo'opo] sold steer meat until it was all consumed; thereafter there was a great food shortage.

[535] [825] On the last day of the Ghost Dance a special rite called the Horse Dance was performed. Owners rode their animals around within the ring of dancers "just like a circus." Old horses were led around and were rejuvenated by the spiritual power (t‧pni) of the dance. One of the songs for this seemed to be;

ya´a· ya´ e· hai´ya kawai´yo
[? ?] horse, caballo

796 668 648 Then word that the white settlers were coming to kill them ended the affair and sent the Indians in flight. Rumors of terrible torture from the whites flew about. On their way back to Pisras, J.A. and her relatives traveled under cover of darkness, hiding during the day. To keep J.A. quiet, her grandmother threatened her with warnings that if the white men found her they would kill her, cut her open, and pull out her intestines.

Later on some singers came down to Pisras to sing for them at a local Ghost Dance. They were still afraid of the white people. They had one or two such dances, but one ended in a drunken brawl.

[P. 46a]

600

YOKUTS: SOUTHERN VALLEY

PALEUYAMI

622 Martha Altau's paternal grandfather,
Owɔ´tono, was chief at the Paleuyami village of
Altau. Her father, a Paleuyami, lived at Fort
Tejon, then moved up to Tule (Yao´wɨtsani),
where M.A. was born. A man named Mo´lpi was
chief there. Her mother, Čowi´yɨt, was
yo´wekəd, "from near Visalia," which I inter-
preted as Yokud. When M.A. was about fifteen
[177 years old they all moved up to the present
reservation. M.A.'s information is not, then,
657] strictly Paleuyami, but refers to the mixed
culture, which was nevertheless essentially
Southern Valley, manifest at Tule, a reservation
near the present site of Porterville.

342 The house types she recalls at Tule are
those of adobe or boards.

Pottery she had seen, but never saw any-
323 one make it. Her mother made only baskets. One
285 woman, named Insi´'ɨn (Jennie), a Wakastmina
(Waksachi), once brought a piece down to Tule.

BURIAL

764 At death the corpse was washed with cold water and a piece of old deerskin. The hair was washed with soaproot, dried, brushed, and arranged. All the best clothing and ornaments were put on it, and it was laid on deerskins in the center of the house, behind the fireplace, with the head toward the west or northwest (most houses faced south). The corpse was flexed, tied, and wrapped in deerskins at this time, and left in the same place and position. Anyone who wished might visit it and join in the wailing which was carried on all night. After the corpse was removed for burial, the house was burned. In the new house where they went to live, jimsonweed and a plant called golpo´pi[109] were burned to repel the spirit of the deceased.

[767 Meanwhile two men and two "women" (the
latter transvestites, tono´čɨm) had dug the
838] grave, using digging sticks and baskets. If,
while digging, they came upon another burial,
767 it was necessary that they crush the skull, re-
move the brains and taste a bit of them, other-
764 wise they would die.

The following morning at dawn, the strongest of the four buriers[110] carried the corpse in a net on his back to the grave. He walked around the grave three times before lowering his burden. Then he addressed the deceased, saying, "You're going where you're going; don't

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[109] This plant "smelled strong and had lots of balls on it."

[110] Such a carrier was Wɨli´hana, whom M.A. recalls.

[P. 46 C] Paleuyami

764
767 look back for your family." Then they filled
in the earth. They were paid for this work,
and cleansed themselves by bathing.

775 The spirits of the dead went toward the
sunset, where the red clouds are seen as their
red paint. The chief there is Tɨpɨ´knɨts; he
is like a person and is prayed to. His
daughters, who wear rattlesnake dresses, help
people cross the dangerous bridge to the afterworld.[111]

When the Annual Mourning Ceremony took
769 place, the buriers had a special dance
767 (to'onči´ma) which they performed very early
every morning. The winatum went around and
woke everyone, saying that it was time for the
dance to start. The dancers wore a costume of
bones "all tied together," false hair of shredded
willow bark which hung down the back, and
false ears made of jackrabbit tails. They
carried digging sticks in their right hands,
and each had a burden basket on his back. The
four performers stood in a row, while the
corpse-carrier led their singing. They kept
time with their canes. The mourners who came
to join in the singing brought food (seeds or
acorn meal) which they gave to the buriers at
the end of the performance. The recipients
snatched it and threw it over their shoulders
into their baskets; if they did not accept it
instantly when offered, it was thrown in their
faces.

All of the buriers were called tonočɨm,
838 but not all were transvestites. The apparent
767 women usually were, but the men, like Wilihana,
dressed and occupied themselves normally.[112]
The transvestites dressed as women and went
seed-gathering with them. M.A. did not know
what determined such a changed life, but was
certain there was no special dream force behind
it.

769 M.A. added that when visitors arrived for
a mourning ceremony, they were lined up by a
winatum and paid a little money. This was done
for everyone regardless of whether he brought
food to contribute.

SHAMANISM

756 M.A.'s father was a rattlesnake doctor.
He could make rattlesnakes appear at any time
and at any place; he "made them come down from
the sun." When M.A. was little, her father

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[111] Gayton and Newman, 19.

[112] It is possible that such men were not transvestites but were in homosexual relation with those who assumed the female role.

[P. 47a] Paleuyami
Tubatulabal N522

Y
756 would place a rattlesnake around her neck when
she cried; the snake rattled and she ceased
crying.

Y
Rattlesnake (te´ʼɛd) was her father's
[752] lineage totem. He cured people who had been
struck by a rattlesnake by rubbing earth from
a gopher's mound into the wound. He could
prevent persons from being bitten, but M.A.
does not know how he accomplished this. She
stated with great positiveness that he never
danced, participated in any ritual, or indulged
in "snake-handling." (It is doubtful that the
Snake Ritual was indigenous to the Southern
Valley culture. See below.) He did no other
curing.

M.A. herself, with Rattlesnake as her totem, had some special association with the snakes. When she was a little girl, her mother's cousin, Solo´pono (a snake-handler), had a rattlesnake which he could not control. M.A. was called, and the child passed her hand around in the air above it; immediately it coiled and quietened. Then Solopono put it in a bottleneck basket and took it to a Rattlesnake Ritual.

Y
When white hairs first appeared on M.A.'s
head, she dreamed Rattlesnake came to her and
[145] said that "she was going to be like him with
white spots on her head." (M.A.'s hair is all
grey-white now.)

Y
756 Of supernatural power M.A. could or would
not speak fluently: all her information was
787 personalized. She did not "pay attention" to
her dreams until after she was married. Then
she swam three times during the night for three
nights in succession. She was successful in
her quest and "used her dreams to help her
children"; but the nature of her power is not
Y revealed. When she gambles, she eats only
tobacco.

A dream is one's heart traveling around at
[828] night. Once long ago when M.A. was out at
night she met a spirit, but she "knew what it
was and was not afraid." (It was impossible to
T discover whether this "out at night" was an
Y actuality or dreamed.)

756 The most powerful curing doctor, but a
bad one, was Wati´sti, according to M.A. She
754 says he was a Bankalachi. He sent pains to
people; by this means he killed women who resisted him. Other doctors tried to cure his
victims but this was futile. He killed Wu´ni,
the last Yaudanchi tiya, whose relatives
avenged his death by killing Watisti.[113]

Y
A rain shaman from Tejon, Hopo´ʼno, was re-
789 nowned for his abilities, but M.A. never knew
him to control the weather for pay. She
791 related the following.

When M.A. was a young girl, Hopoʼno was at Tule. He gambled at night with several others

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[113] See F.M.'s account of this in Gayton, Yokuts-Mono Chiefs and Shamans, 398.

789 and lost continuously. People teased him unduly and he became very angry. The following
791 day he called on all his powers (ai´n·č) to make a storm that would destroy the houses of those who had twitted him. A terrible hailstorm came out of a clear sky.[114] M.A. and her sister had gone to the river for water. They ran up a hill and crouched under some rocks for shelter. The storm continued unabated for an hour and many houses were washed away.

This rain-maker was known to Powers, who states that in 1870 he traveled as far north as Kings River offering to make rain for pay. The following year, another one of drought, he made a second pilgrimage, was paid abundantly, and caused rain to fall.[115]

A reference to Hopodno by Kroeber may be a reverberation of M.A.'s anecdote. Speaking of rain-makers he says, "The famous Hopodno at Tejon, who was half Yauelmani and half Shoshonean Kawaiisu, staked the rain in a game, and when he lost promptly delivered it to the winners."[116]

CEREMONIES

Rattlesnake Ritual

796 M.A. remembers only one Rattlesnake Ritual at Tule, the one to which Solopono took the snake she had pacified. At this ceremony he picked the snake up by the tail and made it bite his back and wrist; then he fell over. A doctor named Či´č·n revived him. Solopono was a Yaudanchi; another snake-handler there was Po´slili, a Wukchumni (sic, undoubtedly Pušl·l·n, the Choinimni); all the others were strangers: there were six of these men who danced with snakes.

Jimsonweed Ritual

796
276 M.A. saw jimsonweed drinking at Tule; although she did not partake herself, her mother did. Her mother was sick and wanted to discover the cause: she saw that the cause of her sickness was up at Woodlake (she was a Yokod). Most people took it "to see the future."

The ritual was held in the spring. It was always conducted by the same man, Wilihana. The leader of the rituâl was called tañai´´·ts; he prepared and administered the decoction. Both sexes drank together. Each person had his own drinking basket which was dipped into a

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[114] Just after this incident was related, heavy raindrops suddenly fell on us from a single cloud in a sunny blue sky. Both informant and interpreter laughed heartily and said, "That must be him now."

[115] Powers, 372.

[116] Handbook, 518; see also Gayton and Newman, 104.

[P-48a] Palpuyami

796 central basket by the leader, sprinkled with
eagle down, and returned to the drinker. When
276 each drinker had his basket in hand, the leader
called prayerfully upon "god" (ṭɪ´pnɪm; super-
natural power), not upon the jimsonweed, saying,
"You gave us this. Now these people are going
to drink it for you. Give them a good life;
let them see everything."

There was no race. The drinking was done
in the late afternoon. The participants fell
[262] asleep at once and toward morning began talking.
A twelve-day tabu on meat preceded and followed
the rite.

[789] Jimsonweed and golpopi were burned in
houses to repel hovering spirits of deceased
persons. Jimsonweed is "very old"; it was here
in the prehuman era.

[P. 48 b] Paleuyami:

GHOST DANCE OF 1870

796 668 M.A. was a little girl, still living at Tule, when a Chonotachi (Chunut) came to tell them about the big dance, that they all must go to Eshom Valley; for if they did not, they would "turn to ashes, a coyote, or something." M.A.'s uncle was very reluctant, but went because he was afraid. M.A. knows she must have gone to Eshom Valley but remembers little about it save that the dead people were supposed to come back. She thinks that two dances were held in Eshom Valley, one at Tule, one at Kolpopo afterwards, but probably none at Tejon.

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 NS29 Yokuts NS29

[P. 48 c] Koyeti

KOYETI

115 The following fragmentary notes were obtained from Dick Francisco (Yao´wi). At the time of my visit some personal difficulties of D.F.'s made him refuse to use any interpreter but his daughter, who proved hopelessly inadequate for her task.

D.F. was born at a rancheria on Deer Creek; his father and mother were both Koyeti -- "everybody who lived there was." They moved to Fort Tejon when he was very young; then after the first Ghost Dance they moved up to Tule [the older reservation where Porterville is now]. They were at Tejon during a big earthquake [1872]. While they lived at Tule there was a great flood which caused people to run to the hills.

648 The Koyeti and Bankalachi were close and friendly neighbors.

342 The houses on Deer Creek were mostly made of the large grass (?) rather than of tules.

756 D.F. does not remember the name of his Koyeti village, or of any chief.[117] He thinks there was "just one captain." But a powerful doctor, Maiye´mai (Manuel) was a well-known Koyeti. His power may have been from Eagle; he was "a good doctor and never killed anyone." He once cured Luisa Francisco, who was suffering from severe pains in her head. When he came to the house, he saw a "devil" (h·twai´'iya: malevolent ghost, "devil") standing by the door "and he knew that was what scared her." To effect the cure he did not cut, but fanned her with an eagle feather and "puffed." However, Maiyemai cured other types of sickness by cutting and sucking.

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[117] Another informant, B.J.A., from Fort Tejon claims that Dick Francisco was a winatum there.

KOYETI

533 539 756 One of Maiyemai's songs is given by Kroeber:[118]

lanaka nan-a
listen to me

mayèmai
[name of the composer of the song]

notu na keu
east I there

teicin-è wèhè
shall-emerge wehe

wè mukulau
we [turning]

hi sonolo wèhè
hi hand-feather-ornament wehe

756 Another important doctor, not a Koyeti, was Sapagai of Tejon. Another doctor, named Ci´č·n, killed Sapagai because he failed to cure someone.

About ceremonies little could be obtained from D.F. He knew the Doctors' Contest but doubted that it was ever made by the Koyeti at any time.

[551] Huhuna was danced (?) by a Yaudanchi man named Camsu´sa (a nickname meaning "many whiskers"). This man performed at Tejon and at Tule. D.F. claims he did not dance: "just tried to find money."[119] The costume was not intelligibly described, but D.F. thought Huhuna's face was covered. He "ran around by

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[118] The Yokuts Language, 367; given to Kroeber by Peter Christman, a Yaudanchi informant.

[119] D.F. may have meant that he did not dance as in the kmm or do conventional dance steps.

756 himself and was shot at the end." The doctor who resuscitated huhuna was Toi´'isɨk, but D.F. does not know if he was the one who "killed" him.

276 D.F. saw jimsonweed (ta´nai) taken at Fort Tejon; this was done in the early spring. Mashed jimsonweed roots were steeped in water and the decoction was drunk after about eight days' fast. It was taken by members of both sexes who were at least sixteen years old. But men and women did not drink it together. There was no "retreat" during the fast; the drinking

276 was done on three successive days [*sic*]. It was taken "for long life and to see everything," and the experience might be repeated as often as a person wished. D.F. had never taken jimsonweed.

796 The Ghost Dance (soto´twi ʽha´tɨm) was first seen in Koyeti territory on Deer Creek. 668 D.F. does not know who introduced it "unless it was Wačila´la," a Gąwia. How far the dance spread beyond Fort Tejon, D.F. has no idea. They came up from Fort Tejon to see it. Some people made it there when they went back.

TULAMNI

177 114 A unique though brief account of native culture in the extreme south of the San Joaquin Valley is preserved in the records of Pedro Pages, soldier, explorer, and eventually governor in Spanish California.[120] He was the first European known to have entered the San Joaquin Valley officially when, in the fall of 1772, he crossed the head of the valley from Grapevine Cañon westward toward San,Luis Obispo. Although no tr[illegible]al names are mentioned in Pages' account, on the basis of his routing we may assume that his descriptions derive from the Tulamni and perhaps the Hometwali and Yauelmani. The following notes are a condensation of his account.

291 301 Dress.--Men wore a cloak which reached to the waist; some cloaks were made of grouse skins. They bound their hair with strings of beads into which such articles as the antelope-horn tobacco container might be thrust. That men "smeared their heads in the form of the cross ... with white mud," may mean that a mud helmet like that of the Mohave was in vogue, or it may refer to a mere mark. To the chiefs Pages attributes "cloaks adorned with feathers" and "a great coiffure of false hair folded back upon their own." One suspects a misinterpretation of office here: they were probably ceremonial figures, but because of their elaborate dress were thought to be chiefs. The women dressed like those of San Luis Obispo,[121] which probably means they wore deerskin aprons as well as grass ones. [854] Their hair was banged (toupé) and braided. Babies were wrapped in pelican skins.

342 Houses.--Dwellings were arranged "like a chain" (in rows) with storehouses for food and implements in front of each. But Pages states it somewhat differently in his diary of 1772:

> [361] All this plain is very thickly settled with many and large villages....In their

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[120] See Bolton, In the San Joaquin ahead of Garcés; Pages, x, 72-76.

[121] Pages, 49.

TULAMNI

342 villages the natives live in the winter in very
large squares, the families divided from each
361 other, and outside they have very large houses
in the form of hemispheres where they keep
their seeds and utensils.

412 Utensils.--A metatelike stone mortar,
"jars of the same material" (probably steatite
vessels), and pattern baskets are mentioned.
Skins were used for bedding.

Foods.--Fages speaks at length of the
262 animal and vegetable foods available, and, like
all early travelers in the region, dwells on
136 their abundance. Of water birds he mentions
white, black, and brown geese, ducks, cranes,
and white pelicans. He remarks on grouse,
"multitudes of quail ... more savory than those
of Spain," and many small birds such as
[231] swallows and larks. Eagles measuring "fifteen
spans from tip to tip" were seen; eaglets were
raised and domesticated but were not eaten. Of
land animals, wild sheep, antelope, elk, and
deer abounded, and "across the river" [in the
Sierra Nevada foothills on the east side of the
valley ?] were "buffaloes [sic], bears, wild-cats,
wolves [sic], coyotes, ferrets and foxes";
in the Santa Lucía range there were panthers
[cougar ?].

Of fish there was "an abundance of all
species." Seals and otters occurred "as far as
one hundred and fifty leagues [sic] upstream in
the Rio de San Francisco [San Joaquin River and
sloughs]."

262 Several familiar vegetable foods are mentioned.
Three varieties of oak produced acorns,
137 which were prepared by the usual processes of
drying, grinding, and leaching. Soaproot, used
for washing, was also eaten roasted, as were
other tuberous roots and bulbs. Cattail roots
were made into flour, and the blossoms into a
yellow bread. We can guess that manzanita
cider is meant by the "very refreshing drink,
somewhat acid" made by soaking the pulp of the
fruit of a certain shrub in water. Reeds were
dried so that the crystallized juice [sic]

[P. 50a] Tulamni

262 could be shaken off [as sugar].[122] A sugar was made from the compressed pulp of a shrub fruit. 137 Many other food plants mentioned by Fages would doubtless be identifiable by a botanist acquainted with the flora of the region.

Two meals were taken, one at sunrise, the 264 other in the midafternoon.

String.--It appears that both hemp and 283 nettle were used for making string, for, of the two plants, Fages says one grows in a moist soil and appears much like true hemp, the other, growing in dry soil, has "leaves like the walnut, ashy colored and downy, with a white flower."

Tobacco.--The plant was gathered in 276 abundance and, ground with lime, was made into a paste and formed into "cones or small loaves" which were wrapped in tule leaves and hung in the house to dry. It was taken after supper, and one could subsist on it "for three days without nourishment."

Men kept their smoking tobacco, wrapped in leaves, in an antelope horn which they carried in their headbands. A most un-Yokuts-like practice is described: after supper "they set themselves to smoking tobacco, one after the other, from a great stone pipe";[123] that is, smoking after supper is Yokuts, the single great stone pipe is not. This indeed may be a truly southern Yokuts feature.

Chieftainship.--Like Powers, Fages attrib- 622 utes district chiefs to the Yokuts; one might 624 have four or five villages, each with its own chief, under the authority of a superior "district" chief. The chief is said to be monogamous, to receive tribute in "seeds, fruit, game, and fish," to counsel on punishments with the advice of his constituents. The lesser chiefs kept their superior informed of events in their villages, of civil offences, and turned offender's over to him for reprimand. "During such an act of reprimand the culprit, whether man or woman, remains standing with

622 disheveled hair hanging down over the face."
624 [Possibly Pages mistook the winatum and his
functions for those of a chiefly official.]

Games.--Two dice games, and hoop and pole,
524 are recorded by Pages. The first, for women
525 only, was played with dice of snail shells
filled with tar, thrown on a basketry tray. The
count was based on "the number of shells which
stop mouth up, whether they are fewer, an equal
number, or more than those which stop mouth
down." The play passed from one to another,
"each one wagering some little article appropriate
to woman's use."

Men played at stick dice of which there were ten, marked on one face with cross lines. The sticks were tossed at a "wooden tube, three spans long and one in width." They all had to fall mark outward [upward?] in order to win. A successful player continued until he failed, when the next player took up the sticks.

The tossed hoop and pole game he describes
526 as played on a smooth space some 10
yards long and wide enough for two runners, all
enclosed with a fence of brush and grass
slightly over a span high. There were two
players, with pointed poles 4 yards [as translated]
long, and "a little wheel made of strong
straps fastened together so as to leave in the
center a hole about the size of a real [the
size of a dime, tr.]." As the hoop was thrown
in the air, both men hurled their poles at it
"so as to catch the wheel or thread it upon the
stake before it falls to the ground."

Signals.--Pages states that during all-
202 night celebrations watchmen were posted "who
give signals between themselves and for the entire
village by whistling or by strumming the
cords of their bows, thereby giving notice
that the enemy is approaching, that a house is
burning, or that there is some other accident
in the silence of the night." Estudillo saw
signal fires in use throughout the valley.[126]

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 NS29 Yokuts NS29

[P. 50 C]

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BANKALACHI: YOKUTS-SHOSHONEAN

[P. 50d] Tubatulabal NS22

T
Y
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Frank Manuel was born at Soto´tlo, a large village of about twenty families, on Deer Creek where both Bankalachi and Pitanisha (Tübatulabal) lived. His maternal grandfather, Čoxo´no, was a Pitanisha chief there. There were two other chiefs whose names F.M. does not re-

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Y

[120] See Voegelin, Tübatulabal Ethnography, 19.

[172]

[121] Stone pipes occur in archaeological remains from the southern valley but were not used within the memory of informants; they may also have come by trade from the Chumash (see Kroeber, Handbook, 564).

[122] Gayton, Estudillo, 83.

[P. 50 e] Tubatulabal NS22

T
Y
159

member.[125] His father (name "not recalled") was a chief's winatum: Dove was his lineage totem, Cougar his dream helper. He died when F.M. was about ten years old. F.M. says he too was a chief's winatum: he took Eagle as his family totem because of his chiefly descent on his mother's side, and Coyote was his dream helper. F.M.'s father had one sister who, he says, had no children. F.M.'s full brother was killed in "a big fight" at Kernville when the informant was about twelve years old. A half-brother, Esteban Miranda, who had a Pitanisha

T
Y
[769
551]

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[125] This informant^i was one of the few who observed name tabus on the dead.

^i[i.e. Frank Manuel. -Analyst]

T [P. 51a] Tubatulabal NS29
Y
159 father and is older than F.M., now lives up at
T Onyx.[126]
Y Mayemai, the shaman, lived at Sototlo;
756 there was another one whose name is not recalled. Poi´ʼin, the shaman mother of Watisti,
T was a Bankalachi.
Y The village broke up during the summer,
221 the families combining in groups of twos and threes for summer camps in the mountains. Little circular brush corrals were built for shelter. They remained out one or two months while the women gathered seeds.

When F.M. was about eighteen years old
T they moved up to Tule and later, with others,
Y to the present reservation.
621 F.M. named a few sites, the location of which I was unable fully to determine. Sototlo
131 village, on Deer Creek, he locates six miles south of Tule River junction, which places both it and another Bankalachi village, Čena´ʷᵃ in Bokninuwad territory if we follow Kroeber's map.[127] Another village, ʿ´nᵃwao, was east of Čenaʷᵃ. Tonočim (transvestite) is the name of a little hill just above F.M's house on the present Tule River Reservation. The rock quarry, near the Monachi Golf Club, is at a spot called Toi´yo, which F.M. says refers to eagles' nests that were there. The first reservation, called Tule by all the Indians who refer to it, was at what is now Houghton's Corner on the eastern outskirts of Porterville.

STRUCTURES

T
Y Houses at Sototlo were conical, never gabled. There was no ring at the apex, as in
342 conical houses farther north: the smoke "just went out where the brush came together at the top." When tule (pu´muk) was obtainable, sewn mats for covering were made of it. Usually large grasslike "brush" called kana´sʿts was twined into mats some 3 to 4 feet long and
T about 3 feet deep: the rows of twining were
Y about 12 inches apart. It took six to eight
[354] mats to cover a house. The fire was in the center; the fireplace had no special name. The
T "brush" house was called ya´wʿl ti´ʼi; that
Y covered with tule, pumuk ṭi´ʼi.[128]
343 The sweat house was a single-post affair. The earth was excavated for about two feet. No side walls were attempted.[129] The radiating roof poles were tied to the top of the center pole. After interstices were filled with "brush," earth was thrown over all. There was

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[126] See Voegelin, 7.

[127] Handbook, pl. 47. F.M. claimed ignorance of any people called Bokninuwad.

[128] This informant, like most dwellers at the Tule River Reservation, speaks Yauelmani.

[129] Cf. neighboring southern California sweat houses (Kroeber, Handbook, pls. 56 and 60).

T
Y
343 no door, the doorway being merely an opening
between the rafters [there probably was a door-
T way frame of some sort]. The fire was in front
Y of the center post. Firewood was kept in two
[354] piles, one on each side of the entrance; men
sitting next to these put wood on the fire.

T Men did not indulge in sweats until they
Y were twenty-five to thirty years old. Evening
[late afternoon?] was the most popular time for
515 a sweat, after which they would swim and return
home to sleep. While in the sweat house men
usually "just lay around." Sometimes, merely
T to entertain others or to practice, a man would
Y dance the ha´tɨm (the "piston-rod step" of
Powers) if someone would sing for him. For
517 such a performance there was no costume; it had
no ritual significance. No games were played
in the sweat house, nor was smoking indulged
in -- "it was too strong in there."

T
Y

MISCELLANEOUS DATA

524 Games.--Women played hu͡ču´wɨs, the walnut-
shell dice game, in the daytime only.

T Pottery.--Pottery was made at Sototlo by
Y women. The pounding of the clay paste, the
323 coiling process were the only details remem-
bered.

Money.--The small disc money of clamshells
T was measured by doubling a strand and then
Y slipping it into a series of chain-stitch loops.
436 A "rope" long enough to reach from the wrist to
the shoulder, was worth $2.00 in "American
money." Such a strand was exchanged for an
eagle's leg with the down still intact.

T Blankets.--F.M. did not know how "woven"
Y skin blankets were made, save that strips of
286 rabbitskin or wildcatskin were used in them.

Calendar.--A calendrical system of months
T based on moons was used in the old days. The
only name he remembers was that for the month
Y roughly coincident with February: kala´sa,
805 meaning "blows it all away" or "cleaned up,"
because it was a period of high winds, trees
were bare, and the leaves all blown away.

T Hair nets.--These were used "everywhere"
Y for the basis of feather head ornaments. A
single hairpin (tsama´ni) held the ornament in
301 place. Neither the net nor hairpin was used
for ordinary dress, nor by women.

T Yellowhammer strips.--Ornamental bands of
sewn yellowhammer feathers (paiya´man) were
Y known but rarely used.[130] A doctor who owned
[237] one would wear it for the dancing on the night
of celebration following a mourning ceremony.
It was never used when the doctor was dressed
for curing; it was "just to look pretty." The
band was worn around the head with the ends
T hanging down the back.

Y Musical instruments.--The flute (uţoi´´i)
534 was made of elderwood; number of holes not

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[130] Cf. Koso specimen (ibid., pl. 58).

[P. 52a] Tubatulabal NS22

T Y 534 known. The clapper (tawa´twɨl) and cocoon rattle (sa´nač) were used. The musical bow was known to the Southern Yokuts, Choinimni Yokuts, and probably northward throughout the foothills as it is reported from Western Mono, Miwok, and Maidu.[131]

T Y 224 411 Hunting.--F.M.'s father was a fine hunter; Cougar was his dream helper. When F.M. was about fifteen years old, his father took him hunting. Sinew-backed bows were bought from Pitanisha (Tübatulabal) living near Kernville. But plain bows of elderwood [? he claimed] were made at Sototlo. Arrows were of button willow tipped with a white-oak point, or of obsidian if for deer.

T Y 224 The deer disguise was made of the complete head, antlers, and skin. The head was stuffed with grass. The wearer leaned on two sticks to imitate the animal, and with them would crash about in underbrush to simulate fighting deer.

Bears were lured out of their caves by a fast runner, and shot by two or three good hunters waiting in ambush.

After the killing of an especially large deer or bear, the animal's head was sprinkled with eagle down. F.M. never heard of selling bear paws or skin to someone with a bear totem. He thinks bear was not a totem animal for any one at Sototlo.

In dividing up a carcass, the man who took the skin did not receive any meat. Men did tanning of hides.

T Y 223 The pigeon booth from which birds were snared is probably native to this region, as well as northward along the foothills, although that seen and illustrated by Holmes was on the Tule River Reservation.[132]

T Y 276 Tobacco.--Tobacco (so´gɔn) was drunk with lime. The preparation was like that elsewhere: the cakes of dried leaves were pounded with a small mortar (koi´was) and pestle (pa´lwi), crushed shells (ta´sep) were added, and water was stirred in. It was taken in the evening by persons of either sex who were at least twenty years of age; the purpose was to aid dreaming. Crushed tobacco was smoked in a cane pipe (ha´la) or an elderwood pipe (wi'se´ta, elderwood). Tobacco was made in the usual two cake forms, so´gɔn and politsi´na, but of the latter F.M. could only say that it was stronger and molded in the usual cylindrical shape.

T Y 372 Tinder.--Oak balls contained a shreddy, corklike substance called yɨ´ska, which was used as tinder in making fires and lighting pipes.

T Y 278 757 Medicine.--Redwood sap (ṭa´nal) was shaved up in a pot of hot water. A person with a wound which bled profusely steamed himself with this under a blanket; a woman who had given birth also used it in this way. A little of

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[131] Ibid., 419, 542; Barrett and Gifford, 250; Wobonuch Western Mono, herein, Pt. II.

[132] Anthropological Studies, pls. 31, 32.

T Y 757 278

the sap was chewed for a cold, but it was extremely bitter. The interpreter, S.G., bit off a little piece of tanal in my presence, made an excruciating face, spat it out, and said he "guessed he'd wait till he had a bad cold."

T Y 616

Moiety.--The words Nutuwich and Tokelyuwich greatly puzzled F.M., who said he had never heard about those people "and guessed those tribes were all gone." A description of the moiety as it functions amongst northern and lake Yokuts tribes merely elicited the statement that "people down here didn't act that way."

CEREMONIES

T Y 796

Snake ritual.--This F.M. has seen at Tule, but it was not made at Sototlo.

Bear Dance.--This was "never done down this way; they had it up toward Kaweah River."

Huhuna Dance.--This was not seen until after F.M. had settled at Tule, where it was introduced by people from the north.

T Y 756

Shamans' Contest.--There were not enough doctors at Sototlo for contests to be held, but these were given later at Tule where Poi’in, the woman shaman, participated.

T Y 796 237

Eagle purchase.--A man who killed an eagle would go from house to house, and at each he would be given a bit of money. Then he went to the chief who gave him a larger sum of money and received the carcass. Then the chief called the people together. After removing the skin and shinbones, they buried the carcass with some ceremony; money was always placed with it. An old man would get up and make a speech.[133] There was a tabu on meat for three days after the ceremony.

T Y [435]

Eagle down, thus obtained by the chief, was sold by him. The old price was one [double ?] string of disc beads the length of one's arm; later $2.00 per leg was charged. The down was scattered when any act of importance was undertaken. When praying, no matter to whom the prayer was addressed, or when traveling, one sprinkled down on a hilltop or in a gap between two hills. The sanctity of eagle down was evinced by its peculiar ability to "stick anywhere on anything"; it sticks to the fingers, and when cast on the ground it does not blow away.

Jimsonweed Ritual

T Y 276 796 [757]

Jimsonweed (ta´nai) was taken about February; the rite was held every two or three years. Only men took jimsonweed; indulgence was not compulsory; it was taken only once ceremonially, but might be used frequently for medicinal purposes.

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[133] F.M. could not remember what this was about, and said he "couldn't tell it anyway because my language is too short."

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If some boys wanted to take jimsonweed, they would announce the fact in early winter (about December), and then abstain from meat and grease for the next two months. During this period they remained quietly about home, neither hunting, playing, nor participating in social affairs. About two weeks before the drinking, a doctor would retire with the boys to a private camp, where he instructed them in deportment, how to address jimsonweed when praying. Boys who participated were about sixteen and, according to F.M., were expected to remain continent for about three years. The retreat lasted two or three days, and on emerging, they set the day for the drinking twelve days in advance.

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Each boy had a sponsor whose duty it was to prepare the drink for him. These were men who "knew how to do it and had taken jimsonweed themselves." When one was digging up jimsonweed, a prayer was made, and eagle down would be sprinkled on the plant in order to obtain a large root. The size of the root does not correspond at all to the size of the plant, or the ground might be hard, or stones might interfere: the prayer and down obviated all these uncertainties. A man always went to the same spot to obtain the roots. The roots were mashed, added to water, and boiled a little.

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The boys and spectators gathered in the early morning. Each boy was provided with a large coiled basket which held about one to two quarts. The basket was made by the boy's mother or, if necessary, bought, as it had to be of fine workmanship. It was received as a gift-payment by the sponsor, and after the ceremony could be used for any purpose. The sponsor held the basket to the boy's lips; the boy must not touch it; he must finish it all at one draught.[134]

A man who was in charge of the ceremony made one prayer for all the participants. Neither F.M. nor S.G., the interpreter, could state what this was, save that he "called on Sun, Eagle, Cougar, and all those big ones" to give the drinkers good life and protection. Meanwhile several good runners and a "loud shouter" were assembled, and these, with the shouter leading, and the drinkers ran three times around a specified circuit. If a drinker fell before the laps were completed, his life would be shortened by so much.

When the drinkers became unconscious they were laid on deerskins or tule mats with a woman at the head and feet of each. By evening the coma began to wear off, and the women sang songs to rouse the boys. Toward morning they became voluble and made their revelations: people assembled to watch and listen. The drinkers could see people who were far away, and could see, too, who was traveling. They

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[134] Although the basket might hold as much as 2 quarts, the amount drunk was not specified by F.M.

T Y 796 276 saw the cause of sickness and with feathers would brush the sickness off a patient. A shaman's supernatural helper might be seen and recognized, whereupon the shaman would implore the seer not to take that helper as his own. This request was formally restricted to one petition. All that was seen in the visions had to be told. No lost or stolen articles were discovered by this means.

T Y 752 276 Medicinally, jimsonweed was drunk for the setting of broken bones; while this painful work was done during the coma, the healing, which was said to take place in twelve days, was attributed to the power of the jimsonweed. Poultices of mashed roots were applied to fractures and wounds during the winter. Any use of jimsonweed was tabu from about April to October.

A special method of curing was used for syphilitic sores and other sores which would not heal. A bit of matter from the sore was taken up on the end of a small smooth stick or bone. This was taken to a growing datura plant. The plant's root was exposed, a small cut was made in it and the matter inserted; then the root was replaced. Anyone who wished could do this; there was no prayer; it was "a sure cure."

SHAMANISM

T Y 756 F.M. knew but little about the acquisition of supernatural power. His few statements conform to the general picture of Yokuts supernaturalism. Power was not restricted to professional lineages or inherited powers: "anybody could get a dream that wanted to take the trouble." If the dream (ana´twal) came, nothing was eaten on the following day. The person "talked" to his dream, scattered eagle down, and prayed. Tobacco was eaten to produce nausea and induce dreaming. F.M.'s statement that both men and women took tobacco this way, as well as the record of two female shamans from the southern valley, suggest at least some participation by women in the shamanistic profession as nothing unusual in this region. There was no secrecy about the acquisition of power and one friend might ask another if he had dreamed (na´nek ma ana´təlh·n).

Of dream helpers, weasel (pohoi´ʼ·t) was the best for doctors. When dancing or contesting, shamans wore weasel skins on their wrists.

Curing of patients was determined by the relative powers of the doctor causing the sickness and the curer. The curing shaman was helpless unless his supernatural assistants were more powerful than those of the instigator.

The shaman's "airshot" is described in terms used for "poison" elsewhere, which fits with the general Yokuts belief that "poison" emanated from this region. T Y [551] The "shot" was said to be made from the smoke of a fire; while it was being made, the intended victim's name must be

[P. 549] Tubatulabal NS22

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mentioned.[135] The "bullets" may be placed anywhere, as on a tree, and "they go off by themselves," or they are put in the mouth and spat out.

When the Shamans' Contest was made at Tule there was a "center position." In the last one held there the female shaman, Poi'ɨn, held this, and was blinded as a result during the contest.

Poi'ɨn's father, who was a Bankalachi, was not known as a professional shaman: "he might have had some power." She was the only woman doctor known to F.M. and S.G., save one now living on the south fork of Kern River; she was known to the Chunut, J.A., as Sukotɨts. She "thought about power [ṭɨpni] day and night until she dreamt." She married Ceče´'ɨs, who was Wati´sti's father; but F.M. knows nothing about him. Her supernatural helper was not known to F.M.; she did not "handle" snakes. She taught Watisti all she knew; when he became a professional doctor she accompanied him, danced and sang, and received part of his payment. She was known as a "good doctor," was never suspected of killing anyone. Her son, however, achieved a bad reputation and, after her death, was finally killed in vengeance for the death of Wu´ni, a Yaudanchi chief.[136]

She once visited Wukchumni at Lemon Cove, where she cured S.G.

He was "poorly"; he had no specific pains, but his nose bled constantly and he had to stay in bed. Poi'ɨn was visiting there; she came to cure him. She did not cut, merely rubbed. She "called on all the big hills asking for their help." She had a "chicken" hawk's head and eagle-down string as talismans. These she dipped in a basket of water on which eagle down had been sprinkled. Then she rubbed them

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[135] This may be a reason for the reluctance about name-mention encountered here, but not elsewhere among Yokuts informants.

[136] See Gayton, Yokuts-Mono Chiefs and Shamans, 398.

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756 gently over S.G.'s head and body, working downward, and blew on his skin while it was still damp. Her curing paraphernalia she kept in a little net sack.

GHOST DANCE OF 1870

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668 At the time of the Ghost Dance F.M. was living at Tule rancheria. Along with everyone else, he walked up to Eshom Valley for the great dance there. A Yaudanchi winatum, Ino´lya, told them to go up there because the dead were going to return. The messenger went on with his news to Sototlo, on southward to Bakersfield, and up Poso Creek.

At Eshom Valley, F.M. learned that the news had been brought from Dunlap. Of the singers who were there only Samson Dick is now alive; they did not teach their songs to anyone else [sic].

T
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[302] When they returned to Tule they had a dance of their own which lasted six days; this was the largest ever held in the southern part of the valley. They circled to the left; there were no prayers, "just songs." People painted their faces: popular patterns were, for men, two parallel horizontal lines of black and white across the upper cheek, and for women, two or three vertical rows of black, white, and red dots below the eyes. Body painting was not done. They danced all night, swam at daybreak, and rested during the day while the singers practised.

No dance was held at Sototlo, "it was too small a place." But "everyone" in the southern end of the valley came to this dance at Tule. Many people, especially those of Fort Tejon, came to live there permanently after the Ghost Dance episode.

600

YOKUTS: CENTRAL FOOTHILLS

WUKCHUMNI

LOCALITY AND INTERTRIBAL RELATIONS

131 133 The territory in which the Wukchumni lived comprised beautiful, oak-studded, foothill country on both sides of the Kaweah River. Situated on the edge of the valley plain yet within the shelter of the hills, the benefits of both were theirs. No section of the valley was more lush than that watered by the Kaweah River and its fingerlike delta of creeks between the foothills and the lake. An almost ecstatic description has been left us by an early visitor, James H. Carson, who saw the country in 1852, two years after Lt. Derby's tour and the same year in which Jeff Mayfield arrived in the San Joaquin Valley.[137]

> 133 The Four Creeks are the next waters met with. These deep and rapid streams are formed by one river [the Kaweah River]. Lieut. G.H. Derby of the U.S. Topographical Engineers, who made the first surveys of this portion of California, in May, 1850, named this the Francis River. It is larger than the San Joaquin or any of its tributaries where it leaves the mountain.
>
> This stream can be heard when you have gone a few miles in among the Buttes at its entrance on the plain, thundering from the rocky heights of the snowcapped Nevada. Its waters, as if tired of their task, seem to stop to rest in a beautiful small lake, formed amongst the conical hills.
>
> These hills divide the waters of Francis [Kaweah] River at the foot of the Lake into the four streams known to the traveller on the plains as the Four Creeks. These creeks meander thro' heavily timbered and beautiful country, some twenty-five miles, where they empty their water into Tule [Tulare] Lake.
>
> Allow me here to digress for a few moments from the tenor of these sketches, and you who admire the beauties of nature, untouched by the hands of man, accompany me to the top of the conical hill[138] that rises its head near the mountain -- far above the rest that surround it-and there view the fancy pencillings of the finger of the unseen Hand that formed from chaos this the most lovely spot in California.--Now from its top we see around us a hundred conical hills rising from the plain, smooth and diagrammatically shaped, as if done by the chisel of the artist. Here, too, the Sierra Nevada rises abruptly from the plains -- its wall-like, rugged sides running almost perpen-

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[137] Carson, Life in California, 64-66.

[138] Probably the hill called dai'a'pnus (Local Map B, no. 32) by the Wukchumni and regarded by them as their "home spot" or traditional primordial locale. -- A.H.G.

133 dicularly up, until its spiral peaks are capped with the eternal snows that shine with dazzling brightness from the rays of the rising sun. Yonder, far in the plain, rise tall spiral cones of long, slim, rocks, whose bristling tops look like piles of spears stacked by giants of another age...Here on the green plain, from which the Buttes rise can be seen here and there the broad, low-spreading branches of the evergreen oaks. The stillness of nature around is broken only by the thunder of the waters of the Francis River as they come through the rocky gorges of the mountain passes: but, here at our feet, their white foam has died away, and in this crystal lake, where fish of a thousand species sport, they seem to stop and rest before they hurry on to their destination. Now let us turn and look westward. -- The oaks, in their majesty, thickly cover the plain for miles around, and stretch away to the shore of the Tulare Lake. Amongst them and through high green grass, meander the Four Creeks. To the right, at the distance of 25 miles, runs the belt of timber, marking the course of King's River to the lake. On the left is seen at the distance of twenty miles, the broad body of timber that marks the course of Tule river. The body of land, thus bounded, is the best in the valley -- well timbered and watered, and covered with the finest grass in California. Stretching beyond this to the west lie the placid blue waters of the Tulare lake, whose ripples wash the foot of the low hills of the Coast range -- the blue tops of which set a boundary to the scene.

Trade

101 131 The limits of Wukchumni land are indefinite, for all so-called boundaries were trespassed by hunting and seed-gathering groups on all sides, yet limits were recognized at certain points by common consent. On the north Wukchumni territory touched Waksachi in Antelope Valley, which was occupied by Wukchumni families. On the east, up the Kaweah River at the modern hamlet of Three Rivers, a mixed Wukchumni-Patwisha village marked the beginnings of Patwisha holdings. On the south the Wukchumni roamed as far as Yokol, the Yokod nuclear village (the present railway station of Yokohl), and on the west as far as Woodlake where Gawia land began. The small lake there was regarded as joint property of Wukchumni, Gawia, and Yokod for fishing, waterfowl-hunting, and shellfish-gathering. Telamni, Choinuk, and Wolasi sometimes came there too.

The Gawia, M.L. said, lived along the river west of the Wukchumni and had special campsites at springs near Haditao and Sokodao,

[P. 56a] Wukchumni
Western Mono NS25

Y 101 131 although their main village was Yeitao (Local Map B, nos. 5, 2, and 1). They had another village near the modern hamlet of Klink. They would come onto Wukchumni land to gather berries and redbud. There is evidence from historic accounts that the Gawia were once a powerful tribe. The Yokod came no farther north than Lindcove.

Y 438 The Waksachi lived in Eshom Valley and claimed territory as far west as Aukland, according to M.L. They also came down to the edge of the plains in Wukchumni territory to gather seeds and trade (see Waksachi account, Pt. II). On the other hand, the Wukchumni went up to Eshom Valley for the specially fine acorns of the black oak.

Y [223 439] To the east the Wukchumni went into Patwisha territory, above Three Rivers, to snare wild pigeons. They took tule house mats with them to make shelters, then sold them to the Patwisha, who lacked tule.

Y [222] The Wukchumni went onto Chunut land to the southwest, where magnificent groves of oak abounded, to get acorns when there was a shortage in their own area. No payments were made for these friendly forays among any of the above-mentioned tribes.

Y 439 437 The Tachi from the lake bought burden baskets, coiled baskets, and pottery vessels from the Wukchumni, for all their containers were made of twined tule in aboriginal times (according to M.L. and M.G.). They in turn made the finest of tule mats which they sold to the Wukchumni and others of the foothills. The Tachi and others of the lake tribes were the manufacturers of shell money; they bought the raw materials, unworked shells, from the coast tribes. Thus the movement of money was eastward, of commodities westward.

Y M 177 [191] M [105] Very little that is definite can be learned of the Patwisha, the Western Mono tribe to the east of the Wukchumni. The informant J.P. was half Patwisha in his maternal line. He was born and raised at Hotnunyu, a village where people of Yokuts and Western Mono blood mixed and were bilingual in speech. The Patwisha had the Bear Dance, Shamans' Contest, a village organization with chiefs and winatums, and entered into all ceremonial affairs with the Yokuts tribes, as did the Waksachi. The general impression from J.P. and other informants was that the Patwisha were a small group of Western Mono on the way to complete absorption by their more numerous and culturally richer Yokuts neighbors and that they disappeared entirely during the flux and pressure of white encroachment.

Y 439 648 The Eastern Mono, called Mona´či by the Wukchumni, were well known to them as traders. In the late summer, when the mountain passes were open, they came over bringing sinew-backed bows, moccasins, rock salt, pine nuts (wa´tat), jerked deer meat, and pine wood "hot-rock lifters," to sell. They wanted money and fine

439 648 Yokuts baskets in exchange. There was an undercurrent of hostility between the Monachi and the Yokuts and these traders were often accompanied by Waksachi or Patwisha as an assurance of cordial reception. They never went farther west than to the Gawia and Yokod, and four days to a week would be the extent of their stay. Women as well as men came on these trading trips, and occasionally one would stay the winter, acquire a man if she could, but return to the eastern side of the mountains the following year.[139] The Wukchumni and other foothill Yokuts did not go across the Sierra Nevada to trade. After the intrusion of white settlers the eastern side of the mountains was used as a refuge by Yokuts in flight from white persecution.

101 The Western Mono tribes northeast of the Waksachi, the Entimbich and Wobonuch, were merely called "easterners" or "uplanders" (nuta´) by the Wukchumni, while the Wechihit, Choinimni, and others on Kings River were called "northerners" (hoisa´'ima). All tribes south of the Yaudanchi, i.e., at Tule River and southward, were called "southerners" (humtɪ´nɪn).

Wukchumni Villages

124 I was not able to secure anything comparable to a census for any Wukchumni village, as only a remnant population was left even in the childhood of my informants. Certain families and persons are well remembered and repeatedly referred to by all informants. Such data as I have follow. That given by J.B. may serve as an example of all such seed-gathering expeditions.

361 There were three major Wukchumni settlements: Diapnuša, Gutsnumi, and Hoganu, in order of their respective importance (Local Map B, nos. 33, 19, and 29). . The most prominent chief about 1870-1890 was Muţo´ñi,[140] who had
622 headquarters at Diapnuša, but who had a ménage at Hoganu where his son Bise´ti and daughter Wa´ohet were born and raised. One of the winatums at Diapnuša was Po´koi, J.B.'s father. When late spring (ko´toi tiša´myu) came, people thought of going to gather seeds. This would be about May after the Snake Ritual had been
221 held. The chief decided when to move; he would
166 call Pokoi and tell him to announce the moving.[141]
621 It was not necessary that all families go at exactly the same time, nor did they have to wait until the chief himself set out. But all

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[186 837] [139] While M.L. spoke scornfully of these lingerers, she denied that they were prostitutes. Casual cohabitation was a commonplace of Yokuts culture: men came and went, enjoying temporary domesticity.

[140] Consistently pronounced matsu´ñi by J.B.

[141] In two myths recorded by Dr. Newman a description of this seed-gathering move serves as a prologue (cf., Gayton and Newman, 1, 89).

221
166 the families in Diapnuša would move within
621 about two weeks of each other. They went in
groups: some were related families, others
just bound by friendship. Infirm people did
[888] not go, being left with food and occasionally
visited. The summer encampment lasted until
late summer or early fall (wusa´o), the
villagers returning in time to prepare for the
Annual Mourning Ceremony. Following on that
was the season of acorn gathering.

J.B.'s family went with a group of other
[131] families to Šiye´du, a seed-gathering camp near
the present site of Moffett (no. 39), a distance of about four miles. It was near Yokod
territory. The original source of the water
[312] there now, unless a spring, was not known to
J.B., for even in his childhood an irrigation
ditch flowed near by. Referring to their own
[342] house there, J.B. said his "father put up the
frame while [his] mother made and tied on the
grass skirt. No one helped with this; everybody made his own house." Necessary and
[412] valuable belongings were taken along. The
women of the camp kept mortars buried there as
no bedrock was available.

There were six houses at Šiyedu, all of
342 the conical, grass-thatched type, of sound con-
592 struction so that they were merely repaired
from year to year. Two of them later were
621 permanently occupied by two men who worked on a
neighboring ranch [Hangton's?]. There was no
special arrangement in the location of the
dwellings.

The house occupants were:

1. The chief, Muţoñi (J.B.'s father's sister's husband); Waohət (Muţoñi's daughter) and her husband Ya´ni (J.B.'s half-brother through marriage [does he mean brother-in-law because it is a cousin's husband ?]). Yani and Waohət later lived there permanently.
2. The winatum, Pokoi (J.B.'s father), his wife Mo´muč (J.B.'s mother), To´p·no (J.B. himself), and Kiwi´ya (J.B.'s half-brother) "when he wasn't working."
3. Ka´osəs (J.B.'s mother's sister's son) and his wife Po'o´tso (a Yaudanchi, Čamčusan's daughter). They had no children.
4. Pono´to (Bill Garfield), his wife Huisa´na, and their son Wi´aleče (Sam Garfield). Other children not known to J.B. These people were not related to any of the families mentioned above.
5. It·mwi´'iyu (a Wukchumni-Patwisha) and his Patwisha wife (name not recalled).
6. Wati´sti (a Bankalachi shaman), his mother Poi´'i·n[142] (also Bankalachi), his Yaudanchi wife (name not recalled), and her son Čamu´ma (Charlie, of a Yaudanchi father).

J.B. said that for all there were only these six families at Šiyedu in his youth, in his father's time there were many, many more.

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[142] Consistently pronounced Bo´wiyan by J.B.

It is to be noted that the infamous shaman
756 Watisti and his mother were among those at
Šiyedu. J.B. said "they danced the kam
[watiyod] there whenever they wanted to make
[535] money or the tia'a asked them to." Bill Garfield
sang for them. (See "Pleasure Dances"
for an account of this entertainment.) No
other dance or ritual was ever given at summer
camps. J.B. said that they all returned to
Diapnuša for the big mourning ceremony, that
there visitors could be accommodated and the
location was secluded from encroaching whites.
[177] Even in J.B.'s time at Šiyedu "there was no
place to pasture horses; all the land was taken
up by whites."

Of the village of Hoganu, J.B. could
621 recall only three families. The chief there was
Bise´ti, who was Muţoñi's son by a woman named
512 Uyu´tskulu. He later married M.L. but the
couple continued to live with Biseti's mother
because "his father had gone to live with another
woman." In another house lived an old
man named Ču and his Wukchumni-Patwisha wife,
Šu´pač.

A daughter of Mutoñi, Lottie, by yet another
woman (a Waksachi and half-sister of
B.O.; she had eagle poša like Muţoñi) also
lived at Hoganu. L. said that another named
Gaču´na was a contemporary chief with Muţoñi.
The winatum at Hoganu was a Gawia named Wa´lai;
his wife too was a winatum, a Yaudanchi named
O´mo. L. said they had no children "because
Omo ate too much meat." (L. herself moved up
to Dunlap when she married an Entimbich; her
second husband was a Pitanisha [Tübatulabal].)

In Antelope Valley lived a chief named
Sodo´nto, who married J.P.'s grandmother. Another
chief, Ke´w·č (John Davis) lived there,
and in a third house were relatives of Jim
Wilcox. This little hamlet was called Wo´kano.
Later Walai moved out there; and this chief
Sodonto may indeed be the chief Sodono who previously
lived at Diapnuša.

At Gutsnumi M.L.'s mother, mother's sister,
female parallel cousin (called elder sister),
her older brother, and her maternal grandmother
all lived in one house. When her father was
alive, her parents, brother, and self lived in
a house of their own. Her father's mother,
father's brother, and father's sisters all
[361] lived at Gutsnumi too, in various establishments.
M.L. said that often "uncles, brothers,
or cousins, would build their houses close together."
M.L. said that they lived at Gutsnumi
166 during the winter, but in summer went on seed-
gathering trips towards the plains. They would
222 stop at Hoganu and Yokol. "Families did not
have special places to hunt food, anyone went
423 with anyone else just as they wished." [A
slight exaggeration; M.L. herself said that
women quarreled over their claims to berry and
seed patches.] The Gawia did not care if the
Wukchumni came down for seeds, and they would
go up Wukchumni way for other kinds of seeds

[text continues on p. 59a]

[P. 58]

Wukchumni

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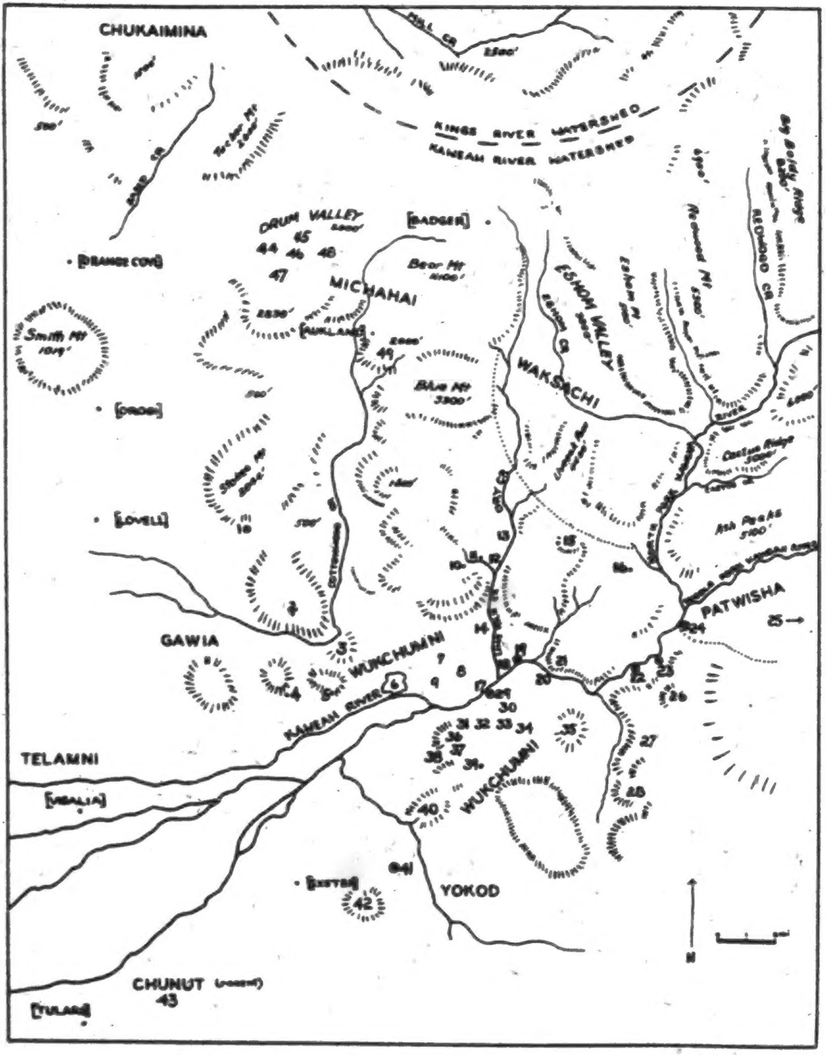
CHUKAIMINA
500'
Tucker Mt
2000'
SAND CR.
MILL CR.
2500'
KINGS RIVER WATERSHED
KAWEAH RIVER WATERSHED
DRUM VALLEY
2000'
[BADGER]
45
44
46
48
47
[ORANGE COVE]
Bear Mt
4100'
MICHAHAI
Smith Mt
1019'
2530'
[AUKLAND]
2000'
49
Blue Mt
3300'
ESHOM VALLEY
2000'
ESHOM CR.
Eshom Pt
Redwood Mt
5300'
REDWOOD CR.
Big Baldy Ridge
WAKSACHI
RIVER
Cactus Ridge
5000'
Ash Peaks
5100'
PATWISHA
25 →
[OROSI]
Stokes Mt
2000'
[LOVELL]
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KAWEAH RIVER
TELAMNI
[VISALIA]
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WUKCHUMNI
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[EXETER]
42
YOKOD
N
CHUNUT
43
[TULARE]

Map 3. Local Map B: Wukchumni and neighboring territory

[P. 59a] Wukchumni

166 and manzanita berries. The Wukchumni also went
to Woodlake and Dry Creek for fish and fresh-
222 water oysters. The Wukchumni felt they had a
slight edge on the claims to Woodlake. Red
423 (grass) salt was got at Mencken Flat. During
these summer trips old people stayed behind
with a supply of food, and relatives would re-
turn occasionally to see them. An aged person
who was on the brink of death would not be left
alone; a close relative (mother, sister, or
daughter) would remain. When the people came
back, they all built new storehouses for their
supplies. M.L. said that while she and her
[224] female relatives gathered seeds, her brother
went out every day to kill squirrels and
rabbits. These he skinned and dried to add to
[281] the winter food supply; the skins were cured
and made into blankets.

Wukchumni, Gawia, Yokod, and Neighboring Sites

103 The following sites are shown on Local Map B (map 3); the information is from M.L., S.G., M.P., J.P., Tm.W., and S.O. Overlapping Wuksachi territory in the Lime Kiln Creek region is shown in another map in Part II.

1. ye´'itao: Gawia central village
2. sokoda´o: Gawia campsite
3. čed·pwi´ša: Redbank, so called because of its red earth; also called cida´pw·š
4. poanai´yu: Gawia campsite
5. had·ta´o: Gawia camped there in spring
6. pa´'asi: Woodlake; the word for any lake or large pool; regarded as joint property of Wukchumni, Gawia, and Yokod
7. hai´'yuhao
8. čaš·´ša: rocky hill east of no. 7 (not positive)
9. waipau´ču
10. topo´ño: meaning "buckeye tree," a favorite Wukchumni campsite; present homesite of J.P.
11. sukai´'yu: another campsite; present site of "Willow Gate" to J.P.'s place
12. dapa´o: meaning "cottonwood place"
13. wo´kano: Antelope Valley, little hamlet there
14. gutsču´m: Lime Kiln Creek
15. aiya´gu: a small sharp peak
16. opo´ñyu: Mencken Flat, a salt-gathering campsite
17. moi´yak: painted rock near no. 29
18. šono´: a flat near the Kaweah River
19. gutsnu´mi: Terminus Beach; Wukchumni village site
20. toño´našu
21. čoiši´šyu: Bell Bluff; meaning "dog place," given also as čoi´šu; believed to be site of a shaman's cache, name refers to magic dog guardian
22. sanukwa´o: a Wukchumni hamlet
23. hotnu´nyu: a mixed Wukchumni-Patwisha village

103 24. patwi´ša: westernmost Patwisha village; there was a painted rock there from which women copied basket patterns[143]
25. bai´o´ma: Mineral King peak in the high Sierra Nevada
26. šadama´o: a sharp peak
27. usta´nyu: hill east of Lemon Cove
28. guta´o
29. ho´ganu: Wukchumni village; location called "Iron Bridge" (across river) in English
30. čoi´yo
31. šaiw·ta´o
32. dai´a´pnus: hill west of Lemon Cove
33. dai´apnu´ša: Wukchumni village; present site of Lemon Cove
34. pada´o
35. pupuna´o
36. kuč·npida´o: called "dog road," reason for name not known; a Wukchumni seed-gathering site
37. sañanh·nta´o: meaning "someone killed," the hill above Goodale ranch
38. muču·npida´o: trail between the hills west of Lemon Cove
39. šiye´du: summer seed-gathering camp of people from no. 33; present site of Moffett
40. šaikču´mnyu
41. yoko´l: Yokod village
42. čaha´šana·o
43. čun·ta´o: recent Chunut rancheria, about 1890-1910; not definitely located
44. yuna´pyu: Drum Valley
45. wača´mao: Bowman Ranch
46. wa´una·o: Button Willow Peak (2269 ft.), above Drum Valley schoolhouse
47. nauwi´š·nyu: Corn Jack Peak (2000 ft.), hill south of Drum Valley schoolhouse
48. pačik·na´o: rock with pictographs on Cutler Ranch; a shaman's cache
49. čoho´mina·o: Bear Mountain east of Aukland

Locations indefinite: čaš·´ša (no. 8), not positive; gutao´ (no. 35), Ed Morris [Morse?] Ranch; duda´dyu, Arthur Ragle's [?] place, an old Wukchumni campsite; čihoi´li, Stokes Flat [?]; dono´ñwiyu; čai´'oč; pupu´na (a quarry on Lime Kiln Creek called "shoot rocks"; an onomatopoetic name?)

SHELTER, DRESS, BODILY ORNAMENT

Structures

342 The Central Foothill culture included structures of both mountain and valley types.
343 The sweat house was practically without variation, but dwellings were of bark-slab type, brush or grass thatch, or covered with tule mats, according to the availability of these materials. The type of storehouse built was governed by the same consideration. The ramada was much used even in the mountains. Lean-to's were built only at campsites, where even permanent house frames were often established.

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[143] Perhaps one of the localities referred to in Latta, California Indian Folklore, 75-79.

539 The sweat house.--The sweat house (mos) was first obtained from Bear.[144]
773

Bear always had a sweat house and that is where people first got it. People saw it and wanted one like it. Eagle, the chief, sent Dove to ask Bear about his sweat house. It took the messenger a day to reach his place. Bear received him and agreed to come the next morning. When Dove started to go, Bear detained him. "If you can beat me to that gap in the hills down there, you may go." Dove ran off. If Bear had caught him before he reached the spot, he would have killed him. But to Bear's astonishment Dove got there first and continued on his trip home.

The next morning Bear came. He asked the people where they wanted their sweat house. They said, "Close to the water." He went out and cut a lot of long poles. He dug out a pit in the ground. He built the sweat house just like his own. No one helped him, yet he had the structure completed by sundown.

The chief sent for all the people to pay Bear. Bear told them not to start a big fire in the sweat house yet, to have just a little one for the first day. Then Bear received his pay and went home.

The people got brush and made a fire, then lay down near it. They wondered who should sing; they decided that a man with Bear as his lineage totem had better do it. So a Bear man sang: hoyoho´ na'a, hoyoho´ na'a, ho' ho' ho' (hoyoho, Bear, hoyoho Bear). He repeated this over and over and kept time by slapping his thighs (J.P.).

515 Now it is nearly always a Bear or Eagle man who sings in the sweat house, although any man may do so if he wishes or is asked to. According to Kroeber, men sometimes divided themselves in two groups, singing songs and competing with each other in enduring extreme heat. Such a sweat was followed by bathing and a sound sleep. Another swim was taken in the morning.[145]

[534] The flute was frequently played there. But no dancing of any type took place within the sweat house in the Central Foothill region.

Any man who wished to might go in the sweat house. On rare occasions boys went in while a sweat was in progress. But a lad was not allowed to take a severe sweat until he was fifteen or sixteen years old, as the physical strain was too great. Boys of eight or so onward were permitted to sleep there at night; especially were they sent there when the home was crowded. Young men and single men slept
513 there the year around. Married men occasionally stayed there for social pleasure and during a wife's tabu period after childbirth, according to my informants; whereas Kroeber

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[144] The Walapai held a similar belief (Kroeber, Walapai Ethnography, 118). Also mentioned in a myth (Gayton and Newman, 89).

[145] Kroeber, Handbook, 523.

513
states that men slept there regularly during
the winter months.[146] Women entered the sweat
house only when it was empty of men, as it was
at mealtimes, or when the majority of men were
562 occupied elsewhere with their duties. It was
515 chiefly during very cold weather that they went
in to warm themselves, and they left instantly
when they heard men approaching.[147] Sometimes
women sat just outside to listen, if the men
within were singing especially well, but ran
off when the inmates were about to emerge.

515 Sweats were often held twice a day, some-
times one in the morning, and invariably one in
the late afternoon. Though it was the wina-
tum's duty to keep the sweat house provided
with some wood, the major portion of the supply
was brought by the individuals who were going
to sweat themselves. Men sitting next to the
woodpiles -- there was a pile on each side of
the door -- cast sticks on the fire as they
were needed: there was no fire-tender's office.
An intensive sweat seems to have been the
vogue. Many informants speak of participants
staggering as though drunk when they left the
sweat house. After the sweat there was a
general rush to the river for a swim. The men
then returned to the sweat house to sleep or
lounge in the warm interior until sundown, when
the evening meal was ready.

A village of any size had at least two
343 sweat houses. Sometimes a small one would be
515 built by a group of friends, though there was
no sense of exclusiveness or private ownership
involved. If the number of men in a village
was reduced, a smaller sweat house was more
appropriate to their needs; especially was it
more easily heated. When one burned down, as
they occasionally did, or the supporting
timbers of an old structure weakened beyond re-
pair, steps were taken toward building a new
one. Men would talk among themselves about it;
[622] then the chief was consulted. While his per-
mission was not absolutely necessary, he usual-
ly directed, by means of his winatum, the con-
struction of a new sweat house. Three or four
men whose skill was recognized were selected to
undertake the job. They were paid for their
services by the chief, who received contribu-
tions for the purpose from the men of the
village. Apparently there was no fixed fee:
informants said each man "would give a little
bit," or that occasionally workers were not
paid "because they wanted the new sweat house
too."

343 The area of a sweat house floor was ex-
cavated about two feet. Digging sticks were
used to loosen the soil which was piled into

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[146] Ibid. Pages in the 1770's found that men of the San Luis Obispo region (Chumash) slept away from home in what were probably sweat houses, although he (or the translator) construes them as "great subterranean caves" (p. 48).

[147] This would modify Kroeber's statement that women never entered the sweat house (Handbook, 523).

343 old baskets with the hands. The baskets were carried or dragged out by helping men and boys. Women sometimes helped at this, but the service was regarded as somewhat of a joke by all concerned. The excavated earth was heaped in one place for later use in covering the structure. The interior diameter of an average sweat house was about 15 to 20 feet. The shape was somewhat elliptical if it were a large house with two center posts, circular if smaller and with but a single center post. Not more than two center posts were ever used in this region; vertical side walls were not known.[146] The center posts, placed 6 to 8 feet apart and extending above ground some 4 or 5 feet, were forked and supported a center beam. These posts were usually of oak. The roofing poles, preferably of alder, were some 4 to 6 inches in diameter and of a length sufficient to project 6 inches beyond the center beam and 1 foot beyond the excavated side wall. The bark was not removed. The poles were laid as close together as possible, alternate poles from opposing sides projecting on the center beam. Toward each end of the beam the grounded ends of the poles were spread out slightly. The ends of the house were covered by poles laid into the fork, other poles were laid over these and the grounded ends fanned out to form rounded ends (basically the same structure as the two-post oval dwelling). The bunched upper ends were tied with coarse rope (ho'o). Over this foundation roof was laid a similar but more haphazard arrangement of slender alder or willow poles which filled in the interstices.

A doorway was left by spreading the poles at one end. (Informants disagreed on the position of the door of the two-post house, whether on the side or end.) Three parallel posts were set upright, inside at the bottom, but projecting outside, on either side of the opening left between the roof poles. Upon these uprights were set two crosspieces: one lay flat, the other outward one rested above it. Together they formed an angled brace against which the butts of short roof poles rested. There was no closure for the doorway.

The roof was now ready to be covered with a layer of brush and long grass upon which the excavated earth was spread.

The doorway was about 3 feet high, the interior of the house slightly less than a man's height. In a two-post house 20 feet in diameter, sixteen men could sit comfortably. The fire was always directly opposite and just within the doorway: heat within forced the smoke to push through the low door while the fire itself prevented too great a draft from entering. The firewood was placed in two piles,

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[146] Ibid., 596, pl. 60, shows a southern Californian sweat house identical with the Yokuts type of side construction. The exterior of the small Yokuts sweat house probably resembled that of the Koso (cf. ibid., 590, pl. 56).

343 [824] one each side of the entrance. Manzanita wood about one inch thick was preferred, as its smoke was believed to be less irritating to the eyes than that of other woods.[149] About the edges of the room lay such tule mats as various individuals brought in for their own comfort. A flute-player might habitually thrust his flute up into some little cranny at the roof's edge (J.P., S.G.).

Kroeber's unlocalized description of the Yokuts sweat house agrees in general with the above.[150]

> The sweat house, mosh or mos, is a true sudatory, oblong, dug down several feet, with a ridge log resting on two posts at the ends, and dirt covered. It was small, not over 15 feet in length, and in no sense a dance house or assembly chamber.... The door faced the creek, or south, and was sometimes sheltered by parallel wind-breaks.

The single-post sweat house differed from the larger form only in size and in the relation of roof poles to center post. The center post was forked and supported a few radiating roof poles laid into its crotch. Others were laid against these, and the resulting bunch of pole ends were lashed together and about the post with coarse rope. The interstices were filled with slender rods, and the whole covered like the larger form. No door frame was made, the doorway being merely a narrow opening between poles spaced apart for the purpose (J.P., S.G.).

The Yaudanchi sweat house was a two-post affair. The floor was excavated about two feet. Then a frame of sticks radiating from a center beam to the ground was lashed in place, a willow roof laid over it, and the whole thing covered with mud. The doorway was about 4 feet by 4 feet, which seems excessively wide. The fire was just within the entrance. About ten men were accommodated. Any man was free to enter and sweat, but youths did not attempt it until about twenty years old. Usually there were two singers who sang during the evening sweat.

342 Dwellings.--The construction of a house was a family affair; friends helped each other only when assistance was a physical necessity to the builder. Some men might build a little house for an old woman who had no relatives, but more often such a person would take up residence in an abandoned house or vacant storehouse. The work of house-building was divided. The man of the family obtained the poles and heavy withes for the framework, dug out the floor space, and set up the framework. In the

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[149] The Wintu also preferred manzanita wood (Du Bois, Wintu, 122).

[150] Handbook, 522, 523.

[text continues on p. 63a]

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 NS29 Yokuts NS29

Y
W
342

[P. 62] Western Mono NS25

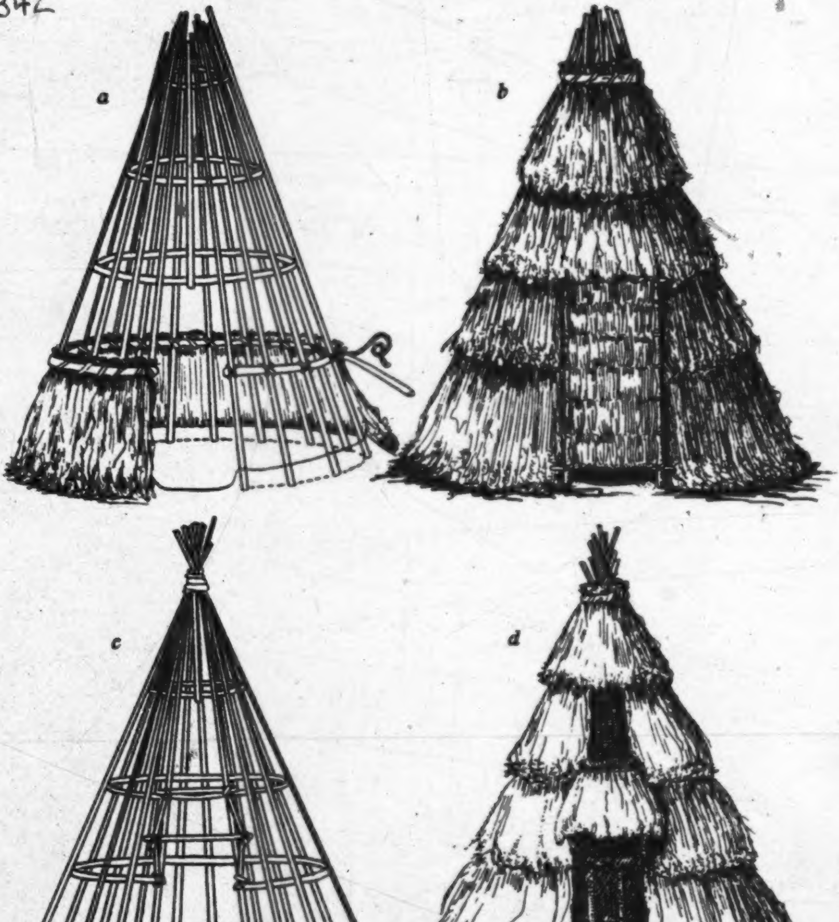

Fig. 5. Yokuts and Western Mono conical houses. a, b, Central Foothill type with inner ring at smoke vent and mat door. c, d, Chukchansi type with smoke vent and rain shed over door (after Rogers).

342 meantime the cover, whether thatch or mat, was prepared by the wife and other female relatives who had a personal interest in the dwelling. The lower layers of covering were tied on by women, but the upper layers, which could be reached only by climbing on the frame, were fastened by the man.

342 592 The size of the house depended upon the needs of the family, that is, the number of persons in the household and the amount of entertaining to be done. A chief, though perhaps having a small family, would always have a large dwelling because he was frequently visited. If decrepit relatives crowded a home, a small house, which was often little more than a hovel, would be built for them near by. (The ancient mother-in-law of one informant was living in such circumstances.)

342 In the Central Foothill section houses with a conical framework predominated. A house of any type was called ṭi', those covered with brush, ṭi´yao´wɨl (yao´wɨl, brush or tall grass), those covered with tule, pu´muk (round tule). The name of the bark house was not obtained: Kroeber gives it as samish.[151] Among the Gawia and Yokod the tule-covered house predominated. The Wukchumni house was commonly brush- and grass-thatched, though tule was preferred when obtainable, as at Gutsnumi. For them, the bark house was rare, whereas the tule house was rare for the Patwisha, who used brush and bark coverings about equally. Kroeber states that the common Yaudanchi house, called te, had a conical framework and sewed tule mat covering, although the ridged house, with a fireplace and door at either end, was also known to them. They made use of a special species of tule called shuyo growing in the vicinity.[152]

The first step in building a house was outlining its circular area on the site selected. There is a difference of opinion among informants as to the hollowing of the floor: perhaps this feature varied with each builder's preference. Certainly the floor was never lowered more than a foot, but at least a slight cavity was made to brace the frame poles. For the conical house three oak poles were tied together near their tips and set up as a tripod. Two poles were closer to each other than to the third; these became the door frame, while the third was opposite, at the back of the house. Other poles were then leaned into the crotch at the apex; they were spaced 18 inches to 2 feet apart. The length of the poles depended upon the diameter of the house, which in the conical form was some 6 to 9 feet. The butts of [283] all poles were embedded in the ground at the edges of the floor cavity. They were held in place by horizontal bands of pliable willow bound on with ho'. The first was about a foot above the ground, others, of which there might

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[151] Ibid., 522.

[152] Ibid.

342 be three or four, above it. The topmost band
was actually a small ring about 18 inches in
diameter inside the pole tops which were spread
apart by it: it served as a smoke hole as no
covering was placed above it (fig. 5, a, b).
The thatch covering was made by twining
together in long sections small bunches of fine
willow or long fine grass. The grasses were
placed head downward the better to shed water.
These skirtlike sections were held in place by
long willow strips running around outside of
and parallel to the inner horizontal frame
bands. The exterior band and thatch were
bound to the interior band with ho'. An upper
layer of thatch overlapped its lower neighbor
by about one foot. When a house leaked, which
was claimed to be only in prolonged rainstorms
which soaked the grasses, a bundle of thatch or
a tule mat was fastened over the weak spot.[153]

A panel door was made by tying a specially
[285] made mat of tule or willow to a framework of
willow or young alder. Normally this leaned
against the house at one side of the doorway,
but in bad weather, the only occasion for its
use, it was tied over the door from the inside.
Skins were not hung over the doorway. Storehouses
were supplied with little doors tied on
from the outside.

The fireplace was always in a small hollow
[354] in the center of the house. In the summer,
however, domestic fires were most frequently
342 built outside under the ramada. The floor was
352 covered with tule mats, several of which were
piled together to make comfortable sleeping
places. Baskets, articles in frequent use, and
valuables were stored around the outer edges of
the room. Cooking stones, stone-lifters, and
mush-stirrer remained by the fireplace. Overhead
one or more rods, whose ends rested on the
horizontal frame bands, served as a place to
hang articles; a special kind of hanging basket
was made for this use. Small valuables were
often hidden in the upper thatch or between
mats. (M.L., J.P., S.G.) The most desirable
[574] place for sitting during the daytime was just
inside the door. At night, and when sleeping,
a guest was placed at the center back.

Mats were rarely used on a conical frame
342 as they were not readily adaptable to its shape.
285 They were twined of fine willow or tule,
varied from 2 to 4 feet in width, and were
about 6 feet long. Four or five mats were
needed to cover a house of average size; they
were tied on with milkweed string. Such mats
could be removed from one house to another and
were convenient to roll up and take to summer
camp. One informant (M.L.) stated that tule
house mats were sewed, not twined, a method

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[178] [153] No native-type houses are in use today. Two normal-sized but poorly built grass thatch houses, which had been made for show purposes, were seen by the recorder at Squaw Valley in 1927. They had been built by Chukaimina living there.

342 which Kroeber mentions for Yaudanchi and the lake peoples.[154]

285 The oval house was also frequently built
in the lower foothills. Most of the houses at
the Wukchumni village of Gutsnumi were of this
342 form, as were those of the Gawia and Yokod
though they did not reach the extreme dimensions of the lake region long houses.

To start construction two forked posts were erected and a ridgepole laid between them. Side and end poles with pliable tips were braced in the ground at the periphery of the floor area and bent toward the ridgepole to which their tips were lashed with ho'. As with the conical house, horizontal side braces were lashed on. The oblong house was never thatched but was covered with twined or sewed tule mats.

These were tied to the framework and, in expectation of stormy weather, were bound down by
a lashed on, outside withe. No smoke hole was
left, the smoke merely escaping through the
rough slotlike aperture along the ridgepole.
[184] The oval house of the Central Foothills was not
usually divided into compartments, as it was in
the lake region.

The bark house was of necessity smaller in size than the thatched or mat-covered type. Kroeber's unlocalized description of the bark house may serve here, as this structure was not well known to Wukchumni informants.[155]

A bark house of similar type [conical] is called *samish*. Sometimes bark is first leaned against the framework as a partial covering,

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[154] Handbook, 521, 522.

[155] Ibid., 522.

342 then brush thatch added, and the whole held fast by bands of pliable poles or withes tied around.

343 The bark lean-to, with which Wukchumni and Patwisha were familiar, was used by them at summer camps in the higher hills where cedar and pine bark were obtainable. The structure was started by setting in the ground a forked post 4 or 5 feet high. Into its crotch were laid poles which radiated in a half-circle. Spaces were filled in with more slender poles, and against the whole were leaned overlapping slabs of bark stripped from fallen or decaying trees. Earth was piled against the base both outside and inside to keep the pole and slab butts in place. (M.L., J.P.)

The brush lean-to, particularly used by women at seed-gathering camps, was semi-dome-shaped in form. The earth was dug away slightly from a half-circle. Two pliable poles were set down in holes at the points of the half-circle. Their tips were drawn together, overlapped, and bound in place. Two or three other poles were set up along the curve, bent forward, and tied to the arc. Loose scraggy brush was piled up against this crude frame, and, if a tule mat had been brought along, it would be tied over the top. Such a lean-to served not as a shelter, but as a shade. Women had such shades, often completely hemispherical, built over their bedrock mortars (fig. 6).[156] (M.L., M.P.)

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[156] The type of shelter depicted by Gifford (Northfork Mono, pl. 3, b) may or may not be of similar construction, but the finished effect is like that described by my informants.

[P. 64 c] Wukchumni

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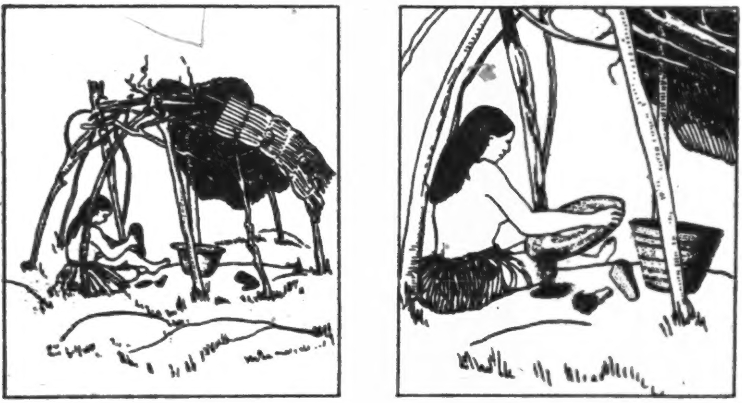

Fig. 6. Wúkchumni woman at bedrock mortar with seasonal shade. a, pounding acorns. b, sifting off coarse particles. (After photograph.)

343 The ramada or shade, če·´niu (Kroeber, ch'iniu), was constructed of four or more posts set in parallel rows. Beams were laid between them, the whole covered with more cross poles, and finally masses of tule or willow brush were laid on top.[157] The ramada was not always in front of the dwelling house, but in the Central Foothills was as often at the side. This structure, so simple and so necessary in the summer heat of the region, has been adopted by white settlers throughout the San Joaquin Valley.

Storehouses and bins.--A prosperous family
343 of average size had at least one storehouse erected close to their home. This was a small
251 replica of the conical dwelling, save that it had a floor of logs raised off the ground to prevent moisture from settling in it. This form of storehouse is not to be confused with the small acorn storage bins or "granaries." In it were kept baskets, pottery, and the supplies of dried meat, dried fish, seeds, shelled acorns, and other foods in immediate use.

There were various methods of storing the major portions of the acorn crop. Sometimes pits in rocks were filled with acorns and a small, conical, grass-thatched shelter was erected over them. Or if nothing better could be contrived, acorns were stored in hollow trees. The best and commonest method of storage was in a barrel-shaped "granary" set upon a flat, water-shedding rock. Four to six up-
[285] rights were held in place with horizontal split willow bands.[158] This was lined with a tule or fine brush mat, and the bottom, i.e., the rock surface, packed with fine grass. When the bin was filled with acorns, a grass or tule thatch was bound around it, and a kind of conical "hat" of the same material was set atop. Such bins were usually large: a woman would have to stand on the horizontal bindings in order to reach into them. When the supply within became lowered to the point of inconvenience, the owner would tear a hole in the bottom and remove the acorns through it. (M.L.)

[674] Food was rarely, if ever, stolen from these granaries. Should a family run short of provisions, more acorns would be bought from
[621] someone who had plenty or, were the family really poor, the chief would see to it that they were fed.

Dress

291 The breechclout was worn by both men and women. Usually it was of deerskin, but prefer-

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[171] [157] An excellent picture of a shade of similar type is shown by Kelly (Ethnography of Surprise Valley Paiute, pl. 18, c).

[158] The Miwok "granary" shown by Kroeber (Handbook, pl. 38) has a frame work of similar type, but the Yokuts form, for at least the Central Foothill region, lacked the center post and raised conical bottom.

291 ably it was of wildcat skin which was not split.
In donning the garment, it was folded over the
belt at the back, the belt being pulled tight
and tied in front. As the clout hung thus at
the back, the inner flap was about two-thirds
the length of the outer. The outer, longer
length (the clout proper, so to say) was pulled
forward between the legs and forced up under
the tied belt. There was sufficient length for
the front end to hang in a flap of about 6 to
[281] 10 inches. Wildcat skins did not allow for so
long an inner length at the back, though this
always had to come well under the buttocks or
the clout would loosen and pull out at the back
when the wearer stooped or sat. Powers states
[834] that the breechclout was not removed during
bathing, but none of my informants made any
such claims to modesty.[159]

Men's dress.--It was not unusual for men
to go entirely naked at any time. A loincloth
[281] of deerskin (sep) is mentioned by Kroeber;[160]
my informants spoke of its use on dress occasions
but not as a daily garment.

283 The belt was of milkweed string woven
("sewn") in the same manner as the burden band
291 (fig. 13, c-f). This belt was 35 to 40 inches
long, which allowed some 6 inches to hang down
[301] after it was knotted. A belt for special dress
had small beads (koi´koi) inserted in its
strands and was called koikoi´ʼʻč (fig. 13, g).
291 Today all such belts are woven on the bow loom
294 which was perhaps diffused through Spanish influence.
A belt of milkweed fibre and red wool,
286 woven on the bow loom but old style in effect,
was worn by a Chukchansi informant.

A sandal (daki´ʼʻč) of thick hide, deer
291 neck or bearskin, was worn by men during very
294 hot weather or when making a long journey.
Several layers of hide were cut to the foot
281 pattern, then slit at proper points, and binding
thongs were inserted. Then the bottom or
"sole" layer was added and all sewed together
with sinew. Holes were punched along the edges
with a fine, sharp, deer bone awl. The sewing
was around the outside. Informants disagree on
the position of the binding thongs.

291 Sandals were not worn by women. No type
of fibre sandal was known. Powers mentions
281 sandals but does not describe them beyond saying
that they were "very rude" and that elkhide
was preferred. Kroeber speaks of "rude sandals
of bear fur" which were used in winter. The
statement by a knowledgeable pioneer that no
foot covering of any sort was worn and that
there was no Yokuts word for such an object is
unquestionably an overstatement; yet it serves
to emphasize the scarcity of footgear.[161]

[439] Moccasins were bought from the Eastern
Mono. The attempts by informants to describe

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[159] Powers, 382.

[160] Handbook, 519.

[161] Powers, 375; Kroeber, Handbook, 519; Latta, Uncle Jeff's Story, 38.

291 their construction were all unintelligible.
M.L., now blind, said that the Wukchumni and
281 Patwisha, but not the Gawia, had a moccasin
called wońka´da. It had two seams and a "piece
up the front" (a tongue?). The Yaudanchi
bought ready-made moccasins from the Eastern
[439] Mono. These had a seam up the toe-front and
tied in front at the ankle; they were called
ča´kɨt (M.S. did not know their Mono name).

Men ordinarily wore the hair long and
302 parted in the middle; they did not wear bangs. When it proved a nuisance at work, it was tied at the nape of the neck with a length of string or leather thong. Yaudanchi men, on dress occasions, tied their hair in a "club" at the nape of the neck with an eagle-down string (ča´yi); this arrangement was called a´pati. In hunting, the hair was knotted and held in place with wooden skewers.

A hair net was not used on ordinary occasions, but as a foundation for feather head ornaments with ceremonial dress. It was not used by women. Of fairly fine mesh, 1 to 2 inches to a taut loop, it was rectangular, roughly 12 to 15 inches wide and 30 to 40 inches long. There was a definite way of putting it on (fig. 7). With the hanging hair pushed into a cluster at the back of the neck, the net was laid lengthwise over the head so that the front end hung over the face to the

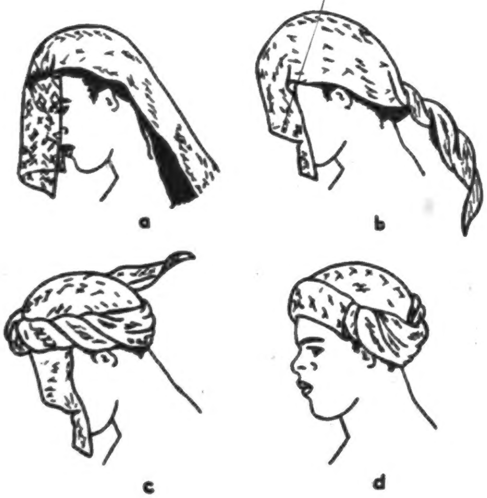

Fig. 7. Method of donning hair net. a, net laid on with flap over face. b, flap gripped in teeth, hair and net twisted together. c, twist wrapped around head. d, end tucked in and flap rolled back over twist.

302 tip of the chin. This piece was grasped with the teeth, while the end at the back was pulled from each side around the hanging hair and, enclosing the hair, twisted into a long roll. Twisted as tightly as possible, the roll was pulled up over the left ear and forward across the peak of the forehead, around the right ear, and the end of the roll, which was net rather than hair, was pinned in place with a bone or wooden skewer. The hanging flap in front was raised and tucked in over and back of the roll over the forehead (fig. 7, d). Ornaments were fastened to this with skewers. The Wukchumni seem to be the southern limit for the hair net: [171] the Yaudanchi did not use it (M.S.; S.G.), although tribes to the north, including the Miwok, did.

It is said that in old times every man had 301 at least one ear lobe pierced. On ordinary oc- 304 casions a little wooden or cane pipe was carried there. For dress an elaborate ear ornament called po', made of quail crests and a single hawk feather bound to a slender stick or cane, was thrust in the lobe with the quill pointing forward. Sometimes just a quill was worn, especially a greased quill when the hole had first been made; this, too, was called po' (M.P.). Women also used these ornaments.

In the Central Foothill region all men who had drunk jimsonweed, and many others as well, had the nasal septum pierced. A tubular bead (huma´na) some three inches long was worn in it on dress occasions (J.P.). This does not agree with Kroeber's information, that only women had the nasal septum pierced.[162]

292 An article of dress worn most frequently by messengers but also used by other men was a 281 long pouch made of a whole ground-squirrel skin with fur left on, or sometimes of a small fox [202] skin. It was worn at the left side-back with the neck or open end pulled up and hanging out over the belt. A messenger carried money in it, an ordinary man his small talismans or trinkets of value. It was put under the neck at night as a pillow and for its protection.

Women's dress.--Women also wore a buckskin 291 breechclout. There was no distinction in the cut save that a woman's might be somewhat 281 longer; it was held in place with a similar belt. The clout was not necessarily donned until first menses, although most girls approach- [881] ing puberty wore the "grass" aprons.

Over the breechclout women wore a back and front apron of shredded fibres, the back one longer and coarser (ču´niš, Wukchumni; ţo´hot, Yaudanchi). The inner bark of willow, cut, dried, and pounded as for string, was used by 291 Wukchumni, Gawia, Telamni, and Yaudanchi.[163] 286 The Wukchumni, Gawia, and Telamni, like the lake people, made aprons of tule fibre if

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[162] Handbook, 519.

[163] Yaudanchi, from Kroeber, ibid.

[p. 67a]

291 available. Large tules were pulled into strips; they and whole small tules were pounded with a 286 wooden stick on rock (usually the bedrock mortar where good working space was provided) until softened and pliable. Any of these materials, when made into aprons, was twined along one edge with willowbark string (ša'). One row of twining held the fibres together; a second, below the first, included the bent-over ends which had been turned down on the outside. Both rows of twining continued into a twisted two-strand belt. When asked why two aprons were made rather than one continuous skirt, M.L. said the back "wore out too fast"; hence the replaceable sections.

292 On dress occasions aprons of deerskin (ki´nɨp) were worn, sometimes put on over the fibre aprons (fig. 8, b). The front apron of deerskin was edged with deer hoofs which rattled prettily. Not all women could afford these. M.L. spoke proudly of having such an apron which her mother had made for her first puberty ceremony. Women whose husbands were poor hunters or had other vocations bought deerskin and hoofs for themselves.

291 The basket cap (waki´ñuts) was always coiled, of a shape similar to the small in- 285 dividual mush basket. It was used only when carrying a heavy load with the tumpline (M.P.). [482] While the cap is said to have been invariably coiled, a museum specimen (U.C. 1/2958; no provenience other than Yokuts) is a small, diagonally twined "bowl" (7-1/2"x 8" diameter at rim, 4-3/4" deep), palpably old and undoubtedly a cap. Its rim is bound with buckskin and is patched with buckskin at a point where a tumpline would have worn it. It is patterned with a wide band of double zigzag at the edge and a band of single zigzag near the base. There is no other piece like it in the Yokuts collection and it is presumably introduced from an outside source, possibly Miwok or Pomo. The attempt to preserve it by repair even suggests that it might have been valued because of its oddity among the Yokuts.

301 Ear ornaments (po') were differentiated from men's only by having two long strands of beads added; they were then called yau´wakan.

302 [765] Women's hair was long save during the period of active mourning, when it was singed close to the head if grief were deep, to the shoulders for a lesser bereavement. Like men's it was parted in the middle and, at work, was tied at the nape of the neck, but the front hair was usually singed off to form bangs. Both sexes washed the hair with soaproot suds and brushed it with soaproot brushes.

[237 381] On special occasions eagle down was stuck on the bangs and fore hair with soaproot glue. An ornamental headband (hoči´n) worn by women 292 was woven of fine milkweed string by the usual "sewing" technique for belts and had beads introduced to form a diagonal pattern. The band was 2 to 3 inches wide, long enough almost to

[P 67 b]

292 encompass the head, and tied with strings at
the back of the head. These strings were sometimes
wound around the hair which had been
pulled into a bunch at the nape.

Personal care.--Both sexes brushed the
302 hair daily with a soaproot brush. Men would do
this in the morning if they had no immediate
515 work. Women more often brushed and arranged
their hair in the early afternoon after returning
from seed-gathering, pounding acorns, or
other arduous work. For washing hair, chips of
[388] dried soaproot were put in a large basket of
warm water. This was done at the creekside if
possible and the hair was rinsed in running
water. Normally the hair was not washed while
swimming.

754 Both sexes took care in the disposal of
hair which, if found by a malicious shaman or
by an evil person who would take it to a shaman,
could be used for contagious magic. (How this
was accomplished M.L. could not say.) Women
hid their hair combings until a large bunch had
collected, then took this to a spring of water
where it was buried under a stone. To do this
not only ensured safety from magic but aided
the hair on the head by causing it to grow
[826] more luxuriantly. Combings were not burned because
this would cause the living hair to fall
out prematurely. Menstruants scratched the
[841] head with a stick; otherwise the hairs would
split and fall out.

Spittle was covered over to protect it
from shamans.

Nail "parings" (if any) were not protected.
826 Some people tore off nails but most kept them
ground down by rubbing them on a small water-rolled
stone. A woman, particularly an old
one, might let a left thumb- or big-toenail
grow excessively. This served as an instrument
in shelling nuts, seeds, splitting basket materials,
or even as a personal weapon. When
such a nail broke off, it was left anywhere.

M.L. recounted the following of her maternal
grandmother who had a long toenail.

> 826 One of Ju´'ulneš' daughters had married a
> man who was a reckless gambler. He lost everything.
> 539 Then he played the chip and pole game
> with a man, bet his wife as the stake, and lost
> her. The men became angry and began to fight.
> The old woman, looking on, was very mad at her
> son-in-law whom she already despised as worthless.
> She grabbed some ropes of ča and [presumably
> with the help of the man's opponent]
> succeeded in tying up the culprit. Then
> Ju'ulneš picked up some stones and hit him. As
> he fell she kicked him and cut his penis with
> her long toenail. She was so pleased with her
> success that she kept her nail long thereafter.

Ceremonial dress.--The fundamental parts
292 of ceremonial regalia, usually worn by shamans
when engaged in public dances or rituals, were
the feather headdress and feather skirt. Additional
ornaments of feathers, skins, beads,

[text continues on p. 69]

W
Y
292
293

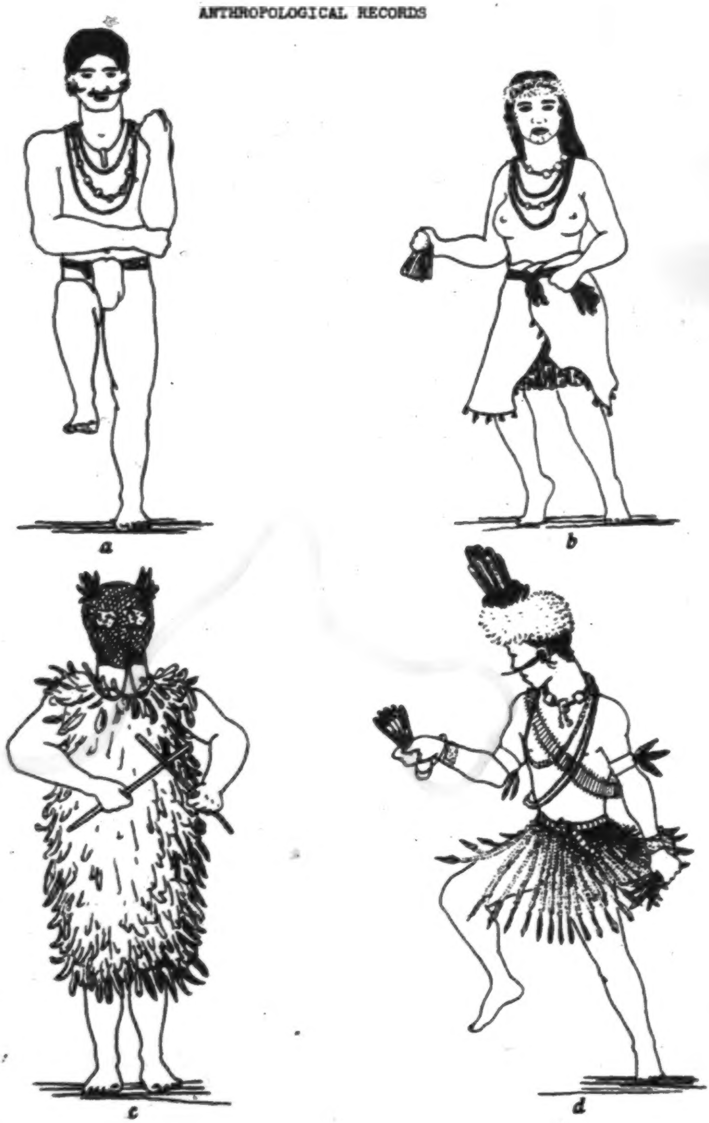

Fig. 8. Yokuts and Western Mono ceremonial dress. a, Waksachi male dancer at naming ceremony. b, woman dressed for any ceremony. c, Huhuna costume. d, shaman in full regalia. (Reconstructed from descriptions, photographs, and museum specimens.)

292 and shells added to the effect.[164] Such dress was not exclusively a shaman's but might be owned by any person who had need of it, for [426] instance, a singer. Men borrowed shirts and hats when participating in dances or ceremonies.

The feather skirt was called čo´ñiš (M. 292 and M.P.), like the woman's fibre apron.[165] 237 This was composed of strands of string into which owl down had been twisted. Each strand was tipped with a flicker (šipoi´´ɨts) feather. The skirt had a belt of its own from which the strands were suspended, but over this was worn another belt with beads woven into it (koikoi).

The headdress had two parts. The central part (ču) was an upright bunch of magpie tail feathers, surrounded at its base with white owl feathers; and, next, a thickset buttress of short black crow wing feathers. The second part (se´ma) was a fat fluffy crown of black or white owl breast feathers. The one pictured was of pure white and brushed lightly with red paint.[166]

In the ear lobes were worn falcon quills 293 (po') surrounded with quail crests.

237 Necklaces (walat) of small disc beads, the long humana beads, and abalone pendants were worn.

A bandoleer of koikoi carried eagle-feather pendants. Such little bunches of feathers, eagle or flicker, would hang from the neck or down the back, or swing from the wrists and upper arms of a doctor in full dress. A bandoleer of flicker quills was a rare prized ornament.

Around each wrist were weaselskin bands (sau´nɨt). These carried special supernatural power. Weaselskin bands or bunches of feathers were often fastened below each knee. There were no ankle ornaments, and the feet were unshod.

Ornament

386 Paint.--Three colors of paint were used by 302 the Wukchumni and Gawia, as among other Yokuts. The red paint (ho´yɨn, J.B., M.L.; red color, pači´kan, J.B.) was an earth obtained at Wa´wun between Badger and Aukland. It turned red when burned (possibly yellow ocher or cin-[177] nabar). Red paint was not newly introduced at the Ghost Dance (as claimed by Powers) (J.B.). Black paint (kadi´an) was a grey earth which [757] turned black when burned. It was used as a salve for sore eyes and rectum. White paint

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[164] The following description and reconstruction in fig. 8, d, are based on a photograph of M.P.'s uncle which I was not permitted to have copied. M.P. described each item of the costume as she recalled it.

[165] Kroeber gives chohun; see Handbook, 508, pl. 42.

[166] See also, ibid., 506, fig. 44; and Holmes, pl. 35, wherein is shown a shaman's head net, feather headpieces, ear ornaments, hairpin, and shell-trimmed bandoleer.

302
386 (hoso´ša, J.B.; hošo´hˑt, M.L.; white color, čau´dəd, J.B.) was made of pulverized shells. All paints were mixed with grease for application.

302 Differences in the use of paint by men and women lay only in the method of application. The same patterns were used by both, but the solid line of pigment used by men was broken up into a line of dots by women. Red paint was smeared lightly over the face when a woman was going to end the meat tabu after pregnancy or bereavement. Any woman taking part in a dance might put on red paint this way and then add a horizontal row of white dots on each cheek. [822] Both sexes used red and white paint, but black paint was associated with doctoring. Men with Crow totem used it, as did Bear and Coyote totemites on occasion. A doctor, when at- [791] tired for a pleasure dance or display, covered his face with black paint and his body with short white diagonal stripes. Wukchumni patterns are shown in figure 4.

Paint was not used as insignia by chiefs, messengers, singers, or, in fact, by anyone. It was assumed only for dance, ritual, or gala occasion (J.B., M.L.).

304 Tattooing.--Many women used tattooing as a permanent form of personal decoration. It was done of their own volition, usually in young womanhood but before marriage. The only motivation, other than vanity, was the belief [827] that it prevented one from getting old and wrinkled. (M.P.). Young girls who were close friends often had themselves tattooed at the same time. Only one form of tattooing had religious significance; this was a small pattern placed on the inside of the right forearm just above the wrist. Only a few examples of this type were observed, on two Yokuts women and two Western Mono men. This spot is said to

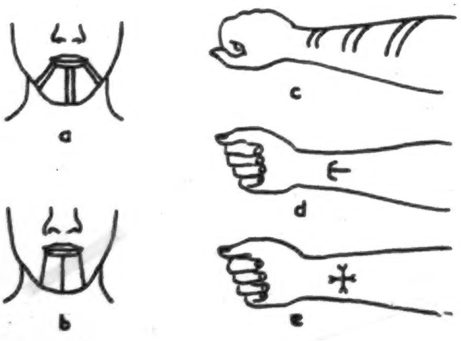

Fig. 9. Women's tattoo marks. a, c, Wukchumni (M.L.). b, d, Telamni (T.W.). e, Wukchumni (M.P.).

[P. 70a]

304 be the localization of, or point of permeation of, one's supernatural power. The Wukchumni, M.P., said her pattern represented dove's feet because she had Dove totem (fig. 9, d); the Telamni, T.W., said hers represented "a cross because I belong to the Catlick," a tactful evasion (fig. 9, e). M.L.'s forearm had bars on the upper side (fig. 9, c).

Face patterns are shown in figure 9, a, b. M.P. said favorite Wukchumni patterns were two stripes downward from each corner of the mouth or one horizontally from each corner of the nose. (No example of the latter was seen by the recorder.) Tattooing was sometimes done on the thighs, and M.P. once saw an old woman who had several stripes on her chin which continued onto her neck and thence into zigzag lines on her chest, breasts, and thorax. Men to the north (Hoshima) were known to use facial tattooing, but "none down this way." Kroeber shows several tattoo designs.[167]

The tattooing was usually done by some old woman. The pattern was marked on the person with the charred end of a fine-pointed stick. The lines were then abraded with a fine-pointed small arrowhead, and a paste of grease and charcoal was rubbed in lightly. There was no actual cutting, and no person seen with tattooing showed any welting or scarring as a result. The color was dark blue-grey.

HUNTING AND FISHING

Hunting

224 A Wukchumni, J.B., says that his Patwisha
father-in-law, Ha n̂haš, was a fine hunter. Deer
[776] was his dream helper. He always supplied deer
meat for large gatherings and was paid for this
service. He ate deer meat, but abstained from
it for three days after killing a deer. When
about to kill an animal he spoke to it: "I am
going to kill you. These people are going to
eat you. I kill you every year." When killing
a bear he addressed it in the same way "so the
[754] bear wouldn't hurt him." (J.B. claimed he had
never heard of anyone transforming himself into
a bear.)

Great respect was shown deer when they were killed, according to S.G. A hunter would tell the deer "that he wanted him to rise in three days." A plain man, without special dream aid, would just tell the deer he was sorry he had to kill him.

In the old days when a hunter killed a deer, he laid it on a pile of brush while he was skinning it. After it had been quartered and the viscera removed, the parts that remained, the ribs and the shoulder blades, were laid up in a tree. Dogs must never be allowed to touch deer meat or the carcass remnants.

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[167] Handbook, 520, 521, figs. 45, h-l, 46, m-o.

224 Deer meat was never sold, always given away. When men provided venison for public gatherings, they were paid for their trouble (services). Doctors, says S.G., were given the best parts.

There are reasons for this respect for deer.

In the first world Deer was a quiet man
224 who never went any place, and didn't talk. Then
534 when it was time for the change[168] Eagle said
to him, "All your body will be worth something.
773 It isn't everybody who will be able to kill
you." The next morning Deer ran out of his house. He made a big cave to live in. The next day there were thousands of deer in there. On the third day three hunters came to kill Deer; they were Cougar, Elk, and Spotted Cat. Coyote came along and interfered; he caught a deer. The deer got mad and all ran away. Finally Cougar succeeded in killing some deer--he is the best hunter.

Now this Deer [mets hoi] lives back in this cave somewhere. Whenever a deer is killed it returns there. The "big" Deer has an arrow which he puts up in the cave. When "the right kind of person kills a deer" [treats it with respect] the arrow remains in place, but if the hunter is careless with his game, the arrow "will fall in less than a month and kill him."[169] A killed deer does not return to this world; the supply of deer continues by natural breeding.

224 Neither cougar nor bear was given any sign of veneration when it was killed, said S.G. Cougar "was a bad one," men who dreamed of him "got too much power." Bear was "not a killer, he only killed when he had to and then killed men."

Great respect was shown eagles, in fact,
223 only a chief could order one killed. He paid
485 $3.00 to $5.00 for one. A man or woman would
be asked to pluck and skin it, and would be
237 paid for the task. The large feathers were
plucked off, the down left on the skin which was cased. Nothing of the eagle was ever thrown away; if it were, the hunter would die. The feathers, down, leg bones, and tallow were later sold by the chief to those who wanted them. An eagle leg was said to be worth about $2.50. Feathers having been plucked from it, the down-covered skin of the leg was cased, cleaned, dried, and then made pliable with tallow. In this way it served as a little container from which the down could be pulled as
[534] needed. The bone of the upper leg was made into a whistle. Tallow was used as a salve, and as a binder for face paint.

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[168] Transformation to animals, and coming of human beings, vide Gayton and Newman, abstract 137 and notes.

[171] [169] The Navajo, among other western tribes, believe that a killed deer returns "home" to report on its treatment; if not satisfactory, the hunter is stricken with illness or death (Hill, Agricultural and Hunting Methods, 96).

223 237 The eagle's carcass was returned to the hunter who killed it. He put it in the river, completely immersed.

539 773 Eagle lived over the water before the world was changed.[170] It is the only place he can be buried. He rises in three days and goes back to his home which is way back east somewhere. At that place there is one main one (mɩts ṭo´hɩl) who says to the risen bird, "Who killed you?" Eagle tells what has happened to him, and if he has been treated properly the head Eagle says, "He was the right kind of man; he will live to be an old man." If the report was not good, then the man would die right away. The eagle who had been killed never again returned to earth, but kept flying in the opposite direction, upward, higher and higher (S.G.).[171]

136 Three "eagles" designated by S.G. proved to be condor (wɩts), "who lived high in the mountains," the bald eagle (wi´tɩs), and grey eagle (ţohɩl), who was "the only real tiya [chief] and the only one that knew anything." Grey eagle took "the power" from the other two and they are carrion as a result. Once S.G. saw an eagle that had been in a coyote trap four days. It did not move as he approached, but directly he released it, it flew off home.

224 [136] J.P. said that when a man went out to kill bear, deer, or eagle, and sometimes rabbit "because he [rabbit] was a little bit mean too," but not squirrels or birds, he would keep talking to them about what he was going to do. When he was near his prey he would say, "ṭundi´ta pŏ´dta ma ţupɩ´nita," (? ? you go-up) so that it would not be offended. When hunting this same animal or its companions, the hunter would be agreeable to it. He would tell it that he would "fix up" its body so that it would go up, ṭi´pɩni. "A mean animal is one that runs after people, or hurts them, or runs away so as not to be killed. In old days a bear would run after people and kill them. A Bear man would go out in the night and prayerfully ask Bear not to keep people from getting their food" [chasing them when they were hunting, gathering acorns or clover, etc.].

Deer hunting.--When stalking deer or antelope the hunter wore a horned disguise of either animal, though it was said that the most skilled hunters did not resort to this.

[281] The Wukchumni deer-stalking disguise was made of the entire skin and antlers. In skinning an animal the legs were cut lengthwise on the inside, and a ventral cut was made from the

[170] In the prehuman era, before the birds and animals transformed themselves into their present forms. However, in this instance S.G.'s explanation is, I think, a rationalization. Water is "immortal" and revival by placing in water is the common Yokuts belief, as expressed verbally and in their myths.

[171] [171] The Navajo believe that "killed eagles go way up in the sky and live there" (Hill, op. cit., 98).

[p. 71 b]

224 hind crotch to the chin. The skin was turned
inside out as it was worked off and the antlers
281 removed with it. For the costume, the cut
under the throat was sewed up and the head and
neck stuffed with shredded tule; the head
rested on the man's head, the skin hanging
down his back, said S.G. J.B.'s assertion that
the hunter looked out through the eye-holes,
with the skin tied under his chin, does not
sound practical. The bow and arrows were tied
[411] to the body with a belt, in such a way that the
weapons pushed the skin up at the back making
a more natural appearance. The hunter leaned
on two short sticks to assist the four-legged
224 pose as he walked. These he cracked together
to suggest fighting deer. With the disguise a
man could approach within twenty feet of
grazing animals. If one deer fell victim to
the silent arrow shot, others ran up to investigate and were killed also.

Three men would engage in a deer drive,
two to scare up the deer and one to kill by
waiting in ambush on the deer trail.

S.G. has never heard of "charming"
[276] animals, or of smoking oneself and weapons.
J.P. said hunters gathered to eat tobacco and
lime and to vomit the night before hunting.
They rose early, bathed, ate only acorn gruel,
and departed in the morning. The only tabu was
on saying where one was going, "if you told,
you would never see any deer." Neither has he
heard of any quarrels over hunting territory or
claims on special places since game was so
plentiful "nobody cared where anybody else
went." Not every hunter was skillful enough to
get deer, but a hunter would often take another
man along to help him, and this man received
some meat in return. S.G. believes that every-
[262] body ate deer meat, but some people do not like
bear meat. J.B. said he did not eat cougar
flesh although many people did.

J.P. said "there were five animals just
136 like deer, everybody ate them" (i.e., they were
[262] not totemic). These were: šo´koi, elk,
wandered east of the swamps in the valley;
soi´yɔd, a goat with straight horns, belongs
in the valley, seen near the foothills at
Hadi´d·t; duwe´s·p, mountain sheep, had curved
horns and belonged in the mountains; wɔ´kno,
antelope, in the foothill valleys, especially
in Antelope Valley (Local Map B, no. 13); and
hoi, deer.

Bear hunting.--Bears were not ordinarily
224 shot at in the open, and were rarely sought as
game. The meat was not eaten by many people,
and the animal was held in considerable awe.
When deliberately sought to be killed, the
creature was roused during hibernation, forced
to run out into the open, and shot from ambush.
The skin, paws, or claws were redeemed by
members of the Bear lineage, certain members of
which would use these parts in the Bear Dance.
As an illustration of the hunting method and
its attendant dangers, J.P. told the following:

224 539 773 Holo'anši, J.P.'s maternal grandfather [great uncle ?] was a very fine hunter and was frequently out with his weapons. One morning he saw a bear with two cubs; he went home and told his friends about it. The next morning twelve men, each with bow and arrows, started for the bear's cave.

"Who is going to run?" they said. Holo'anši offered to as he was a good runner, but another man wanted to, too: they argued a bit. Meanwhile the others arranged a semi-circle of stakes, driving them into the ground in front of the cave. They took up shooting positions behind these. Holo'anši went to the cave entrance to lure the bear, but the bear rushed at him before he could draw his bow. He was forced to run toward the circle of stakes with the bear clawing at his heels. The second runner jumped in to draw the bear's attention, and another man succeeded in shooting her in the shoulder. She continued to pursue the second runner. Holo'anši dashed in the cave to grab the cubs, but the mother saw him and went after him. Now, Lizard was the dream helper of Holo'anši and he came to his rescue. He gave that man power to climb right up the side of the cave and whisk up and out of the entrance just out of the bear's grasp. But outside Holo'anši was forced to run, and the bear still chased him. Holo'anši tried to climb a high rock pile but at that moment the bear caught him, clawing and biting him. The other men were all too frightened to do anything, save the second runner who came up and shot the bear three times as she turned toward her cave again.

The men carried Holo'anši back to camp. They put his eyes back and all his skin in place. They covered him entirely with eagle down and dosed him with jimsonweed. He began to get better at once, but some bad doctor saw that this was his chance to do away with Holo'anši. He shot "poison" at him, and the old man died the next day.

411 322 Weapons.--The plain bow (ta´dup) and sinew-backed bow (ṭap) were used by the Wukchumni. S.G. claimed that both were made of elderwood (wuse´ta). He said few men knew how to make a sinew-backed bow, but any man could and did make the plain kind -- as follows. When the length had been chosen and cut, and the bark peeled off, the stick was set with one end in a crotch and the other end pulled until it split down its entire length. If it split properly, two bows could be made from the two halves. Thereafter shaping was done with a large obsidian blade. No grip was cut on the plain bow. To aid flexibility occasional gashes were cut on the inside curve, which was the bark side of the wood, i.e., the core of the wood was on the outside. The bow was heated over glowing coals and pulled around the knee to form the center curve. The end re-curvature, which was slight in the plain bow, was made by fixing the end in a vicelike crotch and pulling it until the desired effect was obtained. The shaping progressed bit by bit and was not accomplished in less than three to six days.

411 Of the ten plain Yokuts bows in the Museum of Anthropology, University of California, 322 four still have the bark on the inner side. None shows much recurving, and they are no doubt the basis for Kroeber's comment that Yokuts "common bows for small game were little more than a shaped stick...."[172] Plain bows had strings of čidɨk twine.

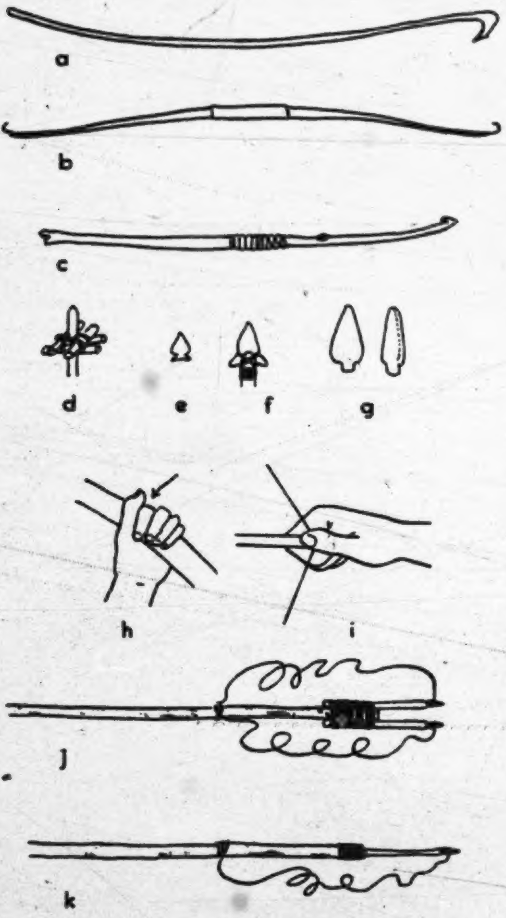

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Fig. 10. Hunting and fishing equipment. a, rodent hook. b, sinew-backed bow (about 4 feet). c, self-bow (about 3 feet, unstrung). d, bird-arrow tip. e, obsidian tip of deer arrow. f, same showing fastening. g, flint tip of war arrow. h, bow grasp with arrow rest. i, arrow release. j, k, double and single harpoons.

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[172] Handbook, 530.

[P. 73a]

411 322 As the best instrument of this group, No. 1-3943 was selected for description. It measures 3 feet, 7-3/4 inches in over-all length and is 1-3/8 inches in width at center. The bow curvature is slight, and only one end is now recurved. The ends differ, one having a projection to carry the permanent fastening of the bowstring, the other hooked (fig. 10, c), the string being hooked and unhooked over this end. This weapon differed from the others of the group in having a hand grasp 7-1/2 inches wide of skin thong wound around the bow at the center. The wrappings were exactly parallel, touching but never overlapping. The wrapping was started by laying one end along the outside and returning the wrapping over this end. On the back about 6 inches above the grasp was [237] glued a red-headed woodpecker's scalp. It is possible that this was a hunter's talisman.

The sinew-backed bow (fig. 10, b) was doubtless made of mountain cedar [juniper] as [439] Kroeber states, as was true for the neighboring Mono from whom, in fact, most Yokuts bows were obtained.[373] The sinew used was that taken from the long back muscles of deer; it was fastened to the back of the bow with glue made of boiled deer brains. The string was of sinew (pik‧t).

Kroeber states:

> The commonest type [of bow], primarily for the hunt, was nearly as long as a man, of about two fingers' width and the thickness of one. The ends were recurved, probably through a curling back of the thickened sinew. Bows made specifically for fighting were shorter, broader, and flatter, and pinched in the middle. Except for being unpainted and probably not quite so extreme in form, this type appears to have been the same as the northern California one.[374]

Powers describes Yokuts bows as he saw them.[375]

> As to their implements and weapons, there are some interesting particulars to be noted. [439] Here, as everywhere on the Sacramento and Joaquin plains, the Indians make no bows [*sic*--no sinew-backed bows], but purchase them all from the mountaineers. This is because they have no cedar. This wood is extremely brittle when dry, and is then the poorest possible material for bows; but by anointing it every day with deer's marrow while it is drying the Indian overcomes this quality and renders it the best. The bow is taken from the white or sap wood, the outside of the tree being also the outside of the bow. It is scraped and polished down with wonderful painstaking, so that it may bend evenly, and the ends are generally carved so as to point back slightly.

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[373] A description of making the sinew-backed bow is in the Wobonuch section, Pt. II.

[374] Handbook, 530.

[375] P. 373.

411 237 322 Then the Indian takes a quantity of deer's sinew, splits it up with flint into small fibers, and glues them on the outside or flat back of the weapon until it becomes semi-cylindrical in shape. These strings of sinew, being lapped around the end of the bow and doubled back a little way, impart to it its wonderful strength and elasticity. The glue is made by boiling the joints of various animals and combining the product with pitch.

I saw a bow thus carefully made in the hands of an aged chief and it was truly a magnificent weapon. It was about five feet long, smooth and shining -- for when it becomes a little soiled the fastidious savage scrapes it slightly with flint, then anoints it afresh with marrow -- and of such great strength that it would require a giant to bend it in battle. For lack of skins the owner carried it in a calico case. The string, composed of twisted sinew, was probably equal in strength to a sea-grass rope of three times its diameter. When not used the bow was unstrung, and the string tied around the left limb of the bow, and to prevent the slightest lesion of either the bow or the string the former had a section of fur from some animal's tail, about four inches long, slipped onto it.

411 237 Arrows (toi´yuš) according to S.G., were about 2 feet long for deer, a bit less than 2 feet for bear-killing, as not more than 2 inches of the arrow extended beyond the bow when it was drawn. For small game a 4-foot, one-piece, arrow of willow (kai´wan) was used. The cane arrow (si´kᵼd) had a foreshaft of oak sprout, which, when shaped to a point, was ground down on a rock and then heated over coals for hardening. Deer arrows were of cane with an obsidian tip (fig. 10, e, f) on the foreshaft. All arrows had three feathers, preferably "squirrel" hawk (šo´hup) wing feathers. The top of each split feather was fastened first, each one being inserted under a separate turn of the binding sinew. When the bottoms of the feathers were fastened down, they were laid a trifle out of line to give a slight spiraling of the feathers, "to make the arrow fly straight." The feathers had to be left wing feathers, as only one half of each feather was used, and these were always laid on with the "right side" (outside) toward the worker.[176] S.G. did not know how the obsidian [438] points were made. He says a natural obsidian was obtained from the lake people: if his statement is correct they must, in turn, have gotten it from Coast Range people.

411 237 Arrows were kept in a quiver made of a whole fox skin with fur left on. It was called a´oja timai´ya (fox sack) and was hung on the right shoulder.

Of Yaudanchi arrows Kroeber states:[177]

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[176] I neglected to inquire if a left-handed arrowmaker used right wing feathers which, it seems, would be required. Possibly such a man would insert the feathers with the wrong side toward himself.

[177] Handbook, 530.

411 237 The arrow, *shikid*, generically, had three forms among the Yaudanchi, known as *t'uyosh*, *djibaku*, and *wuk'ud*. The war arrow had no foreshaft, but a rather long wooden point, notched. It measured from the finger tip nearly to the opposite shoulder or a trifle more than the possible pull of the bow.... The ordinary hunting arrow had a long sharpened foreshaft, but no real head. The deer arrow had foreshaft and flint head, but the foreshaft was socketed without glue or tie, so that the main shaft would disengage after hitting.

Powers saw two types of arrows:[178]

> 411 [824] Of arrows, the Indians living on the plains made some for themselves of button-willow, straight twigs of the buckeye, and canes, but the most durable came from the mountains. There are two kinds, war-arrows and game-arrows; the former furnished with flint heads, the latter not. The shaft of the war-arrow consists of a single piece, but that of the game-arrow is frequently composed of three pieces, furnished with sockets so adjusted as to fit into each other snugly. [224] When the hunter, lurking behind the covert, sees the quarry approaching, he measures quickly with his eye the probable length of shot he will have to make, and if it is a long one he couches his arrow with three pieces; but if a short one, with extraordinary quickness he twitches it apart, takes out the middle section, claps the two end sections together again, and fires. An arrow made of what we should call the frailest of all woods, the tender shoot of a buckeye, and pointed with flint, has carried death to many a savage in battle. I have seen an Indian couch a game-arrow, which was pointed only with a section of arrow-wood, and drive it a full half-inch into the hardest oak!

411 324 The arrow straightener used by all Yokuts has been described and illustrated by Kroeber:[179]

> The prevailing arrow straightener among the Yokuts is the Southern California form: a well-shaped rectangular block of stone, often rounded or ridged on top, and invariably with a polished transverse groove. This implement is undoubtedly associated with the employment of 411 322 cane for arrows: the Yokuts are known to have used the plant, though not exclusively. The joints were warmed in the groove and bent by hand or on the ridge after the stone had been heated; the groove was also used for smoothing. The holed straightener of wood or horn for [171] wooden shafts, as employed all over northern California, has not been reported from the Yokuts.[180]

Cane arrows were realigned before and after each usage. The cane shaft, with foreshaft removed, was grasped at each end and drawn across the hot groove with a rolling,

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[178] P. 374.

[179] Handbook, 530, pl. 49, c.

[180] Latta (Uncle Jeff's Story, 20) recently reports that a perforated stone disc was so used by the Choinimni. A.H.G.

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pushing motion. Willow arrows were straightened by the same method.

223 Bird hunting.--Kroeber attributes the pigeon booth to the Yaudanchi and describes a
349 similar method by which they captured eagles.[181]

> The hunter lay in a concealed hut of brush. He did not look at his quarry until it was caught, fearing that it flee his glance. Outside were placed a stuffed animal skin as bait [237] and a live hawk as decoy. The trap was a noose fastened to a bent-over pole sprung from a trigger. Before the eagle was killed by being trod on, it was addressed: "Do not think I shall harm you. You will have a new body. Now turn your head to the north and lie flat!" Only men who knew this prayer and the necessary observances undertook to kill eagles.

223 The Wukchumni went up the Kaweah River into Patwisha territory to get wild pigeons (šo´ʼowɨn). They had their own booths up there. [439] They took with them house mats for temporary shelter, and these they sold to the Patwisha when returning.

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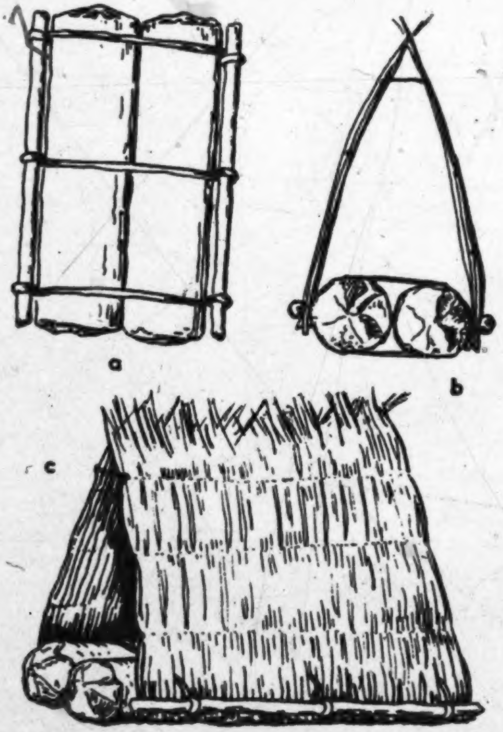

Fig. 11. Wukchumni hunting and fishing blind. a, log float. b, end view. c, sewn tule screens in place.

G. [181] Handbook, 529, 524, pl. 45.

223 349 A floating hunting blind, described by S.G., was used by Wukchumni and Gawia on quiet waters, particularly on Woodlake. Two logs about 6 feet long were tied together about a foot from each end with willow-root withes. Horizontally along each side, just at the center, was a long rod held in place by the same bindings. Into the long slot between the rod and the side of the log to which it was fastened, were inserted the butt ends of long round tules, about 4 to 6 feet tall, previously twined together at the butts. The tops of these were drawn together forming an apex over the narrow raft. If the shelter were well made, the tule tops would be sewed together with string (čitɩk) on a wooden needle, but if poorly made the tops were tied together in small bunches (see fig. 11). This [501] floating shelter was used chiefly for duck hunting with bow and arrows. It was poled about, usually by men who worked in pairs, one to pole, the other to shoot.

224 Small game.--S.G. described two traps for small animals. The first, intended for rodents, was merely one large flat rock propped above another by means of a small stick. The bottom of the stick rested on the bait -- usually a roasted acorn -- and gave way when the bait was nibbled. The second was a spring trap set up on the trails of quail, cottontail rabbits, ducks, or geese. A small supple limb was set in the earth if none grew naturally at the desired spot. To its tip was fastened a noose of string (čitɩk), the cord of which was tied to a horizontal bar pegged about six inches off the ground. Any creature caught in the noose struggled sufficiently to release the horizontal bar, and animal and bowed limb flew upward.

[136] Of small animals the following were trapped: ground squirrels (po´hot), tree squirrels (sa´n̄sañwide´´ɩt), gophers (hu´n̄hed) and chipmunk (aho´´ŏt).

Smoking out, with aid of the feather fire fan, was the most common method of catching ground squirrels (see Michahai-Waksachi, Pt. II).

A flexible stick with hooked end was used for pulling rodents from their burrows or hiding places. Ground squirrels were forced out or stupefied by smoking. Entries to their burrows were plugged with grass which was fired and kept burning by drafts from a feather fire fan. As the animals attempted to escape or get air at openings they were dragged out with the hook, seized, and their necks broken. A hooked stick of this type in the University of California collections (No. 1-4036) is 49 inches long, approximately 1/4 inch in diameter (fig. 10, a).

Fishing

226 227 The fishing harpoons were 7 to 12 feet long; different lengths were used for different

226 depths of water. The handle (hoiš) was of
elderwood. According to one informant (J.P.)
227 the handle [more probably a part of the handle]
could be detached entirely if one was working
under bushes, but this does not agree with
other information. Two hollow shafts of deer
tibia (to´koi) were lashed on one end, and into
[237] these were fitted bone points (pi´če tu´h'na)
about 2 inches long. A cord with about 2 feet
of "play" leashed the point to the main handle.
The point was essentially a toggle when freed
from its housing, the attaching cord usually
being fastened to it by wrapping and sealing
with pitch or asphalt.[182]

A separate harpoon point in the University
[321] of California Museum of Anthropology (1-10422)
has a cord 28 inches long, is of bone, and is
3-3/4 inches in length. Another (no. 1-3954)
is a one-piece togglehead, slightly over 3
[325] inches long (79 mm.) of iron or steel; is perhaps a tine from a rake. A 2-ply cord is laid
against the middle of this and probably lashed
around several times and then is fastened to
the metal by a dark substance which may be
asphalt or pitch. It has in it grains of some
mineral substance which looks like feldspar
from decomposed granite. (These might be a by-product from the melting of the gum.) The
length of the free string is about 21 inches.[183]
Both specimens are from the Chukchansi Yokuts.

Weirs of willow were set across rivers or
226 streams at suitable places. The willows used
were about finger thickness and 3 feet long.
They were interwoven with willowbark rope. Into
the weir and facing upstream were set cylindrical baskets 6 to 10 feet long and 12 to 18
inches in diameter; as many as three of these
might be used. If fish were needed in a hurry,
men, women, and children would wade downstream
driving fish ahead of them into the basket
traps. Ordinarily the baskets were left overnight, when sufficient fish would have accumulated in them by morning.

A favorite method of catching fish in
226 pools was by stupefaction. Two plants were
278 used. One, ta´dad, was a plant which grew
near streams. It was mashed fine, put in sifting baskets, and shaken out over the surface of
the water. This "made the fish crazy"; as
they jumped about near the surface they were
grabbed in the hands and scooped up in large
openwork baskets. The other plant, ya´oha,
"grows on the mountains." It was soaked in
[522] water and mashed with a stick, and the mass put
in the fishing hole. The person who performed
this service was facetiously referred to as a
doctor (añṭu). Kroeber mentions two other

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[182] One informant claimed the point was drilled and the cord tied through the hole. This seems unlikely as no such attachment is reported from any other Yokuts or neighboring tribe.

[183] Description, kindness of Dr. A.L. Kroeber.

226 poisons: buckeye nuts ground with earth, and crushed nademe leaves.[184] As the large fish be- 278 came stupefied, men "gigged" them, while the women secured the smaller fish in baskets.[185]

Diving for fish was an indulgence of an 226 able swimmer. Such a man (J.P. was said by all 481 who knew him to be an expert at this) would swim down under water fifteen to twenty feet and seize an unwary fish in his hand. If possible a handful of sand was taken along or grabbed off the bottom to aid in holding the slippery fish, but an expert thrust his thumb under the gills. It took much practice to do this, and the skill is better regarded as a pleasurable stunt than as a fishing method.

FOODS, UTENSILS, MEDICINES

Meals and Foods

Three meals a day, breakfast (wa´ad), 264 lunch (ču´ka), and supper (do´n̄tau) were designated by M.L., but other informants (M. and 262 J.P., S.G., etc.) say there were only two. Certainly two fit the general aboriginal pattern better, as known here and elsewhere. Breakfast consisted of hot acorn mush and a little meat. Everyone of any character was up before sunrise, the breakfast was eaten at about that time. The evening meal was much larger and had added to the staple mush and meat such extras as the day provided--"greens," fish, pigeons, seed cakes, and so on. The evening meal was taken just before sundown. Both men and women had "snacks" during the day; children ate as often as they pleased; this may be a continuance of the unregulated nursing pattern.

Generalizing about food habits, M.L. said 262 that the Tachi did not like deer meat, that the Wukchumni did not eat larvae although "people up north" (Hoshima) did, and that the Waksachi all ate bear.[186] Coyote and fox were not eaten but wildcat and raccoon were considered very good, as were squirrels, woodrats, quail, doves, and pigeons. Some persons, amongst those whose totemic tabus permitted it, ate bear and cougar, but most people looked askance at bear meat. For instance, S.G., having no prohibitions to prevent it, once ate bear meat which was cooked rather rare. Directly he ate it, he felt nauseated and vomited the food; he maintained that this would never have happened with any other kind of meat. As for cougar meat, chiefs never touched it because this animal had been a chief in the mythical prehuman era.

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[184] Handbook, 529.

[482] [185] Fish were never put in burden baskets as the moisture softened the soaproot stiffening.

[186] Deer meat was scarce for the lake people; other informants show that the Wukchumni did eat larvae; and certain Waksachi would have died rather than eat bear meat.

252 262 [263] [412] Deer meat was usually cut into hunks with an obsidian blade and boiled in a clay pot with salt (tus), according to S.G. But the addition of salt in cooking was denied as aboriginal by M.L. and M.P., who agreed that in old times salt was only eaten in tiny pinches, usually to accompany vegetable foods, particularly greens. However, all agreed that deer meat was more often roasted than boiled, and that this was done by men.

Ground squirrels and other rodents had the tails broken off, were singed thoroughly on coals, and then were roasted in a hole kept for such purposes close under the fireplace.

Fish were sometimes boiled, but more often were split ventrally and laid on coals which had been pulled from the fire and covered with a layer of sand and grass. In turn, coals were laid atop the fish after they had been protected with another layer of grass and sand.

Fish from Lime Kiln Creek, Kaweah River
267 and its several sloughlike branchings, and Wood-
136 lake were abundant for Wukchumni and Gawia. M.L. described thirteen kinds. The rainbow or "lake" trout (e´p‹s); minnows [?] (ta´k‹č), a little fish about 5 inches long; suckers (po´dhoi); another tiny fish "which never grew any larger" (ša´dhui); a black fish with a short head, a large dors[illegible]n, and few bones (tu´kmu); perch, a small[illegible]fish (tapo´psu); a trout "with a swallowt[illegible]du´du); a small fish with lateral fins th[illegible]ooked like pins" (ču´khiu); a large oval f[illegible] about fifteen inches long, with a large mouth and "one big back bone" (ṭa´ṭu); a similar fish,but smaller (ko´po); a fish which resembled a catfish yet lacked whiskers (ni'e´t‹č); the "greaser" fish which "has too many bones" (ta´w‹s); and the catfish (ča´dut). Eels were not seen in Wukchumni territory nor did salmon reach the Kaweah River, M.L. claimed; she added that few of the old varieties of fish were available now.

Deer meat to be jerked was cut in lateral
252 strips from an initial cut down the backbone.
262 The back sinews were first removed as they were the most valued. The meat was rubbed with rock salt which was in strong solution or pulverized. The strips of flesh were hung over tree branches where they were not in too hot sun, and turned daily until dry.

Fish were split ventrally and, unsalted, were hung along a slender pole set up on forked sticks in a river bottom. Fish were hung by their gills only when being carried.

Yellowjackets' larvae (ka´wa) were a
222 favorite accompaniment to manzanita berries.[187]
[262] The entrance holes to the yellowjackets' nests were watched at sundown; often three or four were located near each other when the returning

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[263 192] [187] The seeds added as flavoring to manzanita cider were also called ka´wa. Analogical naming, perhaps a form of nicknaming, was a favorite Yokuts trick; in this case we cannot be sure whether seeds or larvae are the original "kawa."

[P. 77a]

222 insects were seen flying into them. Next morning before they were aroused by light, a fire was built over the nest and the smoke driven down the entrance with a fire fan. When the inmates were stupefied, the entire nest was dug out as a whole and carried carefully to a coal fire. When the nest was dried out, the 252 larvae were shaken out onto a tray, washed, and put in a basket to boil. They were later 262 drained and eaten with acorn gruel (te´pɨn) or 222 mixed with whole manzanita berries. (This account from M.L., who earlier claimed the Wukchumni did not eat "grubs.")

The roblar composed of valley oaks (a white oak, Q. lobata Neé) supplied an abundance of acorns for the Wukchumni and their neighbors. However, the acorns from a certain black oak of Eshom Valley (probably Q. Kelloggii) were most prized, and are still preferred even today. The valley oak was called tao´wihɨt; the acorns from all oaks were called pu´'utuz, save those from Eshom Valley which were known by their Waksachi name, ö´'išün.

Mariposa lily bulbs (kama´ya) were plentiful and a favorite dish. They were dug with a digging stick while the plants were in bloom (April and May). They were rubbed across an open-twined basket to remove the outer skin and then boiled.

A plant which was probably arrowhead (a Sagittaria), called ta'a´na, was a boiled root food "just like potatoes when it was cooked and grew all over in wet places."

Mɨtski´ša (mesquite?) was not identified. It has "leaves like parsley and yellow flowers"; the roots were dug and boiled.

A small variety of soaproot, called koči´hɨč, was cooked on hot coals. A layer of sweet-smelling flowers (ča´wan, "something like tarweed") was first laid on a layer of coals in a pit.[188] Then the bulbs, then another layer of flowers were laid on and all covered with hot ashes. More wood was laid on to burn as coals and the whole left over night. This dish was greatly relished and was always prepared in large quantities for a general feast. The cooking was a man's task; when an especially large quantity was wanted, men would help the women gather the bulbs. The cooked bulbs and flowers were not eaten together but separated and eaten as two dishes. Both sexes partook.

[137] The general word for clover was či´tat, but five kinds were distinguished: po´to čitat, soiwa´si čitat, hodo´m čitat, čaka´ma čitat, and ma´tɨk čitat. These were usually eaten raw and were a favorite accompaniment for acorn mush, as was pu´šta, another green, though not a clover, which was cooked. The clover designated as hodom had red and white blossoms; while still young and tender it was eaten raw and was a favorite accompaniment for salt-grass

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[171] [188] Armstrong states that these bulbs were cooked in pits by the Pomo (Field Book of Western Wild Flowers, 12).

[P. 77b]

222 salt and acorn mush. The Yokuts habit of going out to clover patches in the spring and there 252 directly eating the lush tender clover growth 262 led to their ridicule by early settlers who referred to them as being like animals turned out to graze. There is a reference to this practice as the favorite opening of a certain myth in versions from the Wukchumni, Yaudanchi, Yauelmani, and the Tübatulabal.[189]

Two other green plants named by M.L. were ida´ma ṭo´mod, "just like cabbage," and čide´dɨk, "something like cauliflower"; both were eaten cooked.

According to M.P., any kind of green vegetable food was called ṭomod, which literally meant "greens" just as we use the word in English. She too mentioned katɨk and čidedɨk. Another plant, mane´ča ṭomod, was boiled and eaten when young and green. Later on the sweet ripened berries were eaten with salt grass which had been chopped fine.

Nočai´yu was washed, boiled, washed again in hot water, and then eaten.

Mustard which is gathered, cooked, and [177] eaten today, was not eaten at all in old times, said M.P. Its use is a white introduction.

Waša´wai, a wild sunflower, was valued for its seeds.

Ka´syɨn, the seeds of redmaid (a Calandrinia), were greatly enjoyed; they were sweet and oily and when crushed could be pressed into small balls, in which form they were eaten.

Ka´wa is a tiny brown seed, very hard to get: "you couldn't get a cupful in a month." Parched and ground, they were added to manzanita cider. (Kawa was also given as the word for yellowjacket larvae by M.L.)

A´pṭu (manzanita berries) were used only 272 for cider, although a few might be tasted "just 262 for fun." When the berries were nearly ripe and ready to fall, women went out and cleared the ground under the shrubs of twigs, leaves, etc. Then while one or two women held forth wide-mouthed seed-beaters or sifting trays, another would shake the bushes to dislodge the ripe berries. These came down in a shower "just like hail." A high percentage fell on the ground and these were picked and scraped up; a woman who had to work alone might shake all the fruit to the ground rather than try to catch it. Asked why they did not pick off the berries, M.P. said that that method was too tedious and that only berries ripe enough to fall made really tasty cider. Taken home in the burden basket, the fruit was freed as much as possible of foreign bits, twigs, leaves, cobwebs, or bird lime. The fruit was not rinsed in water "because that would wash the taste away."

Then the berries were put on an old winnowing tray and mashed lightly with a hand stone; some women "just squeezed them hard."

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[189] Gayton and Newman, 68, abstract 57, note 2.

272 262 The mass of crushed fruit was placed in a sieve basket over a large watertight coiled basket and water was slowly poured through. When sufficient liquor resulted, it was poured out of the under receptacle and again put through the berries; this might be repeated two or three times.[190] If kawa seeds were to be added, this was done after the liquor had been drained for the last time. The drink was greatly enjoyed, particularly as it was available during the hottest summer weather. Usually it soured in twelve hours; in colder weather it might keep up to forty-eight but, as M.P. said, this seldom happened, "people drank it up too fast." It was always made up fresh as the soured liquor was not considered fit to drink.

Firewood

313 Trees and limbs for firewood, as well as for house poles and ramadas, were felled and severed by firing. A hole was dug around the base of the selected tree and filled with dry grass and chips. Oak sticks were kindled as torches and applied to the base of the chosen tree while the fire surrounding it was burning. Several of these torches were used, and as the tree began to burn they were pushed and wedged into the burning trunk. The flames were beaten back from the upper trunk. Usually two men worked together, a man and his son often undertaking the job, one to rekindle the sticks as they went out, as they often did, the other to adjust those at the tree trunk and to knock away charred parts of the tree. The workers took care not to look up the tree; if they did, the fire would creep up the trunk. When the tree finally collapsed, the main branches were severed by the same means, as were other parts that could not be broken into portable lengths.

Felling or severing limbs by fire was best done on dead or already fallen trees, but since these were not always obtainable, live trees were attacked in winter when they were drier and there was less danger of brush and grass fire. Old trees were easier to fire than young ones. Both men and women packed wood, but only men did the firing.

313 482 The load of wood was held on the back by means of a tumpline. This passed over the upper forehead -- if a woman was the carrier, across the chest, if a man -- and extended down the back under the wood and out and back over the load, each end returning over each shoulder to be grasped in the hand (fig. 13, vignettes). Long poles were dragged home with ropes of willow fibre (ho') by men. Ordinarily each family provided its own firewood; a felled tree belonged to the men doing the work. At the time of a big gathering the messengers got wood in the same way.

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[171]

[190] The Miwok used a similar method but evidently added no flavoring seeds (Barrett and Gifford, 161-162).

[P. 78b] Wukchumni

Salt

258
263 Modern "American" salt is called kuyu. In old times two kinds of salt were available. Rock salt (tus) was bought from the Monachi [439] (Eastern Mono), who said it "came from a whole hill of salt that looked like snow." Before it was used this salt was heated on hot coals, which caused it to crumble. The other and more common salt (a´dɨt) was derived from marsh grass, and was called in English "red salt" because "it looked red all over the grass."

Once M.L. and her stepmother, who was a Gawia, went over to Haditao for salt. The old women dug up the grass that grew there. She got some wood and made a fire. At sundown she put the grass on the fire which had burned down to coals. M.L. went to sleep but her stepmother stayed up until the grass was reduced to ashes. Then she lay down for a little while. She would not let the little girl look closely at the fire, nor would she herself eat anything. She worked all the next day piling up more grass. At sundown she ate a little bit but would not drink, explaining that if she ate much or drank water there would be nothing in the fire when she finished. When the ashes were brushed away there were lumps of salt in the bottom of the fire. The old woman lifted these out and freed them from the ashes by shaking them in an open-twined basket.

In 1925 M.L. had some grass-salt which she prized. It was greyish pink in color, had the texture of coarse sugar and the taste of mild vinegar.

Kroeber makes a somewhat different statement about grass-salt.[191]

> The Yaudanchi,...with other southern tribes, gathered a salty grass known as alit and beat it on stones to extract the juice; which was particularly favored with green clover.

This was a grass growing in alkaline ground which was abundant in the tular.

Woman's Household Equipment

412 A Wukchumni woman's housekeeping equipment
322 comprised one or more digging sticks, a soaproot brush, hot-rock lifters, and a "set" of baskets. The digging stick (ča´poi, lit., mountain ash) was made of manzanita, if obtainable, or of young white oak. The length varied according to the owner's preference. The tip was charred and rubbed down on rough stone which gave a heat-hardened point; the point was reworked by the same method when it became too blunt. Sometimes a woman who liked a short stick (about four feet long) would contrive a

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[191] Handbook, 530.

[P. 799] Wukchumni

412 nobby upper end by capping it with boiled soaproot and tying over this a piece of buckskin.
322 Weights were never added.

The soaproot brush (č·ne ʒ·1) varied in size from small ones some 4 inches long to large ones of 9 inches.[illegible] They were used variously for brushing up meal when preparing foodstuffs, or for brushing the hair. Hair-[302] brushes were large and made of coarse fibres which have hook-like tips. One in a family was sufficient. The root to make a brush was dug after the flower had faded when the fibres around the root had reached a maximum toughness. The plant's top was torn off and the fibres carefully removed from around the bulb. The bulb was boiled in water until it became a plastic cream-colored mass. The fibres having been arranged as a brush and so tied, the bulb mass was pressed and shaped over the end as a handle and tied in place with several wrappings of string. The liquid from the bulb was [314] viscous and was applied to burden baskets and cradles, where it dried as a practically colorless stiffener.

The set of rock lifters consisted of a 415 pair of straight sticks and a looped one. The looped lifter, commonly called mushstirrer because one must necessarily stir about in the mush to find the cooking stones, was made of a peeled withelike stick, heated over coals and then bent around the foot to form a loop. The double handle thus formed was tied with a milkweed string or with a thong (see pl. 1, right verticals). Wild grapevine withes were used for a light type of lifter which was peeled, looped, and tied while still green and flexible. Two sticks from Drum Valley are made of bent young oak and, according to the collector's notes, are tied with the inner bark of oak.[illegible] Although these looped sticks were used to extract cooking stones from food which was being boiled, the hot stones were lifted in with a pair of pine sticks flattened out at one end. As these were often charred they were not allowed to touch the food, and hot rocks to which ashes clung were dipped in water on their way into the food. The best hot-rock lifters [439] were of pine and were bought from the Eastern Mono, who made them for trade. A medium-sized basket (8 to 12 inches in diameter) of simple flaring type was considered a suitable payment in return.

285 The "set" of baskets comprised six types essential for food-gathering, preparation, and
482 cooking. (See figs. 2 and 3.) The large conical burden basket (a T̃aš) was of split willow. It was diagonally twined, of close work, and was stiffened with soaproot liquor. Because of

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[illegible] Those collected by Dr. Barrett and now in the University of California Museum of Anthropology.

[illegible] University of California, Museum of Anthropology, nos. 1-10846, 1-10848; Dr. S.A. Barrett, collector; cf. Kroeber, Handbook, fig. 38.

285 the soluble stiffening nothing wet was ever put in it. The apex of the basket was protected 482 with a piece of buckskin sewed on like a patch. Loops to which a tumpline was attached usually hung from the inside about one-third of the way down the sides; sometimes they were on the outside. The burden basket was used primarily for collecting seeds and acorns or other vegetable materials and was kept very clean. Joints of meat, dirty roots, fagots, or pottery clay (wrapped in buckskin) were carried in the carrying net. (The carrying net was primarily a man's possession. They were made by men and sold to women. Women could make them and also were free to use them when available.) A kind of companion piece to the burden basket was the seed-beater (yama´ki). This was a handled scoop of fine openwork twine. [222] When used as a beater the burden basket was held beneath the beaten plant tops to catch the seeds; another method, preferred when possible, was to keep the burden basket on the back, knock plant heads or seeds into the scoop-shaped beater which was then cast back over the left shoulder so the seeds fell in the burden basket. Another type of collecting basket was a large, oval, very openwork twine scoop (a´pɔt) for carrying fish; smaller ones of the same construction were used to catch fish in the water. Two baskets used in the preparation of food were the coiled winnowing tray (koyo´ṭo) and the sieve (ta´myuk) which was of fine openwork twining; it was very like the seed-beater but 285 lacked a handle. The cooking basket (pota´na) was invariably of twined weave, coarse and 415 close, and had four horizontal bands of redbud worked in a plain or herringbone pattern. All these baskets were essential. Naturally, more than one, and varieties of size or coarseness, were desired even among these six types. Another basket for food was a large flaring basket (kača´o) of coiled technique in which cooked mush was stored, or other cooked foods; it was also watertight so that water for cooking or washing might be put in it. Small coiled serving baskets (also called kačao) with flat bottoms and flaring sides were used as individual eating baskets for each member of the family.

285 Additional baskets, which every woman might not own, were the coiled basket cap (waki´nɨts) used only under the tumpline, the large, flat, handsomely patterned coiled gambling tray (tai´ʼiwan), and the shouldered ornamental basket (a´ma) which was used by both sexes for the storing of treasures and cherished as a treasure in itself.

Not every woman owned pottery cooking 323 vessels (ki´wɨc) but all did who could make or 415 afford them among the Central Foothill tribes. Most housewives wanted two large ones for boiling meat and fish and a few smaller dishes for keeping or serving food. Children were not allowed to eat from pottery dishes.

321 Deer bone awls (poa´´uk, M.L.; ap´´up, M.P.)
412 were wanted by all women who made baskets and,
as there was no tabu on their use for any con-
venient purpose, others owned them as well.
About three sizes were wanted, ranging from 3
to 6 inches.[194] They were made by men from deer
fibulae (see pl. 1, floor center).

324 An assortment of obsidian blades, also
made by and bought from men, was wanted for
412 cutting meat, scraping foodstuffs and basketry
materials, and cutting hide.

428 Women came by these possessions in a var-
iety of ways. When a boy's family approached
[584] a girl's family with betrothal gifts, a
burden basket was frequently included as this
285 was an object of value and a type which a young
431 girl could not make for herself. By the time
she was betrothed, however, a girl usually had
already made herself smaller twined and coiled
ware of the seed-beater, winnowing tray, and
sieve types. Her mother or aunts (of either
side of family) would make her additional
baskets, particularly the twined cooking basket.
428 Girls or women inherited from their mothers
many of these household utensils; but it was
said that "there weren't so many of these"
[764] (M.L.) by the time a few things had been put
with the corpse and the rest were divided be-
tween daughters and claimed by the mother's
sisters. Again it was impossible to formulate
a rule whereby these objects were gotten or in-
[437] herited. Women bought utensils and tools from
each other and also from men. A woman's
husband was expected to supply her with meat
and skins. The latter included deerskin for
the dress apron and, if the man were a poor
hunter and could not procure them himself, he
might even buy the deerhoofs used as a decora-
tive fringe on the apron.

Medicines

757 The two plants used for poisoning fish
(yaoha and tadad) were also used medicinally.
278 The first, for chills or headache, was mashed
in a poultice; the second was boiled for use
as a steam bath for chills or to soothe the
vaginal tract after childbirth.[195] Neither
plant was actively poisonous as fish stupefied
by them did not need any special treatment be-
fore being eaten.

Black paint (ka´di´an) was mixed with
grease as a salve. It was applied to sore

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[194] Thirteen awls collected by Dr. Barrett from Michahai, Choinimni, and Chukchansi territory, now in the University of California, Museum of Anthropology, range in size from 3 inches (1-10839) to 7 inches (1-3997). Three unfinished awls from Drum Valley (probably Chukaimina or Michahai) are 5 3/8, 5 1/2, and 7 3/4 inches (1-10850, 1-10838, 1-10837).

[171] [195] The Miwok used vinegar weed (Trichostema lanceolatum Benth.) as a steam treatment for "uterine trouble" (Barrett and Gifford, 174).

Wukchumni

757 eyelids or to the rectum when irritated by diarrhea.

278 Ša´'apeš roots were used for a sore mouth; they were mashed and held in the mouth. If a baby had a sore mouth, it was attributed to the mother's having eaten yellowjacket larvae (an extension of the meat tabu, because yellowjackets eat meat). To cure the infant, dried yellowjacket larvae were pounded up with Ša'apeš and the baby's mouth swabbed out with the mixture.

Pineapple weed (Matricaria suavolens) was made into a tea and drunk for fever or cramps, and was a favorite remedy of old people, said M.P., who showed me the plant but could not give the native name for it.

Taka´ti, a small, sour, round red berry which grows on a low bush, was mashed and eaten uncooked as a purgative.

To´pino, a root, was mashed and clenched between the teeth for severe toothache.

Ka´watopa had a yellow flower (possibly yarrow). Its roots were "strong" and, mashed, were also used for toothache. Tired feet were soaked in a decoction of the boiled roots.

Ta´mɨk was cooked and put on the abdomen as a poultice for intestinal pains.

Te·semui´sa (a Chamaenerion ?) looks like a willow leaf, grows in river bottoms. The leaves were chewed for pleasure; they were bitter at first, then turned sweet. To discourage coughing one chewed a leaf and then drank a swallow of water.

Lipɨt has a big leaf, is a low bush with white blossoms. Only the roots were used which, when boiled, turned red. The resulting drink was strong, "tastes like pepper." A cupful was drunk three times a day when one "ached all over."

CRAFTS AND MANUFACTURES

Pottery

323 Pottery was made and used by Wukchumni, Gawia, Yokod, and Yaudanchi Yokuts of the Central Foothills. The complete process of manufacture has been previously described.[196] The important points are these. The clay was selected on the basis of the amount of natural sand temper which it carried. First dried and pulverized, it was wetted again and pounded thoroughly while wet to increase its viscosity. Pots were built up by the coiling process which proceeded in a clockwise direction. After thorough drying by sunlight, the pots were heated by the fireside. Firing was done in a pit in which oak bark and oak wood had been burning for several hours and lasted from twenty-four to forty-eight hours. While still hot, the pots were coated inside and out with

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[196] Gayton, Yokuts and Western Mono Pottery-Making.

323 thin acorn mush to produce a hard, nonabsorbent surface.

Two standardized shapes for cooking purposes -- and Yokuts pots were used for little else -- were a flat-bottomed, conical pot, often with two lugs, and a serving dish with flat bottom and flaring sides.[157] These are roughly comparable in shape to the deep, twined cooking basket and individual food basket. Shapes were not differentiated by name.

[274] Pipes of pottery were made. These are described and illustrated in the sources mentioned.

Tanning

281 Deer, wildcat, cougar, and bear hides were tanned. The first two, with fur removed, were the best skins for breechclouts and aprons. Cougar and bear hides were used as fur bed covers or were folded for seats of important men. My impression is that cougar hide was not much used. The cougar was difficult to approach within range for a deadly arrow shot; it was, within that range, highly dangerous and was feared for its physical as well as supernatural power. Only fine hunters dared kill the animal and, since many expert hunters had Cougar as their supernatural dream helper, they would not kill it.

[462] Men did tanning, although occasionally women finished wildcat skins for their infants or rabbitskins for blankets.

When a woman wanted a wildcat skin with fur on for her baby, she pegged it fur side down on dry ground or sand in a spot where dry air but not direct sunshine would play on it. In winter, direct sunlight would not be too strong. After all the adhering tissue had been scraped off with a dull obsidian scraper, she loosened the pegs so that the delicate skin would not tear as it shrank in drying. It was then left until dry, twenty-four to forty-eight hours. Then deer brains which had been soaked in water were rubbed over the skin; when the skin was quite wet it was taken up and the brains worked into the skin with the hands. This was a softening process, and only a bland solution of brains was used as it was not desired to loosen any of the hair on the reverse side. Again the skin was pegged out loosely and left. After a day or two the skin was taken up, rinsed off in water, and any remaining tissue was picked off. Finally it was wrung lightly with the hands and rubbed until soft. It was then hung on a pole to dry in the shade. Later it was again pulled, rubbed to soften and stretch the skin, and was shaken vigorously to fluff out the fur. "This made a nice little blanket," and was used carefully as

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[157] Ibid., pls. 99-102; Kroeber, Handbook, pl. 51.

[P.81b]

281 the outer wrapping around a baby while strapped in its cradle. (M.L.)

Much the same process was used for deerskin, which was dehaired with a strong solution of deer brains. Some men were better tanners than others; while most men got enough deer brains in the course of their hunting to keep themselves supplied, dried brains could be bought from expert hunters who had more than they needed. The brains they mashed into flat cakes which they dried on warm rocks, then stored. J.P. said only deer brains were used: he pronounced cougar and bear brains "dangerous" when asked about them.

Hides were pegged out on sand, fur side down, for about a week. When dry they were folded by being stepped on and put in a storehouse, unless they were to be tanned at once, in which case the skin was not folded but was turned over and again pegged out, this time over damp sand or earth. A strong solution of deer brains, which had been soaking overnight, was worked into the fur. This was left for twenty-four to thirty-six hours and, if the brainy ointment had dried out meanwhile, the dry places were remoistened. When the skin was ready, a scraper of deer rib bone was used all over the hide to scrape off the fur; finishing was done by careful plucking with the fingers. On the inner side all adhering tissue was scraped off with a dull obsidian blade. The skin was then rinsed thoroughly in water and wrung out. A man alone would wring it by bunching it lengthwise and looping it around a ramada post or near-by strong sapling and twisting the ends. Two men would wring a hide by having one hold the two ends while the other turned a stick thrust through the loop. After as much water as possible had been pressed out, the skin was pulled out, stretched, and rubbed. At this stage care was taken not to get dirt on the clean damp skin, the work being done on tule mats or grassy ground. When ready for [417] final drying the skin was hung lengthwise over a horizontal pole in the shade (today wire fences serve this purpose). To soften the skin later it was folded twice and pounded lightly with a round hand stone, then pulled and rubbed until soft. (J.P., S.G.)

Rabbitskin Blankets

The skins of rabbits were invariably saved for blankets. Their only other use, according to M.P., was as warm padding to be laid around babies on the cradle board. Such skins were split ventrally, after skinning; they were usually skins already mutilated. The normal method was to cut the skin under the throat and around the head in front of the ears. The four paws were cut off just above the toe joints. Then casing was commenced by pulling on the ears; when the skin was pulled back over the

[P. 829]

281 shoulders and off the forelegs, the ears were cut off at their base. The skins were dried reversed, and adhering tissue was gently scraped off with a small rib bone; an obsidian knife was "too sharp." When ready, the skin was converted into one long strip by cutting around it spirally, beginning at the neck. This was done with an obsidian blade against a smooth flat stone.

These strips were tied together into about 281 twenty-foot lengths (four to six skins). 286 Doubled, the open ends were tied to something firm, often a ramada post. The worker then held the loop end taut with a hooked stick and twisted it. When the tension was sufficient, the double rope was allowed to turn back on itself, making a rope of four strands in all.

This informant (M.P.) insisted that no loom was used for blankets, a point on which there is much discrepancy among all informants. She said the doubly twisted ropes of skin were laid out parallel on the ground "just to measure them out nice." They were then picked up one by one, and a milkweed string in a split wood needle was sewed through parallel twists. The technique is the same as that used in making packstraps, but, of course, a rectangle some 3 by 5 feet was produced. While this informant is a relatively young woman, she nevertheless said she had made a blanket that way, and her motor actions of demonstration were convincing. It is her generalizing statement that no frame was used which is dubious, not her description of the method she herself used. Probably there were different ways of making them. At least there is common agreement that double twisted warps of rabbitskin were always used, and that the weaving frame, if any, was not horizontal.

The skins of jack rabbits and of cottontail rabbits were never combined in the same blanket. Ground squirrel skins and duck skins were sometimes used for blankets of this type, and a particularly delicate little blanket for a baby was made of quail skins. M.P. says men made the skin strips and twisted them into ropes for use, but that women did the "sewing." Men sometimes "sewed" wildcat skins, cured with fur, together to make a big blanket. This "sewing" was with an awl and sinew thread.

The Yaudanchi informant (M.S.) gave a different but equally circumstantial account. Her father, a fine hunter, went out every day to shoot rabbits. They were wanted as food, and for their skins. The skins were cut in strips and rolled on the thigh with two strands of milkweed string. The finished ropes were 8 to 10 feet long; they were then twisted double [method?], making them half that length. A pole resting on two forked sticks served as the frame for "weaving." The ropes were hung from it by passing the loose ends through the looped end. The split wooden needle was not used; the weft string, which was several feet

[P. 82b]

281 long, was kept in a hank of folds about four inches long held in the right or left hand as 286 reed be. Work commenced at the top right. The weft was passed through the adjacent twists as described above. When the bottom was reached the loose ends of the warp were tied together. The loops at the top were slipped off the pole, were given a couple of twists, and were sewed across as elsewhere in the blanket.

The frames were set up outdoors, and blankets were made when there was no danger of rain (April to November). There was no rule or belief that they should not be made at other seasons, the matter was controlled entirely by the prospects of the weather. M.S. insisted that only men made blankets. It is conceivable that this was so in her father's time, but that Mission influence led to women's weaving.

A third method of weaving rabbitskin blankets was described by the elderly blind Wukchumni informant, M.L. She stated that the double twisted ropes of rabbitskin were tied together to form a long continuous rope. This was wrapped round and round a two-pole upright frame. The lower pole was held down by pegs which were loosened as the blanket grew more taut. The weft of string was "sewed" across through parallel twists as above. Back and front warps, caused by the breadth of the frame poles, were pulled into a flat position beside each other.

Tule Mats

285 The word ţ‘ ´ñi was used for any sort of mat; if one of tule were meant specifically, it was called su″iu ţ‘ñi. Those for houses were made of the large triangular tule (pumuk). These reeds were laid out closely side by side on the ground, with stem ends alternating, in an amount needed for a mat. The worker started at the left-hand corner nearest her and, placing her right foot across the first three or four reeds and kneeling on her left knee, ran a thread of čit‘k string in a deer-bone needle through each successive stem. This meant that the needle was held in the left hand while the right hand forced the tules onto it (M.L.). (Unlike European sewing, the needle was a passive instrument when used in this manner.) The sewer moved onto the tules as she progressed, and started back from the opposite end for the next row of stitching. The rows were about a foot apart.

Sleeping mats and floor mats were made of [516] the smaller round tules (šu´yu). The worker sat in a favorite Yokuts woman's position, with left leg forward and knee slightly raised, the right leg doubled sharply at the knee, the foot under the left thigh.[196] A pair of tules was

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[196] The posture when working at the bedrock mortar (see fig. 6, herein), or at leisure (the normal posture of M.G. and M.L., who always sat on the ground); cf. Holmes, pl. 30.

[P. 83a]

285 taken up and tied in four places with long strands of string which were to be the twining wefts. The tules were added in pairs. Twining progressed over some six to ten tules in the first row before the string was tied in a single knot; then twining was commenced on the second, third, and fourth rows and continued in the same manner. The manipulation is shown in figure 12. While the first finger of the left hand held down one string which was turned back over the last pair of tules, the second and third fingers held the pair just being inserted by the right hand. The next move was to bring the loose string up over the latter pair, and have it replace the taut string which was released to become the next binding element. A well-finished mat would have a three-ply braid of fine tules sewed on all around the edge.

[516]

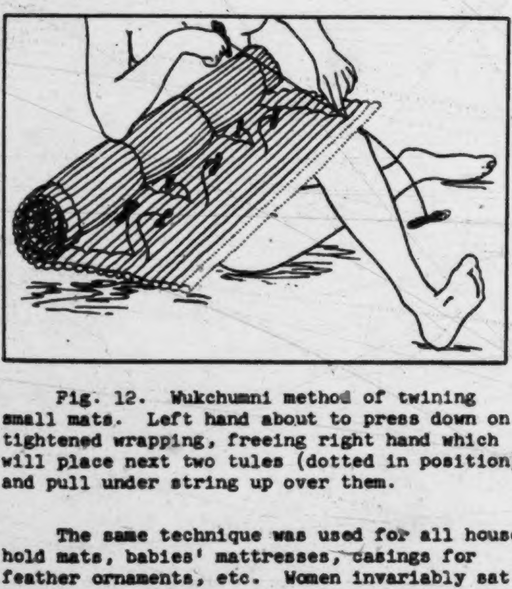

Fig. 12. Wukchumni method of twining small mats. Left hand about to press down on tightened wrapping, freeing right hand which will place next two tules (dotted in position) and pull under string up over them.

The same technique was used for all household mats, babies' mattresses, casings for feather ornaments, etc. Women invariably sat on mats when working outdoors in front of their homes (M.L.).

Flat tule (kots, "cattails") were little used.

Cordage and Nets

283 The strongest cord or rope (ho'), which was employed for all heavy purposes, was made from the inner bark of the button willow. Trees were ringed by means of an obsidian blade at intervals of three to five feet, depending on whether one or two sections could be gotten. The ringing and stripping were done in the fall. The inside bark peeled off readily after it was removed from the tree. It was laid out on flat

283 rocks without being allowed to dry, and pounded with a stone, then rolled on the thigh into a two-ply cord (see Michahai-Waksachi, Pt. II, for fuller account of method). Making of cordage was a man's task throughout (M.L.).

A medium-weight cord was made of milkweed (ša'). It was used for wide carrying bands, tying cords, fish and duck nets, trap strings. Its manufacture is described by Kroeber for the Yokuts generally.[199]

[824] The commonest string material was milkweed, *Asclepias*, called *shah* or *chaka*. The stems were collected in early winter, the bark or covering peeled off, and shredded by rubbing between the hands. The thin epidermis was then removed by drawing the mass of fibers over a stick. The fibers were not separately disentangled, but loosely rolled together as they adhered. Two of these rolls were then twisted tight, on themselves as well as on each other, by rolling on the thigh with the spit-into hand, the other hand holding and feeding the loose ends. The exact process of adding further material is not known; it consisted probably of rubbing together the ends of a mass of fiber, perhaps with some twist. String was two-ply.

[824] Another and finest string (čit.k) was made of hemp or dogbane. This was used for the ordinary narrow tumpline, carrying and head nets, belts, bead stringing. M.L. said ho' was willow, ša', milkweed, and čit.k, nettle. Neither the "hemp" nor "nettle" was identified by the recorder.

482 The carrying net (wa´dak) and tumpline
283 (šu´ñd.č, any rope or band for carrying burdens) were always made of hemp (?) according to M.P. and J.P.; other informants (M.L. and S.G.) say that the finer grades of milkweed twine were used (fig. 13, a). Women always placed the tumpline across the upper forehead, occasionally wearing a coiled basket cap for protection. Men placed the burden strap across the upper chest and deltoid muscles (see vignettes, fig. 13). Bundles were never carried on the head and seldom in the hands.

286 Formerly the making of straps and nets was a man's work. A carrying net was begun by coiling a length of cord around the left hand four or five times and tying the ends together, forming a ring about four inches in diameter. (The dimensions herein are those of an ordinary carrying net owned by the informant, M.P.) This was fastened to a ramada post, a tree, or any convenient place at about the shoulder height of the maker. The twines used were always of double thickness. That is, a length of twine was chosen and its center point thrust into the split end of a wooden needle: the two dangling ends were rolled together on the thigh
[284] to form a single length of twine. The open end was fastened to the rope ring with a few half-hitches; then the netting stitch began.

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[199] Handbook, 534.

[text continues on p. 85a.]

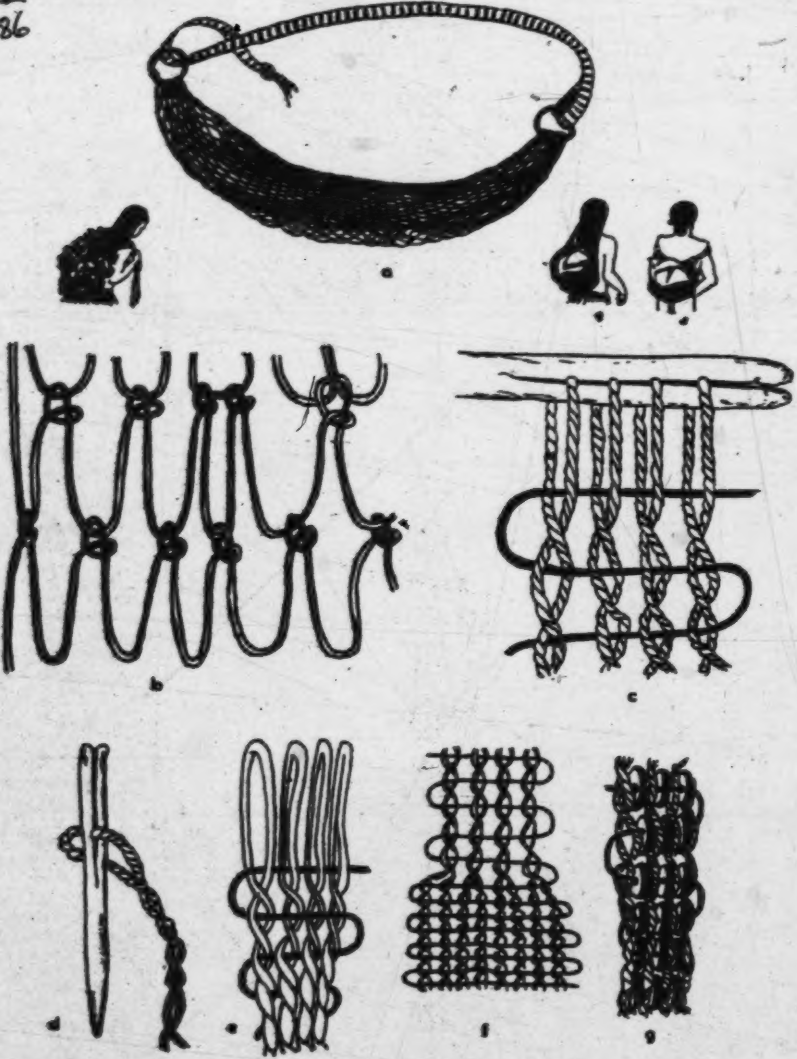

Fig. 13. Wukchumni netting and weaving techniques. a, carrying net and tumpline. b, enlargement of simple netting knot. c, enlargement of tumpline weaving. d, weaving needle. e, tumpline with warps and wefts expanded. f, change from 4 to 8 double-twisted warps. g, belt with shell discs inserted on weft between warps. Vignettes: manner of using tumpline.

286 hitches; then the netting stitch began. This was a simple knot and the same throughout, merely being reversed when work changed from right to left progression and vice versa. There was no rule which way the worker should start. Some workers endeavored to keep the length of twine with which they were working coiled in the right hand, others allowed it to dangle. Knots were made when a new cord joined on.

The loops at start and finish were about 4 inches deep, that is, the length of twine between knottings was some 8 inches. As work progressed toward the center of the net, the loops narrowed to 3 inches or 1-1/2 inches doubled, thus producing finer netting where most needed. As each knot was drawn taut the fingers of the left hand were spread along the cord of the loop next being formed, the adjustment of the fingers determining the amount of cord in the loop. No netting gauge was used. Each knot was made into (i.e., around) the cord of the loop above it save when widening and narrowing the width of the net was desired. Widening called for additional loops made into the same host loop. Narrowing was done by pulling two host loops together into one knot. When the last row of loops was reached they were strung on a coil of cordage similar to that at the start. The coil passed through the looped end of the tumpline.

There were 18 rows of loops in the net used for demonstration. It measured about 3 feet in length and 5 in breadth when pulled taut in one direction or the other. Spread equally in both directions when in use, it formed a capacious and adaptable hammock-like container.

Tumplines, which appear to be woven or even twined since the longitudinal strands are twisted in pairs, were made by what is more nearly a sewing process. (The same process was used in making rabbitskin blankets, according to two informants; see above.) Four cords, about 12 to 15 feet long, were twisted individually and doubled on themselves, forming loosely twisted two-strand cords about 6 feet long. The closed ends which formed a loop were inserted in the cleft of a split stick. They were pushed close together and, as they were practically identical and had been twisted at the same tension, the turns in each of the double cords were in line with their neighbors (see fig. 13, c-f). We will call these the "warp" cords. The loops of the warp cords were forced open with the forefinger of the left hand to a point about 4 inches below the binding stick, and here a cord ("weft") attached to a split-stick needle (awo'ka) was drawn through to its end. From this point on the weft cord was drawn back and forth, progressing through each series of adjacent turns in the four warp cords (see fig. 13, c, e). When the weft was drawn tight, it disappeared from view save at the sides of the band which

[P. 85b]

286 was being formed. The process was continued as far as desired, say some 3 feet, bringing the worked part to within about 2 feet of the ends. The very loose twisting there permitted the 8 cords (of the 4 doubled warp cords) to be laid side by side, and the weft cord was drawn through the original turns in these two-ply cords, making a finer but equally broad textile (fig. 13, f). This continued for 6 or 8 inches; then the weft cord was broken off at a length equal to that of the warp cords. There were then 9 strands which were grouped into threes, braided together to the end, and tied with a couple of final knots.

At the opposite or closed end were the loops which had been left in the cleft stick at the start. A weft cord was inserted a few turns below this, then worked up, turn by turn, until the beginning of the loop was reached. From here on the weft was carried through the original turns in the 2-ply cord, as at the other end, until the loop was woven solid. When finished, this loop was about 3/4 of an inch wide, the band itself about 1-1/2 inches. The loop end was fastened to the carrying net by means of the cord rings, as mentioned above. The free end of the tumpline was tied to the opposite cord ring of the net and adjusted as need demanded.

[302] Headnets were made of fine milkweed twine, presumably by the same technique as the coarser carrying net. The only one seen was a Choinimni specimen made of grocer's string.

286 291 Belts were worn by both sexes for supporting the breechclout, a plain variety for ordinary use, a beaded form for gala dress. The technique was the same "sewing" process, but the looped end was cut open and the ends grouped in threes and braided as at the loose end. The fancy belt was made of the finest milkweed cord. The weft thread carried a clamshell disk bead at each point between the warp (see fig. 13, g). Such a belt was called koikoi´'ɨč, in reference to the beads.

283 Sinew string (pikɨt) was made only by men. Its most notable use was for bowstrings; other uses were the feathering of arrows and fastening of arrowpoints, the tying parts of fish spears and harpoons, wrapping feathers on earplugs, sewing hide, tying the umbilicus stump. For the method of manufacture see Michahai-Waksachi (Pt. II).

Basketry

285 [121] Practically no information on basketmaking was taken, since the art was in no danger of extinction and it was hoped that some investigator would undertake its special study. Yokuts basketry technique was highly refined, and the Wukchumni today still produce some of the finest examples. Some general remarks on Yokuts basketry are made by Kroeber, and their

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285 materials have been analyzed by Merrill.[200] In the present paper under the heading "Woman's Household Equipment" is a description of basket types; a comparative display of shapes and techniques is shown in figures 2 and 3, and plate 1 shows a typical collection of Yokuts baskets.

[461] The informant M.L. said that not all women made baskets: "anyone could learn that wanted to but some were too lazy."

All Yokuts coiled baskets were made on a multiple-rod foundation, the favorite material being a grass called toša´k·s. The wrapping was usually a split root called ho´pət, which came in 4- to 6-foot lengths. The outer bark was scraped off and the interior split into two parts by holding one half in the teeth and splitting the other away with the fingers. K.G. started a coiled basket for demonstration.

To start a coiled basket a piece of the wrapping material about four inches long was shaved down to a point at one end. This end was rolled into a tiny coil, the loose end projecting to the maker's right. Another short piece of the same material and of fine grade (i.e., split thin) was set with one end under the turn of the coil and held in place with the fingers of the left hand. The coil, with inserted binding, was of a size to fit securely within the worker's left thumb and forefinger. The right hand began the wrapping process. The free end of the wrapping was poked repeatedly through the center hole of the coil with the aid of an awl until all the coil was wrapped and the center hole filled. By this time the first round of the coil had been made and the next wrappings were passed around the turn of the foundation "rod" between the previous stitches: a skilled basketmaker did not split even these small beginning stitches. Now a transition was made from the single foundation to the multiple-grass filler which would continue throughout the rest of the basket. This was done by inserting a few grasses under the end of the single "rod," and more and more were added as the coiling progressed until the desired foundation thickness was obtained.

The loose ends of the foundation grasses, which jutted out to the right from 2 to 4 feet, were kept under control by a small ring of the wrapping material (nowadays more often a twist of string) which could be slipped up and down the bundle of grass stems and through which each new grass was inserted before its butt was poked in under the last turn of wrapping. Only one grass was added at a time and these at about three-inch intervals, depending, of course, on the dimensions and coarseness of the basket under construction.

Work progressed from left to right (clockwise) from the worker's point of view, and for

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[200] Kroeber, Handbook, 531-533; Merrill, Plants Used in Basketry.

285 all coiled shapes save the flattish trays the working edge was that nearest the maker, which was the outside of the basket. On the open flat trays whose upper side was the seen or "best" side, the work was done on the far edge of the basket, the work still progressing from left to right. On a certain type of small flaring bowl, the inside and outside of which were about equally visible, the work might be done either way the maker preferred. The fact is that most Yokuts workmanship was so skilled that both sides of a basket were equally perfect. Split stitches were the mark of poor workmanship; it was also claimed that the coiled stitches were never interlocked.

Ornamental materials were split redbud bark (a´nəp), which varied in color from a rich maroon red to a chestnut brown, and a black root (mono´hɨč). When a pattern was to be introduced, the plain wrapping was cut off and fastened, and the colored wrappings replaced it. This method was always followed even if only one or two turns of the colored binding were needed. In other words, there was only one layer of wrapping. No double-wrapping, [237] overlay, or imbrication was used. An especially fancy ornamentation was that of quail topknot feathers applied at the edge of the shouldered or bottleneck basket. The quill end of the feather was inserted under the turn of the wrapping with its tip to the left where it was held down with the thumb of the left hand while the binding stitch was drawn up. In this way it slightly overlaid its predecessor and did not project forward in the way of the worker's fingers.

531 Kroeber shows eighteen basket designs to which I can add only one called "waves" which 285 is said to represent the billows of Tulare Lake.[201] This may be seen in plate 1 in the feather-edged basket toward the lower left and in a large flaring basket directly above it. The pattern at the bottom is the more usual rendition.

Cradles

854 In old times the cradle, with forked-stick foundation and tule mattress, was used ex- 335 clusively in this region. The tule mattress, which has been thought of as a separated [184] cradle by ethnographers,[202] functioned as such only on the borders of the lakes, where sound wood for frames was scarce. A permanent twined tule mat was affixed to the frame, but another, larger one, was added with the baby when it was on the cradle. This larger mat was really a mattress in which the baby slept at night, still lashed in it. When put on the frame, the

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[201] Handbook, 533. A story of the origin of basket designs is recorded by Latta, California Indian Folklore, 75-79.

[202] Kroeber, Handbook, 534, pl. 40, g.

854 baby and mattress were both lashed to it by means of one set of cords. The cradle frame 335 (with its permanent mat) was called a'hɨ'l·č; the separate mat (mattress), even when the infant slept in it, was still called mat (ţ·ñi, the usual word for a tule mat). Such a cradle is shown by Kroeber.[203]

If the cradle needed a hood, a broad band of tules, vertically twined about every inch, was fastened on as an addition. Apparently it was not thought of as an integral part of a normal cradle.

The fan-shaped hood and lattice-twined [177] cradle of willow are a recent introduction from the Mono. This information on cradles from M.L., Wukchumni, and M.S., Yaudanchi.)

According to M.L. and K.G. the forked-frame cradle was lathed differently for girls and boys; the boys' cradle had two crosspieces, the girls' but one. The single crosspiece arrangement permitted a bulging of the soft mat so the baby girl's buttocks would not be confined and would grow large. It is to be noted that no such arrangement is made in the recent twined-frame cradles. These, however, carry markings in accordance with the sex of the occupant, zigzag for boys and diamond for girls.

MONEY, NUMERAL SYSTEM

436 The foothill people probably never manufactured money, although the intermediate Gawia would do so when they could obtain the raw material -- unbroken clamshells. A few pieces could be made out of the freshwater oyster shells available at Woodlake and in the slough region, but the greater part of the shell was said to be "too rough." Clamshells and money came from the Chumash, Salinan, and perhaps Costanoan peoples, passing through the hands [439] of the intervening lake and valley tribes who in turn bought mountain and foothill products -- bows, fire and digging sticks, salt, and fine baskets. The various shell moneys were as follows: home´t·n (humna, humana, pl.), a long tube (1-1/2 to 2-1/2 inches) made from the hinge of large clamshells; koikoi·č, a short tube (1/2-inch) of white, probably also a "hinge" and used in ornamental belts; močo´ko, the small disc of clamshell which, in strings, was the common currency. European beads have [177] acquired Yokuts names: in Wukchumni, hoi´yo is a small red glass bead;[204] and tedi´diduš is a glass bead with the surface planed to represent cut facets.

436 The descriptions of the method of measur-
804 ing strings of clamshell discs and the values

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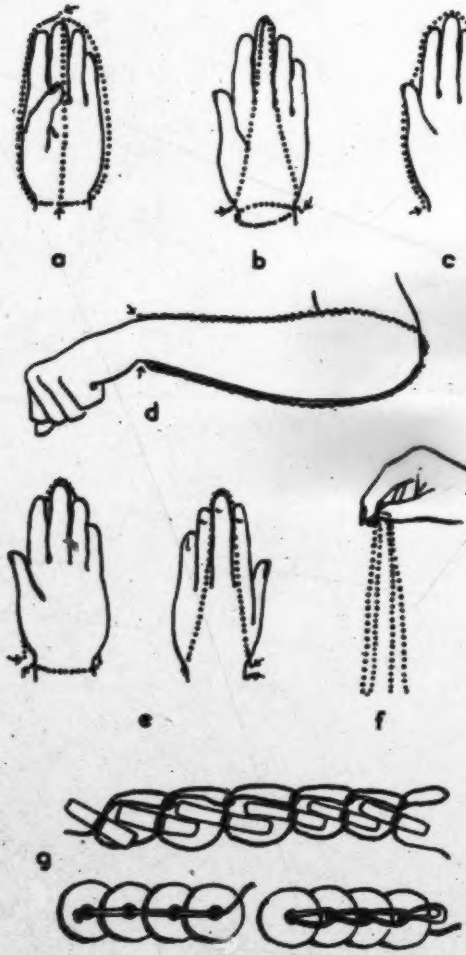
435 [203] Ibid., pl. 40, m; mattress, pl. 40, m.

[204] Called in English "pomegranate seeds" by M.P.: pomegranate trees are grown abundantly in the Visalia-Lemon Cove district.

[P. 87b]

436 attached to them differ slightly from informant to informant (fig. 14, a, b). The čok,
804 the measurement around the hand, all informants
agree, was equivalent to 5 cents. Other values
435 were about as follows: 2-1/2 čok was called
hista''a and equaled 10 cents; 2 hista'a
equaled 20 cents. A single strand which
reached from the wrist around the elbow and
back was valued at $2.00, but a continuously
half-hitched strand covering the same distance



[284]

Fig. 14. Bead money measurements. a, b, d, Wukchumni. c, Kechayi. e, f, Waksachi. g, method of half-hitching beads together.

435 436 804 was $5.00 (fig. 14, d). This means half-hitched or "chain-stitch" loops in the already strung length of discs, which nearly tripled the quantity of a plain length from wrist around elbow and back to wrist.[205] A cylindrical bead called humna was worth twenty-five cents.

535 465 The participants and singers in a ritual like the mourning ceremony or an ordinary pleasure dance would be given about 1/2 čok in payment by spectators. There was no fixed amount: if a person really could not afford to give more than a few beads he was not thought miserly. At times of display or for payment of individual performers, as at the death of Huhuna in the Huhuna Dance, long strings of money were thrown down.

556 A definite attempt to accumulate wealth was made by chiefs, shamans, and probably others who hoped to acquire prestige. Even when money was not the medium of exchange, value for value was the expectancy, not, however, with the shrewd, mercenary motivation of receiving, but with the courteous, generous motivation of giving, and maintaining moral status thereby.[206]

436 804 Kroeber, in a general reference to money,[207] states that the unit of measurement in the north was the chok; one and a half times the circumference of the hand. In the south the chok was somewhat shorter, and was reckoned as half the hista, twice the circumference of the hand.

Powers gives a somewhat different evaluation, which may have been the rate of his day.[208]

> The usual shell-money is used among them, and a string of it reaching from the point of the middle finger to the elbow is valued at 25 cents. A section of bone [sic], very white and polished, about two and a half inches long, is sometimes strung on the string and rates at twelve and one-half cents.

Numerals

802 1. y·t
2. po´n̄oi
3. so´p·n
4. ha´po´n̄i
5. yu´ts·nuk
6. tu´dipi
7. no´mč·n
8. mo´n̄us
9. no´n·p
10. ţi´´uv

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[172] [205] A half-hitched string with a bead on each loop was a method of bead-stringing exemplified in Pueblo II material from Nevada (vide Cody, Simply Strung). This method may account for the "shingled" beads found with a bear burial in the San Joaquin Valley (Heizer and Hewes, Animal Ceremonialism, 589).

[431] 576 [206] Taking small gifts of cigarettes or candy to old Yokuts people presented a problem to the recorder because of their quiet insistence upon a return of some kind; refusal to accept a gift in exchange would be a subtle offense.

[207] Handbook, 498.

[208] P. 375.

802 11. ti'uv yɨt 100. yɨt pɨč
12. ṭi'uv poñoi etc. 1000. ṭi'uv pɨč
21. ṗoñoi ṭi'uv yɨt
22. poñoi ṭi'uv poñoi
etc.

TIMES, NATURE, DIRECTIONS, SEASONS

805 Informants differ somewhat in their designation of the day's phases and in the pronuncia-
821 tion of words; such differences are indicated by the individual's initials.

192 Times of day.--

sala´lwidao: morning (M.L.); hiam [now] šala´dwidao: early morning (M.P.)
te´yao ču´ka: before noon (M.P.)
ču´kao: noon, noon meal (M.L.); hiam ču´ka: noon, noon meal (M.P.)
wakhu´šu ču´ka: afternoon (M.P.)
ne´wao: sundown (M.L.); ni·a´wi·ao: sundown, early evening (M.P.)
hiam ni˙u´ši: evening (M.P.)
toi´yuma: night, dark (M.L.); hiam ta'ɨ´nši: night dark (M.P.)

Designation of days.--

o´piu: day, light (M.L.); u´piu: day, light (M.P.)
he´če-u´piu: today (M.P.)
šala´dwidao: tomorrow [lit., morning] (M.P.)
ati´opo´do: short day as in winter (J.B.)
wa opo´do: long day as in summer (J.B.)

The days of the week have received native names which are based on the numbers 1 to 7, as follows (J.B.):

wuda´o: Monday
pu´ne'uñɨč: Tuesday
supe'a´ta: Wednesday
hai´'obata: Thursday
yɨča´o: Friday
ča´odɨtpi: Saturday
no´mčɨn: Sunday

Phases of sun and moon.--

o´piu: sun. The sun goes into the lake [Tulare; ocean?] every night and comes up on the other side every morning (M.P.).
opo´da: sun (M.L., J.B.)
woi´yo opo´do: solstice (lit., turning-back sun). The solstice was noted, and recognized as the turning point for the length of days, but otherwise was without significance (J.B.).
u´pɨs: moon (M.L.); u´pɨš (J.B.)
haca´m u´pɨš: new moon [lit., young moon] (J.B.). If the new moon in winter showed the faint circle of its complete sphere, it was said to be "making its house," and was regarded as a sign of rain.[209]

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[209] Cf. Hopi (Beaglehole, Notes on Hopi Economic Life, 35).

805 hiam mapɨ´nši u´pɨš: full moon (J.B.)
hiam katai´šu u´pɨš: old moon (J.B.)
821 u´pɨs tawi´či: waning moon [lit., dying mɔon] (M.L.); hiam tawi´tɨl: now dying, said of waning moon (M.P.)
192 kamu´tu u´pɨš: dark of moon [lit., lacking moon] (J.B.)

That the moon served as a month or time marker was disclaimed by J.B., which is not credible. In this connection he said there was "an old lady who told what kind of weather was coming; she was just like an almanac." He had no notion of how she acquired this ability.

An eclipse was called by the entire phrase: u´pɨs [or opo´do] kai´'iyu doi'ye´di (moon [or sun] Coyote eats). During an eclipse of either planet, people rushed out and shouted: am pi' he·u´šɨt nanu´nwa (not eat leave-some please) (M.L.). The same idea was rendered in English by M.P.: "Leave me some sweet stuff!" The grandmother of M.L. had told her that it was so dark for two or three days once that people had to carry torches in order to secure their wood, food, and water.[210]

821 Stars, constellations.--

192 toi´tɨs: any star (M.L.); čo´teč: any star (J.B.)

tawa´nɨt: morning star (M.L.); tawa´nɨl: morning star (J.B.). All men of character were up in time to greet the morning star. The Yaudanchi, Tm.W., said that on his way for his morning swim he would say to the star: "My elder brother comes now" (nipɨ´čnɨm hi´am ti´ši). Other men or women made prayerful remarks of the same sort. Some asked help of the sun and moon. To the sun Tm.W. would say: "I talk to you Sun, help me" (na man haiyo´d apo´d, a´mɨd nɨm).

ni´ye'ao: evening star (J.B.)

goi´yuma: Pleiades (lit., young women) (M.L., J.B., M.P.). These always appeared in the fall when it was cool; they marked the beginning of winter (M.L.). There is a popular myth, localized by each tribe, that these girls left their husbands and flew to the sky.[211]

hoda´otšɨd: Milky Way [lit., to race] (J.B.). Falcon and a fast flying duck (ho´dodo) raced there; Falcon won.[212]

Nature.--

823 mɨt i´dɨk: a large stream, such as Kaweah River

192 po´čuč idɨk: a small stream, such as Lime Kiln Creek

pa´'asi: any pool or lake, such as Woodlake

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[210] This might be a factual statement or hearsay derived from myths of Coyote's race with the Sun and the subsequent darkness (Gayton and Newman, 83, abstract 96, note 3).

[211] Ibid., 26, 65, abstracts 44-52.

[212] Ibid., 67, abstract 54.

823 po´kɨd: a spring of water

hota´o: rain (M.L.); hoto´ʼo: rain

192 (Tm.W., Yaudanchi)

hosyu´mai: a big rain after a thunder storm (Tm.W., Yaudanchi)

taka´ʼa: thunder (Tm.W., Yaudanchi)

ḱomu´da: thunder, another name, but not a different kind (Tm.W., Yaudanchi)

howo´ṭa: hail (Tm.W., Yaudanchi)

tida´ša: wind (M.L.)

wi´ti tida´ša: a slight wind, breeze (M.L.)

wu´hna tida´ša: a hard wind (M.L.)

čedu´ditu: a cessation of wind, "a wind died down" (M.L.)

woʼo´kyɨd pa´ʼan: earthquake [lit., trembles or shakes ground]. J.B. said "the old folks were afraid of earthquakes," but he did not know what caused them. Nothing was done when they occurred, nor does he recall any damage done by them. He is of the opinion that earthquakes are a recent manifestation, "there weren't so many in the old days." One very severe one he recalls from his youth, possibly [772] that of 1872. He never heard of successive world creations and destructions. In this S.G. concurred, saying that "this is the first and only world," and that Eagle made it.

192 Directions.--These are listed in the order
823 voluntarily given.

da´tu: west, plainsward
ho´m̓ot: south
huši´m: south
do´mtoi: east, mountainwards
ti´pɨn: up
ȧ´dɨd: down

The mountains to the east (the Sierra Nevada) were called du´mɨts; to go up into the mountains, domta´o; nuta´wi was also given as mountainwards by M.L.; to go toward the plains, da´ṭu. People to the north were called hošo´ma; to the east, nutu´wɨč; to the west, tokɨlyu´wɨč; to the south, humtɨ´nɨn.

do´mtu ị´dɨkao: upstream
da´ṭu i´dɨkao: downstream

805 Seasons.--Some informants followed the
192 general Yokuts pattern of three seasons. The choice of three might be due to the influence
824 of "ritual numbers" (3, 6, 12 for Yokuts), but seems attributable to the natural phases of the climate, a brief mild sunny season, spring; a long, hot sunny season, summer; a brief cold rainy season, winter. The introduction of a fourth season ("autumn") seems due to European influence, yet may merely be a further refinement like the "late spring" given by J.B.

tiča´miu: spring (M.L., M.P., J.B.); February to April (J.B.). When the flowers were in bloom; women began repairing their

[P. 909]

805 seed-gathering baskets [for summer use]; three kinds of clover and wild onions were eaten.

821 ko´toi tiša´miu: late spring (J.B.); May (J.B.)

192 haiya´di: summer (M.L., M.P., J.B.); June to October or November (J.B.). The very long season of "dried up" grass; people moved to seed-gathering camps. Toward the end of this season the mourning ceremonies were held after people were back in their villages (M.L.).

wu´so: autumn (M.P.); wu´sao: autumn (J.B.)

tomo´kšiu: winter (M.L., M.P., J.B.) (M.P. also gave ñe´ao, perhaps from Spanish nevar, to snow); December to January (J.B.). The acorns were just down; there were fogs, and later rain and frost. The mountains got white; about November to March (M.L.).

PLEASURES

Games

526 Shinny.--There were two forms of shinny (kotdi´wɨš), one played with a ball (o´dɔd) and one with a hoop (wuku´wɨč). Both were essentially a race to see which of two opposing sides could propel its ball or hoop over the course, strike the turning post (kite´'u), and reach the goal hole (ko´wɨš) first. The shinny stick (ku´tɨt), slightly curved at one end, was preferably made of mountain ash (ča´poi). The length of the playing field (kota´dwɨšu) depended somewhat on the number of players normally available. Since the ball or hoop was struck from partner to partner, the more players there were, the longer the course needed. A hole at the starting point was the goal for the finish, the course being marked at its opposite end by a post which the player must strike with his ball before turning about. He holed his ball at the finish.

If two men were trying to prove their individual prowess, the course would be shortened. In contests of this sort onlookers usually demanded six wins in succession. Otherwise six holes to either side in any order
[525] normally won the game. An onlooker was selected to hold whatever bets were made; he urged on each side impartially, calling on first one, then the other to win. Bettors, however, yelled encouragement to their favorites. There were no songs. There were no recognized rules which informants could give me, yet doubtless there was tacit agreement upon many points. An especially well played game which won admiration from spectators was called "pretty" (poiyo´mi).

Two to five partners played on each side. If the first man striking the ball did not succeed in making it reach his partner, he took another stroke, or as many strokes as necessary: the only penalty was the loss of time involved for him to run after the ball and strike again. Sometimes a "cranky" partner

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526 would not run if his companion made poor strokes.

A variant of the game, in which only one ball was used, necessitated opponents' fighting for it all around the course. J.P. said this form of the game was generally condemned as "too rough" and 'no fun because there was more fighting than running."

In the foothill region, where there were no moiety divisions, the composition of opposing sides followed the will of the players -- friends, co-villagers, or relatives might join together or be opposed. In any case, the opposing side was called gu´'i, as were the complementary sides in mourning ceremonies. Women played as well as men, and occasionally even opposed them. There was no seasonal discrimination against the game save that brought about by excessive rain or disbanding for summer camping. Even during the week of the great mourning ceremony the game might be played, provided it was taken some distance from the scene of mourning and the shouting was not excessive. (J.P., S.G.)

When a hoop was used instead of a ball, the field was marked with a stake at each end. The hoop, about 18 inches in diameter, was of peeled willow bound with leather strips. The stick, about 4 feet long, was bent at one end. The bent end of the stick was hooked under the hoop which was tossed through the air to a partner. If the partner, holding up his stick, could succeed in catching it on the fly, he could run with it to the turning stake, where he would toss it by means of his stick to a third partner, or to the first man if but two were playing. A hoop which fell to the ground had to be tossed from this point with the stick. To be the first to return to the starting stake counted as one in tallying (J.P., S.G.).

Wukchumni and Yaudanchi women played this form of the game just as they did the one with the ball; Kroeber implies that this was exclusively a woman's game with the Chukchansi.[213]

Hoop and pole.--This game (wuku´w·č), which consisted of casting a straight pole at a rolling hoop, was a favorite masculine pastime. The aim was not to pierce the hoop with the pole, but to cause the hoop to fall atop the pole as it came to rest. This counted one (J.P.). Kroeber gives the name of the game as *hochuwish*, the pole, *payas*, the "buckskin-bound ring," *tokoin*, and the "carefully smoothed ground, often by the side of the sweat house" as *i'n*. "The game ... extended as far north as the Chukchansi."[214]

Chip and pole.--The object of this game (ai´ku'·č) was to shove a small block of wood toward a stake by means of a pole cast with a long underhand motion at the block. The block or "chip" (ai´y·š), about 2 inches in diameter and 3 to 4 inches long, was of peeled willow.

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[213] Handbook, 539.

[214] Ibid.

526 In playing, if one man's chip was near the goal stake, his opponent would try to slip his own between them. If it was possible to carry an opponent's chip along with one's own, two points were gained. (The scoring and winning counts of this game were not clear entirely.) Four men sometimes played in opposing pairs, but never more than this. It was exclusively a man's game, as was the hoop and pole (J.P.).

Dice game.--This game (hučuˊw.č) was
525 played only in the daytime and only by women (M.P., J.P., S.G.), although one informant (M.L.) said men occasionally played.

A coiled tray (koiyoˊto), 18 to 24 inches in diameter, flat across the center and gently upcurved at the edges,[215] served as the base on which 8 dice (hoˊwač) were cast. The dice were made from halves of walnut shell filled with pine pitch or asphalt into which bits of abalone shell were pressed. Since both walnut
[177] shells and asphalt are products of Chumash territory it is probable that the dice are a southern importation.[216]

In playing, the dice were gathered in both hands cupped together, raised about two feet above the tray, and cast not directly downward but with a slight sideward movement. As the dice left the hands of an adept player, she clapped her hands together, and briskly waved the right hand as closely as she dared over the settling dice. This stereotyped gesture was theoretically supposed to fan the dice into falling in the preferred direction. Both M.P. and M.L., blind as she was, used these tactics, which greatly amused Powers when he witnessed the game:[217]

> The rapidity with which the game goes forward is wonderful, and the players seem totally oblivious to all things in the world beside. After each throw that a player makes she exclaims yetˊ-ni (equivalent to "one-y"), or *wí-a-tak*, or *ko-mai-ćh*, which are simply a kind of sing-song or chanting. One old squaw, with scarcely a tooth in her head, one eye gone, her face all withered, but with a lower jaw of iron, and features denoting extraordinary strength of will -- a reckless old gambler, and evidently a teacher of others -- after each throw would grab into the basket, and jerk her hand across it, as if by the motion of the air to turn the dice over before they settled, and ejaculate *wiatak!* It was amusing to see the savage energy with which this fierce old hag carried on the game. The others were modest and spoke in low tones, but she seemed to be unaware of the existence of anybody around her.

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[215] The gambling tray differed in silhouette from the winnowing tray (taiˊwan) for practical reasons (see fig. 3).

[216] The native California black walnut grew in Santa Barbara County and the southern California coastal areas (Jepson, 279). Pages (p. 75) mentions dice of snail shells; possibly this is a translator's misunderstanding. Tray, dice, and manner of play are well illustrated by Holmes, (pls. 40, 41).

[217] Pp. 377-378.

525 Informants and recorders disagree on scoring, and it may well be that there were local or even individual terms agreed upon at the time of play. They range as follows.

According to M.L.: two face up, 1; five face up, 1; all up, 4; all down, 4.

According to Powers: two face up, 1; five face up, 1.

According to Kroeber (Yaudanchi): two face up, 1; five face up, 2.

The score was kept by a woman who took no part in the game. The scorekeeper for any game was called ho'o´po'ɩč. She held the scoring sticks, peeled willow rods about 1/4-inch in diameter and 6 inches long, and the stakes offered, and was "paid a little" for her part. The Wukchumni, Michahai, and Chukaimina used 18 counters; according to Kroeber the Yaudanchi used 12. A special manner of holding the sticks, in groups of threes between the fingers, as they were taken from the pile was in vogue with the Wukchumni. Different stages in scoring were designated: mulu´lšima, when all the counters are taken from the pile; čamšu´ma, when one side has all the counters; kayušu´ma, when each side gets all the counters alternately; ṭu´ši, the winning score, which is having possession of all the counters twice in succession, i.e., 2 čamšuma.

Women gambled as heartily as men. The stakes rarely ran over an equivalent of $2.50, and might comprise bead money, baskets, or some object which an opponent specifically desired.

Menstruating and pregnant women played, but a pregnant woman would pick up a little stick and thrust it in her belt or sit on it, "to bring good luck." No explanation could be offered for this by informants.

Hand game.--The game (hi'u´tniwɩč) was played only at night, usually outside by the assembly fire. The rationalization given for this practice was merely "that it didn't look pretty in the daytime" (M. and J.P.). The method of play for the Yaudanchi is vividly reported by Kroeber in an account too long for reprinting here.[218] As with the Wukchumni, the marked piece was guessed for. Wukchumni of both sexes enjoyed the game and often played in opposing groups. Women hid the bones under a blanket; men held them behind their backs. The [516] sexes sang and sat differently: women sat cross-legged, men knelt and thumped the rhythm of the singing with one knee. The singing was started by the women and followed by a phrase from the men so an alternating progression of song was made. The following lines were given by M.P.; the first phrase in each line was repeated three times.

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[218] Handbook, 539.

[P. 92a]

525 Women:
oi yo no´ ma na　　ho we ha´ na·
Men:
hoi lo wi´ le　　hoi yo ho´ wi le·
Women:
me´ wal he yo´　　ha we hɨn nɨm
Men:
mɨn lo we´ ta pi　　soi lɨ´l hɨn nɨm

These phrases were meaningless to the informant who claimed they were "just a song," although the last lines have marked Yokuts attributes. The "ho we ha na" appears in many Yokuts songs and is analogous to the European "tra la la." When a guess was incorrect, the opponents sang jeeringly:

ko we mɨ soi yo　　ho we ha·´na

When the person hiding the bones was ready, he shouted, "kača´ta!" a kind of challenge meaning, "You can't get me!"

The Wukchumni informant, M.L., gave the name of the hand game as he'ne´'wis. Four or five persons played on each side. The guessers folded their hands over their eyes and sang while the hiders manipulated the bones (or sticks) under a cover, such as a deer skin. The guess was for the marked stick. The counters were kept by a scorekeeper.

Another Wukchumni informant, J.B., stated that this game was not "old time" but had "come from somewhere," which is consonant with Kroeber's statement that it is of less importance in south central California than in the northern part of the state.[219]

524 Various games.--Kroeber mentions the dice game of split sticks but does not attribute it to any specific Yokuts groups. He gives the name as tachnuwish, the sticks, of which there were 6 or 8, as dalak, "of elderwood in the north, of cane in the south, burned with a pattern on the convex side and thrown on end on a skin."[220]

The cup and ball game, cat's cradles, and matching drawings were all known as pastimes but could not be adequately described by any of the Wukchumni informants. Arrows were shot at marks on trees, or over a certain treetop.

[177] Dolls of stuffed rabbitskins were sometimes made for little girls, but I suspect this is of post-Spanish origin. D. said that girls sometimes cut hair off each other's heads for these dolls, particularly that they would cut it from "some little girl that didn't know any better."

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[177] [219] Ibid., 538. It is possible that this game was introduced with the Ghost Dance. At the time of my field work I was not aware of the peculiar association of these two "culture elements."

[220] Ibid., 540.

Musical Instruments

Y
534 All informants agree that no drum of any type was used by the Yokuts or, for that matter, by the Western Mono. The foot drum of the Miwok was known, and was referred to as pu´mpum.

M
[534] A whistle (pu´sač) of eagle leg bone was used by doctors and by the huhuna dancer.

Y
198 Ordinary whistling as Europeans know it was not indulged in, but instead a kind of "humming through the front teeth" was practiced. Some women did this, but mostly men while working at odd jobs (J.P.). This "whistling" was called šišɨ´k'nɨta; perhaps was a sort of hissing.

Y
534 The flute (uṭoi´'i) was of elder wood, averaging about eighteen inches long. It was end-blown, but was held at the right side of the mouth, not centered, at an angle of about 45° below horizontal (S.G.). The flute was reedless and had four holes.[221] A frequent custom for men was to nap at home or in the sweat house, during a rain and, on awakening, to play the flute.

A clapper (ṭa´owɨd) of elder wood was used for ordinary pleasure dances such as the watiyod, whereas the cocoon rattle (sa´ñač) was used only for serious performances like the Bear Dance.

534
237 The cocoons used for rattles were those of the ceanothus silk moth which infested the oak trees of the roblar and chaparral of the foothills. The cocoon was carefully freed from its moorings, a twig inserted into one end and then held close to glowing coals to singe off the "silk" and kill the pupa within. At this time the cocoon shell was soft, and was pressed about the twig, being wrapped and held in place by a bit of sinew string. The cocoon was left in the sun until the pupa had become thoroughly dried and, shrunken to a hard small mass, rattled about inside. Pebbles were sometimes inserted. Two to four such cocoons were then tied onto a little handle about six inches long.[222]

Deer-hoof rattles were not used, but the hoofs were sewed around the edge of women's deerskin aprons where "they made a pretty noise" (M.L.). This informant claimed a rattle made of deer hide and pebbles was used for the Bear Dance.

Tobacco

276
249 Tobacco (šo´gən) grew all through the foothills. Any person who wished to might pre-

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[221] Illustrated by Kroeber, ibid., pl. 43,b. Although Kroeber states that the "holes were commonly four, grouped in pairs, but without definite rule as to relation of distance" (p. 509) it appears that the 4-holed flutes (pl. 43) have spacings roughly constant in relation to each other and the total length of the instrument.

[222] Illustrated by Kroeber, ibid., fig. 37, a.

276 pare tobacco for his own use or for sale, but usually there were one or two older persons, 244 men or women, who made a business of it.[223] "It was easy work for old folks who wanted to make a little money" (M.L.). M.L. used to go over toward Yokol with her grandparents to gather it.

Tobacco was never planted or cultivated. But when in the early spring an interested person saw a good growth of tobacco, he would return to it a few weeks later and pinch out the tops of the plants "to make the leaves grow big" (ku'u´tuna ta´ñhi mita´m ṭu´dan n·p ta´ptap). When the plants were full grown and the lower leaves about to turn yellow (hi´am aku´m ṭada´ki'aš, now perhaps yellow), these leaves were picked off. As others showed a faint change of color, they too were picked. The leaves were washed individually in a basket of cold water, were packed together while still wet, and tied in bundles. They were left in a clean shady spot for about two weeks, during which time they soured and turned dark yellow. Then they were untied and spread out in the sun to dry.

In the meantime the last leaves left on the plants had ripened, and these were picked, put in a pottery jar, covered with water, and boiled for one day. The decoction was then left to stand for a full day in the sun.

276 Now the dried, soured leaves were pounded up in a special hole reserved for the purpose in a bedrock mortar. This process, too, usually took all day. The resulting powder was combined in a large jar with the cooked thick liquid in such proportions that the mixture had a doughlike consistency. It was taken out in fistfuls, shaped in small rough lumps, and laid on a rock to dry. When entirely dried, these lumps were broken up and repulverized in the mortar hole. Once more the powder was combined with the tobacco liquid and shaped into little cakes. This time the cakes were carefully shaped, either into round balls or low, broad cylinders "like a thick pancake." Such cakes were merely called "tobacco" (šogon). When thoroughly dried, they were carefully collected and stored in a buckskin sack. Later on they might be taken about and sold; they were said [435] to bring $2.50 to $5.00 each, depending on their size.[224]

Some liquid remained in the pot: only a very small amount of these fine dregs was ever available. This was boiled down, or left to stand in hot sunshine until it had become thick enough to shape. It was worked into small slender cylinders about the size of one's forefinger. This was called pulči´na, was very expensive, and had special uses. Often a hole was drilled through one end of the cyl-

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[223] A full account of Tübatulabal tobacco manufacture, with comparative data, is given by E. Voegelin (pp. 36-38).

[224] The price seems high. Neither informant (M.L. or J.P.) could evaluate them in terms of shell beads.

[P. 93b]

276 inder so that it might be worn on a cord about the neck. A hunter or traveler would wear one: when one was faint from hunger, frightened by a dream or the sight of a ghost, a small bite off the pulčina would restore the powers of locomotion.

A man kept his tobacco cake in a little deerskin sack.

The cake tobacco (šogon) was eaten in [757] minute quantities, or pounded up with shell lime and water and taken as an emetic, or [789] broken up and smoked in a cane pipe. A liquid made from tobacco was smeared on the feet and ankles to discourage rattlesnakes.

A group of men would gather at one house [517] about eight or nine o'clock in the evening to eat tobacco and lime. Women did not actively participate in these parties but might and did indulge in family privacy. Women and children were present, however, sitting in the background; the children were often asleep. This group partaking might be done on an evening before a hunt, or the mixture might be taken as a tonic for good health or to stimulate dreaming.

The host had a small mortar (koi´w·š) and pestle (pa´ʼlwi) especially for the purpose. A piece of baked shell was pulverized in the mortar, then a piece of cake tobacco pounded with it, and water poured in to make a thin liquor. The mortar and pestle were passed from man to man, each one taking a lick off the pestle; it did not matter which way it was passed. J.P.'s pestle had some small indentations in its side and he laughingly said those were there so more liquor could be got and licked off. As the men became nauseated they went forth to vomit, thence home "to sleep like drunk" (J.P.) (se´lawi ta´na šogo´ni na, dizzy to go tobacco-from I). Those who were going hunting or who were seeking supernatural power would eat only acorn gruel on the following morning. The same performance might be repeated on several successive nights, each time at a different house.

When women wanted to obtain nauseating effects from tobacco, they merely licked a cake directly (M.P.).

M.P.'s uncle and aunt ate a little tobacco every night: "a person couldn't sleep if they went to bed full."

The shell used for the lime constituent [226] was the freshwater oyster; the shell alone was called či´ʼu, the whole thing "when alive," [481] ka´ʼup·č. The oysters were got at Woodlake; men dove for them or reached down off rafts; they were just visible on top of the mud.

Pipes.--A cigarette of cane (ka´dk·d) was cut 6 to 8 inches long. The mouth end was filled with a little coil of fine cord, and tobacco, crumbled into tiny pebble-like pieces, was packed into the other end. The cigarette was ignited with a glowing twig. The cane burned down as it was smoked, yet it lasted a

276 long time as only two puffs were taken on any
one occasion. Some women smoked, usually
elderly ones. The favorite time was just be-
fore sleeping. A little ritual of prayerfully
[788] puffing smoke toward the west at bedtime was
called šuhuwa´da. Both sexes did this, just
once each night; no words or gestures accompa-
nied the act (J.B.).

The cane cigarette Kroeber attributes to the Yaudanchi;[225] the Wukchumni had to obtain their canes "from a swamp below Porterville" (Yaudanchi or Koyeti territory perhaps). Some man would go down there to get it, then bring it back to sell. The same canes were used for arrowshafts. The cane cigarette was often carried in the hole of the ear lobe.

276 Pottery pipes were made of fired clay, but
were clumsy affairs.[226] The shape follows the
323 old pattern of known wooden ones, i.e., it was
straight (no elbow) and somewhat flaring. In-
formants insisted they were aboriginal, as the
shape seems to indicate.

The elderwood pipe was disclaimed for the Kaweah River region by all Wukchumni informants.

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

Officials

Chief.--"Eagle was the first chief; all
622 others were made from that" (M.L.). The name
or title (ti´ya) was applied to the acting
chief, his wife (or wives), and their children.
It was also applied to his brothers and sisters,
since they too were the offspring of a chief,
but not to their spouses or their children. If,
when the chief died, the office passed to a
brother, as it often did, that chief's children
would then be known as tiya. While they would
be called by this term for their lifetime, it
would not pass on to their children but to
those of the man who became the next chief.

The office passed in paternal descent. Normally a brother succeeded to chieftainship and, at the death of his youngest brother who would be the last chief in that genealogical stratum, it reverted to the eldest (or another) son of the first chief. M.L. was the one informant who thought the office passed from son to son, never laterally to a brother. When nearing death, an old chief named the person to assume his office. The selection had to have the approval of other tiyas in the tribe; whether or not there was a formal ratification, I do not know. But all informants made it clear that an unfit chief -- a vacillating or irresponsible personality -- would not be tolerated. Only M.L. said that the eldest son of the chief succeeded him, regardless of his

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[225] Handbook, 538.

[226] Illustrated in Gayton, Yokuts and Western Mono Pottery Making, pl. 102, d, h.

622 administrative abilities, but added that, if he proved unable, another person would be chosen to function in his place. Therefore the rule of inheritance, as given above, was not rigidly followed: a brother or son might be ignored if thought unsuitable, or he could himself decline the office if he wished. A brother, son, or grandchild might be selected, but a cousin was an unusual choice.

Although the wives, sisters, and daughters of a chief were also termed tiya, they did not function save in the role of hostesses on ceremonial occasions. A great burden of housewifely management fell upon them as they had to be prepared at any moment to serve food to a visitor, and at ceremonial functions large [595] quantities of food were needed. A chief usually had two wives at once; other men were usually monogamous, at least in residence.

778 825 622 The eagle was invariably the totemic or lineage symbol of the chief and his descendants in the male line in Wukchumni, Gawɨa, and Yokod society. The falcon (lɨ´mɨk), "wolf" (iwe´yɨt, the mountain coyote), and cougar (wehɨ´šɨt) are mentioned as associated or secondary totems though they are not, in the Central Foothills, the major totems for any chiefly lineage. How these function as secondary totems is not clear, and one gets the impression that it is merely a carry-over from mythology wherein these, too, are "important persons" though Eagle was the chief.

622 There were no insignia of office for a chief or his relatives.

There were two or three chiefs to every tribe, though the number naturally varied with the size of the tribe. For local matters pertaining to their own villages, such as family quarrels, the time to move camp for seed-gathering, or the building of a new sweat house, a chief could make his own decisions. Anyone who wished might go directly to the chief for [624 advice, instructions, or aid, but most commonly the chief's messenger (winatum) served as a go-202] between. "The tiya usually sent his winatum to give people messages (for instance, to stop a quarrel), or people sent word to the tiya the same way" (S.G.).

For a matter which involved intervillage activity within a tribe, all the chiefs had to be in agreement. The usual need for this came at the time of the Annual Mourning Ceremony, which was a tribal affair.

If one chief made a suggestion, as for a mourning ceremony, the other chiefs had to agree before he could go ahead with his plans. He would tell his winatums to get the other chiefs. In the meantime he could go out to the community fire and start talking to the people who were gradually assembling. Everyone in camp who wanted to came at such a time regardless of age or sex. [A young menstruant would not go, but an older menstruating woman would go and stay in the background.] As the

622 chief was telling of his plans, the other chiefs, having arrived, privately agreed or disagreed. The speaker's winatum went to them, asking their opinion. If all were in agreement, they all held a low-voiced consultation about specific points, for instance, the date for a ceremony, and the decisions were announced at once by the chief holding the session (M. and J.P.).

A chief's sons or brothers might go out to hunt, but he himself did not. His winatum would see to it that hunters supplied the chief with meat, game, and fish. No informant was able to state exactly how this arrangement worked, save that the chief did not pay for what he received. Information from the Southern Valley by Fages, and from the Northern [651] Foothills by Powers, tells of a fairly complex and defined system of tribute-taxation, so to say, for those regions. Possibly something of the same sort operated in the Central Foothills and I failed to get a clue to it.

But whatever was received by the chief, he in turn disposed of, to a certain extent, to needy persons. It was a particular duty of the chief to see that no one was hungry or without clothing and shelter. Very aged persons or orphans sometimes had no one to care for them. The recipients of his care were not obligated to make payment in money, objects, or services, [576] unless out of a sense of gratitude. It is in Yokuts etiquette to return gift for gift, and M.L. said that a widow, who perhaps received meat from the chief, would give a basket of acorn meal or something of the sort to the chief's wife when she found the opportunity. Such an occurrence took place within M.L.'s own family when her widowed mother, without grown sons, was dependent upon others for game.

A particular and constant source of fi- 622 nancial drainage to the chief was the payment of the winatums, not merely his own, but others 624 arriving with messages. Winatums and all visitors to the village were invited to come to the chief's home where they paid their respects, as it were, and were given a meal. A visitor who did not go directly to the chief's house was looked up by the winatum and invited to go there. A person who refused would be looked upon with gravest suspicion; indeed, no one did refuse.

Informants like to refer to the chief's 622 wealth, but his means of acquiring it are not 556 altogether clear. He received payments for ceremonial performances and kept a portion, the remainder going to the performers (doctors, singers, winatums) involved in the ceremony. Trade brought him profit also. And probably in the receiving and distributing of foods he was not a loser. The role of the chief as a [426] gambler was not inquired into, but money-lending at high interest was a common practice of chiefs and other men who had the capital, especially before the Annual Mourning Ceremony.

[P. 95b]

622 The methods by which chiefs and shamans coöperated to their mutual benefit has been treated at length elsewhere.[227] For the Wukchumni, S.G.'s remarks will serve as a summary statement.

622 The chief (tia'a) always had money. People
made him presents when he was going to give a
539 ceremony. If he got short of money, he would
have his doctor kill somebody who was rich. If
556 the chosen victim belonged to another tribe, he
would send a gift of money to the chief of that
754 tribe asking him to have his doctor kill that
man. If the chief accepted the money, he had
his doctor start the process of sickening and
killing the rich man. The money received was
divided between the doctor and the two chiefs.
Doctors who killed in this way made sure that
the patient would finally send for them by
making him more sick for every other doctor
that the sick man sent for.

We usually had good chiefs with good doctors, but sometimes even a good chief would bribe a doctor to kill some man he thought ought to be killed.

622 A chief could himself be a shaman, as was
756 J.P.'s grandfather, who was a snake-handler.
But there is no instance of a chief being a regular curing shaman, the true doctor who cured or, when bad, caused sickness.

Subchief.--The Wukchumni and Yaudanchi had
624 a type of secondary chief (tuye''i) whose only
769 function seemed to be to assist the head chiefs
of a tribe at the time of the Annual Mourning Ceremony. Although three informants stated that the position was hereditary in the male line, they could not say what members of a subchief's family were called by the term tuye''i, whether or not there was an invariable lineage totem (as Eagle for the chief), or specify any other duties than those mentioned below.

S.G. said that the tuye'i was a kind of secondary chief; the position "went in families" and could be held by either sex. The subchiefs "came behind" the tia'a and made up the deficit amount of money if there was a shortage in meeting the expenses of the Annual Mourning Ceremony. Young male tuye'i of about ten years of age or over contributed.[228] If something happened to prevent a chief from presiding at the mourning ceremony, the subchiefs managed it and were the first served at meals. On the evening of the fifth day of the ceremony, the subchiefs gave a feast for the head chief or chiefs at which they presented these men with the money, baskets, and blankets.

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[227] Gayton, Yokuts-Mono Chiefs and Shamans.

[228] This seems excessively young, for Yokuts culture does not provide a means of accruing money at such an age; 20 years would seem more probable.

624 According to J.P. "the tuye’i came under the tia’a." There were four or five of these in a tribe. The position was inherited, usually going to a son but sometimes to a brother. J.P. served as a tuye’i at a recent mourning ceremony; his part was to share in the expenses and assist in general plans and their projection. The recent ceremonies are not occasions for money-lending.

The Yaudanchi Tm.W. said the tuye’i helped the tia’a at a duniša (ceremony). "If the tia’a had no money these boys had to put up the rest." However, Tm.W. indicated three classes of these subchiefs or financial assistants, thus: "If the tia’a put in $5.00, the tuye’i put in $3.00. Behind the tuye’i was the pokn‚ʹnwad, he put up $2.00. The nututa was behind the pokn‚nwad, and he'd put up whatever he had, $1.00 maybe."[229]

[202] Messenger.--The position of messenger (winatum) was inherited in the male line but the title, like the chief's, and some of the duties applied to the messenger's wife, sisters, sons, and daughters. Not all the siblings in a genealogical stratum served in the office, only those who wished to do so. Probably if the family were small, say with but one or two offspring, pressure would be exerted to see that they followed their father's profession. A modern instance of this is J.P.'s family of several children among whom two have been designated to serve as "winatums" at ceremonial functions, aberrant as they are. In this instance a maternal "inheritance" is being followed, as it is M.P. who is of a winatum's lineage.

Her father and her maternal grandfather were both winatums. And her maternal uncle, following his father, was also a winatum. This, incidentally, is an instance of a marriage between persons of comparable lineages, i.e., her father, a winatum, with the daughter of another winatum. All had Dove as their lineage or totemic symbol.

[778 825 [304] The dove, in Central Foothills, invariably is the totemic creature of the winatum, just as Roadrunner is the symbol among the Lake and Northern Foothill groups. M.P. has a tattooed mark on her wrist which she said was "dove's feet" (fig. 9, d).

The term messenger is a misnomer for this officer, for his duties included directing ceremonial activities, even when supervised by a general "dance manager" (see below), seeing that visitors were supplied with shelter, wood, and water, dividing foodstuffs, quieting quarrels, and collecting payments. His wife, sisters, or daughters, served as stewardesses at ceremonies, assisting in the preparing and serving of food. Furthermore, shamans had their own winatums whose duties consisted of

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[229] My notebook adds: "Informant can't be definite; have impression that this was an inherited and specific position; were required to put up money if called upon."

624 dressing them in ceremonial regalia, applying
paint on their faces and bodies, caring for
their paraphernalia during ceremonies, re-
moving and destroying the causes of a sickness
extracted from a patient, collecting the
shaman's fees for a display or curing.

The following is largely from M.L.

622 The Gawia and Yokod had the same offices
624 and duties of chiefs and winatums as had the
Wukchumni and Yaudanchi. Doctors had winatums
of their own. A chief or a winatum looked just
like any other citizen of his village; he had
[293] no special mark or manner of dress. But when
traveling a winatum always carried a long
slender cane which was not decorated. When he
entered another village, he went directly to
the chief's house. He was paid by the parties
at both ends, i.e., by the chief who sent him
and the one who received him.

A chief always sent his winatum from house
to house to announce a mourning ceremony or any
other news that was to be made public. He
would send him to a family with a special
message, say, with a request that they cease
quarreling, and people sent back word to the
chief by the same means.

624 When a winatum arrived ~~at a~~ village, he
went directly to the chief's house. A mat was
202 set out for him in front of the house and food
was brought to him. He must eat some of the
food, but it was not imperative that he finish
it. He was joined by the chief and, when he
was through his collation, gave his message.
[437] If he had money for exchange he produced it or,
if a loan was to be discussed, he kept the
money until the chief and his associates were
ready to accept. His money he carried in a
[293] purse or sack called gušta´la. This was a
complete skin of a wildcat (tu´ñed), fox (a´dja),
or tree squirrel (sa´ñsañwide´'ıt) cured with
the fur still on. The head of the skin was
pulled up under his breechclout at the left hip.
The sack full of money was kept under his neck
to protect it.[230] A winatum who stayed the
night remained as the chief's guest: he did
not go to the local winatum save as a visitor
to pass the time of day.

For a forthcoming Annual Mourning Cere-
624 mony, or for lesser affairs, the winatums made
all the arrangements, secured performers,
planned the food, wood, and water supply. The
number of winatums in a village "depended on
the size of the winatum's family," there was
usually but one winatum's lineage in a village.
The winatum was not a personal servant to the
chief but could be called on by anyone for
assistance -- provided they paid him for his
[574] services. When the Yokod, Gawia, or Chunut
visited the Wukchumni they brought their own
[571] winatums. Visiting winatums "all helped each
other" under the direction of the local head
winatum. When a chief had some project on hand

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[230] Neck-rests and pillows were a joke to informants who were told of such articles among other people.

624 that needed extra service, he would ask another chief if the winatums from his village would come to help.

On ordinary occasions of celebration a winatum took charge of the organization and gave orders. "He called for the Bear Dance [when the moment arrived for it to be given] or the pleasure dance (wa´tiyod). At a watiyod everyone kept still and listened to what he said."

The following data on Yaudanchi messengers were contributed by Mr. E.W. Gifford.

> Among the Yaudanchi Yokuts, who are without moieties, the winatum is the messenger and attends to camping and feeding of visitors at fiestas. The mourning dove (uplali) was winatum in mythical times and the term uplali seems to be applied to the winatum today. At the time of my visit the informant Francisco Panchô spoke of the incumbent winatum, Dick Francisco, as uplali. The chief (diya) pays the uplali [winatum] after a fiesta is over. In mythical times when the dove was winatum, toxil (eagle) [825] was diya. Limik [falcon] was hiauto or war leader as was also poiyun (Cooper's hawk). The hiauto takes orders from the diya. The hawk limik as well as the dove was winatum for the diya in ancient times.

Ceremonial manager.--This position (hide´tɩts)[231] was hereditary in the male line; Raven (ho´toi) was always its family symbol. There was never more than one in a village, as he was not often needed. The chief called on him to be a general manager for a very large gathering like the Annual Mourning Ceremony, and paid him in return. The man's duty was to keep things running smoothly: he called to people to get up in the morning; he went out to meet guests as they arrived, showed them where they were to camp, and notified the chief of their presence; he stopped children who were playing too noisily or women who were quarreling. But at mealtime it was the winatum who announced that food was ready to be eaten.

J.B. gave a somewhat different statement. The manager at ceremonies he called hide´tič and gave Snake (general) as his lineage animal. It was an inherited office; women never held it. "There were two or three of these at every fandango." They consulted with the chief concerning where visitors' camps should be placed, where to have meals, and when to have all the dances; they prevented fighting (and in recent times drinking), and sometimes "called out for dancing, though this was usually a winatum's job." Two particularly efficient managers were Ta´sowɩk (a Wukchumni-Paṭwisha) and Ka´osuna (a Telamni).

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[231] Kroeber gives hiletits (Yauelmani) as a clown or ceremonial mocker; he does not record an office of dance manager (Handbook, 497).

Shaman-killer.--The person designated by
624 this term (hi'au'ta) was in no sense a clown,[232]
756 and it is doubtful if he should be included as
an official. The hi'auta was a man without
fear who usually attained this condition
through dreams of Falcon or Cougar. The
[683] hi'auta were called upon to rid the community
of an undesirable shaman who the chief agreed
should be killed.

The hi'auta was a desperado, he killed doctors. He had to kill on the first shot or get killed himself. The tia'a would send him out to get rid of a bad doctor. When the doctor set off on a trip the hi'auta followed him and killed him the first chance he got. There were three to five hi'auta in every tribe. They never did anything funny to make people laugh (S.G.).

He was a bad man and did not stop fighting until he had killed a man. He was not afraid to kill doctors (M.L.).

In my grandmother's time people did not laugh at doctors. But there was one [kind of] mean man that was not afraid to. He was called hi'auta -- "smarty." If he had a chance, he'd kill the doctor first, but if he didn't the doctor would give him a nosebleed [by supernatural means], or maybe kill him. They [hi' auta] always died quick, but sometimes doctors would give one a bad lingering sickness if he was extra mean (J.P.).

522 **Clown**.--There was no official clown among
624 the Yokuts. Persons of Coyote lineage clowned
at the Snake Ritual (quod vide), but this was a
matter of personal choice.

Directional Groupings

621 Division of the populace into totemic
616 moieties was not followed by the Wukchumni, al-
[184] though they knew and used the moiety names of
the dichotomized tribes of the lake region. The
terms, for the Wukchumni, were directional indicators applied only to tribes; yet a sense of opposition did result from this division into "uplanders" and "lowlanders," just as with the social moieties.

A formulation of this kind of geographical moiety and its functions was difficult to make owing to conflicting or confused statements of informants. After much discussion with M.L. and J.B. the facts below emerged free from doubt. The difference of opinion of J.P. and M.P. may be due to their lesser participation in the old life, when contact between the Wukchumni and the moiety-possessing tribes was closer, and their greater participation in the recent life with more contact with the non-moietized Waksachi (Western Mono).

J.P. and M.P. claimed that they "didn't know anything about some kinds of pošas [totems]

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[232] Kroeber was informed that the hiauta (Yaudanchi) was a clown (ibid.)

621 being related." They thought that M.L.'s segregations
of related animals (see below) had
616 no social or functional basis. And, finally,
when J.P. was given a description of the moiety system in the Lake tribes, e.g., Tachi, he said he "had heard of it but nobody up here did it."

Moiety division of the Yaudanchi was clearly denied by M.S. and S.G.

101 To turn to the positive information, the
terms tokɨlyuwɨč and nutuwɨč were known to both
619 M.L. and J.B., and both agreed on the meanings
which the words held for the Wukchumni.[233] Tokelyuwich means westward and, by topographical analogy, lowlandward or downstream; Nutuwich means eastward or, topographically, upland, mountainward, or upstream. The Wukchumni pronunciation is ṭokɨlyu´wɨč. The two words do not literally mean upstream and downstream, the terms for which are do´mto i´dɨkao and da´ṭu idɨkao, respectively.

M.L. classified tribes in these terms, as Tokelyuwich or westward: Tachi, Wodaši (Wolasi), Tedumni (Telamni), Choinok, Chunut, Gawia, and Yokod; as Nutuwich or eastward: Wukchumni, Waksachi, Patwisha, Choinimni, and Wobonuch. J.B. gave a comparable grouping but included Gawia and Yokod with the easterners, thus, Tokelyuwich: Tachi, Wolasi, Telamni, Choinok, Nutunutu, Chunut; Nutuwich: Gawia, Yokod, Wukchumni, Waksachi, Patwisha, Choinimni.

619 The Wukchumni put this tribal grouping
into effect only at the Annual Mourning Cere-
582 mony. Even then the grouping was not followed
[769] when playing games. It in no way affected
marriage: persons with the same totemic animal (poša) were free to marry as long as the blood kinship was not known to be closer than that of third cousins. Cross-cousin marriage was not countenanced, and indeed the question was unlikely to arise as all first cousins were regarded as of the same closeness as siblings and were called by sibling terms.

616 Neither did the moiety affect the arrange-
ment for reciprocal washing during the mourning
619 ceremony. The washing was reciprocal primarily
between families having the same totemic animal
769 (poša), secondarily between tribes. Thus the
reciprocity which was traditional for the Wukchumni was with the Waksachi (both "Nutuwich" tribes), but if for some reason the proper family were not available another one of the *same totem but of* another tribe would be chosen, not another Waksachi family of different totem. (For further details see "Annual Mourning Ceremony.")

616 The Wukchumni concept of moiety, then, is
applicable only to tribes, and is manifest only
619 at the Annual Mourning Ceremony where the
visiting people are grouped by tribe as Tokelyuwich or Nutuwich. Their camping places are so

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[233] It should be mentioned that M.L. and J.B. were far removed from one another, J.B. having moved to Dunlap long ago, so they did not influence each other's opinions.

616 assigned (eastside or westside), and as fami-
lies arrive they are received by winatums and
619 asked their provenience, so to say, before
being told where to camp. J.B. said, "There
was no dividing up [according to family totem]
at a duniša (mourning ceremony) except among
the tia'a. All the other people followed the
tia'a of their own village."

574 The spatial arrangement at a mourning
ceremony was roughly square: the hosts and
769 recipients opposite each other, and the visit-
ors at each end divided as Tokelyuwich and
616 Nutuwich. The actual directions of east and
west were not always followed as the spatial
possibilities differed from village to village.

619 The second manifestation of this tribal
moiety arrangement at the Annual Mourning Cere-
769 mony was in the Shamans' Contest, the opponents
being divided as Tokelyuwich and Nutuwich ac-
616 cording to their tribal affiliations. To ex-
emplify this, J.B. named several shamans whom
619 he had seen as contestants, giving their tribe,
totem animal, and directional affiliation, as
756 follows:
616

Nutuwich

Wukchumni: Či´čen (Rattlesnake); Ta´sow·k (Rattlesnake); Po´hač (Rattlesnake); Umiča´na (Rattlesnake).

Yaudanchi: Čamšu´šan (Magpie); J.B. added that this man was a curing doctor and Huhuna Dancer as well.

Choinimni: Pušl·l·n (Rattlesnake); Kapl·l·n (Rattlesnake).

Tokelyuwich

Telamni: Li´s·č (Owl); U´nun (Owl); Sa´pagai (Owl); "Winatum" (Owl); this man was a curing doctor, huhuna dancer, and winatum.

Yokod: Šut (Owl) [this is not in accord with his previous statement that the Yokod were Nutuwich].

Some other participants who were known merely as "southerners" to J.B. he classified thus: Maiye´mai and his brother, Po´sut, Tokelyuwich; Wati´sti and Andrés, Nutuwich.

When J.B.'s attention was called to the
616 fact that his groupings, as given above, were
825 aligned by totem animals (as well as by tribe),
he claimed he could not recall any participants
[756] in the Shamans' Contest who had other animals
as symbols. [It seems possible to me that
shamans with the same totems may have stayed
together and been assigned to one or the other
side arbitrarily.] He admitted that totem
animals could be grouped as Tokelyuwich or
Nutuwich and said this was done when non-moiety
persons were visiting or participating with a
moiety-divided tribe, as Wukchumni or Michahai
with Choinimni or Telamni. According to J.B.,
if such a grouping must be made, "Eagle, Duck,
and Owl were Tokelyuwich, Rattlesnake, Bear,
Magpie, and Deer, Nutuwich. Dove, Weasel,
Skunk, and Coyote could be on any side because
they were chiefs' and doctors' helpers. Eagle

[P. 99 a] Wukchumni

616 was a Tokelyuwich chief, Cougar a Nutuwich."
825 As a result of my questioning M.L. made a
weak attempt to classify totem animals by
moiety with absurd results: Clark Jay (čaku´du)
as Tokelyuwich; Rattlesnake "and Bear maybe" as
Nutuwich.

It is clear that the moiety was not a
616 basic factor in Wukchumni social organization.
On the contrary, the moiety concept, as applied
to tribes (i.e., visitors) at the Annual Mourning
Ceremony, makes it appear to be an adaptation
of a barely understood scheme to a particular
situation. Its manifestation in the
Shamans' Contest, in which participants were
drawn from both Valley [moiety] and Foothill
[non-moiety] cultures leads one to suspect that
the concept and adaptation peculiar to the Wukchumni
is the result of the socially superficial
co-mingling that occurred between hill and
valley tribes during the mourning ceremonies.

In attempting to clarify the facts of
616 moiety classification in Wukchumni culture,
825 M.L. gave the following names of animals which
she grouped as ṭa'a´ṭi (relatives), i.e., of
one lineage or family. The groups appear here
in the order in which she gave them, and at
first it seemed (as with group 1) that these
might be a moiety classification; later it
turned out that they are all zoölogical classifications,
so to say. I think the first group
is a mythological grouping referring to animal
cliques of the prehuman era, hence the song
reference.

616
825 1. ṭe´wiša: flicker
192 ṭu´'ud: rattlesnake
ñahọ̄´'ō: grizzly bear
ṭa´'ɨšwide´'ɨt: black-and-white woodpecker
du´hụn: cinnamon bear
ahọ´'ot: weasel
sañsañwide´'ɨt: tree squirrel
po´'hot: ground squirrel

M.L.'s comment: When a Bear Dancer danced he called [sang] to all of these. Flicker and black-and-white woodpecker were her mother's and maternal grandmother's extra "poša" because they danced with the Bear Dancer. "When ñahō'ō got beaten he got mad and told his winatum to get Cougar and Fox and Wildcat [to fight them] but Cougar said he didn't want to fight because they were all ṭa'a´ṭi."

2. kai´'iyu: coyote
a´dja: fox
tu´nod: wildcat
wahu´sɨt: cougar
iwe´yɨt: wolf [mountain coyote]

M.L.'s comment: All Coyote's people look alike, cinnamon bear (duhun) was the only one that didn't.

3. upiye´'i: dove
so'o´no: pigeon
hɨ´mɨd: quail
No comment.

[P. 99b] Wukchumni

616
825
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4. ţu´hɨt: eagle
u´wɨk: golden eagle
ţa´nka: buzzard
No comment.

5. pi´tu: mouse
tumatu´mud: woodrat
sañsañwide´'ɨt: tree squirrel
aha´'ot: weasel
po´'hot: ground squirrel
hə´ñhut: gopher

The informant became much confused as the burden of grouping and identifying was a task beyond her meager English vocabulary, and one wherein I dared not assist by evocative questioning.

In connection with hunting J.P. said, "there were five animals just like deer":

6. šo´koi: elk
soi´yɔd: "a goat with straight horns," belonged in the valley
duwe´sɨp: mountain sheep; belonged in the mountains
wɔ´kono: antelope, especially in Antelope Valley
hoi: deer

Totemic Animals

825 The person and his totemic animal.--The relation between individuals and their poša (inherited totem animal) involved three major practices. The first, to which all poša´m (the persons possessing the totem) adhered, was the tabu on killing, even more on eating, the animal. The second was keeping the animal as a pet. And the third was the redemption of the animal by ceremonial payment to its killer or captor. All three practices interlocked in actuality. Thus, a person eating eagle flesh would be paid a small sum by the chief: this honored the eagle, and may be viewed as an extension of the more elaborate redemption of the entire bird. While a non-totemic pet was sometimes kept (i.e., an animal which was not the [231] poša of its owner), pets more frequently were totemic, and often were acquired as such "because they [the owners] didn't like to see somebody eating them" and would buy them from the would-be consumer.[234] After the redemption of a live eagle it would be kept for some time before being freed.

231 Pets.--Respecting pets, M.L. offered the following:

Eagles were kept as pets only by a chief or immediate male member of his family. Other persons might do so, knowing that the pet eventually would be bought by the chief. "He didn't like seeing other people having them.

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[234] This is doubtless a rationalization. That is, the pošam probably wanted a specimen of his poša as a pet and took this opportune way of acquiring one. Obviously he could not corner the market on doves, crows, etc.

231 Eagle is chief [spiritual] and he belonged to the chief [actual]." The chief would send out his winatum to buy any eagles he heard of. Since most eyries were known, and traditionally owned and inherited by chiefly lineages, it was not easy or usual for an ordinary person to come by one of these birds.

"Eagles were never kept as pets" is a curious statement of S.G. He likewise denied all knowledge of the redemption ceremony.

Doves might be kept as pets by anyone. But winatums "did not like to have them killed, and would buy them from other people and let them go." A male cousin of M.L.'s would not kill a dove, nor would he even allow his sister to keep them as pets.

Bear, as poša, included bears of all kinds, "red," "black," and grizzly. The paternal lineage of M.L. was a Bear lineage, so no one in her family, including her mother, would kill or touch the meat of this animal. M.L. ate
[262] deer, rabbit, squirrel, and fish, but she did not eat or taste bear meat or any food that might have come in contact with bear grease. Once she cooked some bear meat in ignorance. Her [first] husband ate some, and vomited directly they went outside the house [where they were visiting] and saw the skin.[235] This man's father raised cubs as pets, which may have some bearing on his son's tabu on bear meat.

Rattlesnake was the family totem of M.L.'s mother. A maternal uncle participated in the Snake Ritual. For this reason M.L. "did not like to see snakes killed either." Her sister's husband also was a snake-handler. However, no instance of snakes being kept as pets is known: snakes used ritually were returned to their dens.

Young crows and ravens[236] were favorite pets. M.L. once had one when she was a girl. It was a nuisance, continually stealing not only food but basketry materials from other people. A quarrel ensued, so her father's brother took the bird several miles up the Kaweah River and left it. The feathers of these pet birds were never plucked for use in ornaments, she said.

Quail was a dream helper of M.L. However, she gave another reason for not eating them, which was believed by many young girls. It was
[773] *thought that, if a girl ate quail,* when
[825] her hair grew long quail might come to nest in it and break and tangle it.

Cougar (wahu´š·t) and mountain coyote (?) (iwey·t, "wolf"), were never eaten by any Wuk-

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[235] It appears that the man had assumed this poša, either because of his marriage to M.L., or because it was a dream acquisition: his was a chiefly lineage. M.L.'s second husband, half-brother to the first, ate "no meat except a bit of salt pork now and then."

[236] These were not identified. M.L. gave the first as a´dum·ts, who said "'ah 'ah 'ah," and the second as ko´widai, who said "kɔ' kɔ' kɔ'."

[P. 100b] Wukchumni

231 chumni people. Fox (adja) and wildcat (tuned) "may have been somebody's poša," but M.L. could not connect them with any known family. She did not know whether the Waksachi had totemic animals or not, but claimed that Gawia, Telamni, and "everybody down this way" had them. The Wukchumni, Gawia, and Yokod chiefs all had Eagle as their family animal; M.L. was uncertain if this held for the Tachi.

825 782 432 Redemption of totem animal.--When eagles, bears, or coyotes were killed it was necessary that a propitiatory ceremony be held to ensure the continued good will of the animals. There was an ill-defined but firm belief that all animals existed "somewhere," that any member of the species that was killed returned to this supernatural place and reported on the treatment which it had received when killed. Should an unfavorable report be made, ill would betide the killer, and the animals would no longer permit themselves to be victims of human hunters. This was the basis of all hunting formulae. The deer, however, was not totemic, and its propitiation was only the duty of the hunter. But eagles, bears, and coyotes were totems and it was the function of the lineages for which they were symbols to redeem them from their killers. These animals were feared not only for their physical prowess but for their supernatural powers.

825 J.P. described the ritual for bears and eagles.

782

539 432 If a man killed a bear, he would take it to a man who had Bear for poša. If the animal had been killed close by, the whole carcass would be carried to the Bear man's home. Usually it was far away, so the hunter just cut off the bear's feet and put them in a basket. Then he took this, some other baskets, and a blanket and went to the Bear man's home. The blanket was laid down before the door; the basket containing the feet was placed in the center and the other baskets ranged behind it.

The house chosen was that of the head of the Bear lineage who was usually the oldest Bear man and a Bear dancer. He sent a winatum to gather other members of the Bear lineage. When they saw what was there, "they went and got food, money, and baskets and traded with the hunter for the bear's feet and other things with it." The head Bear man go the feet and used the claws for a necklace. When the skin was brought he would buy that too. The skin included the head but not the skull. The skin would be tanned for use either as a blanket or for the Bear Dance costume. "It had the hair and ears left on and sure looked pretty!" While he was buying these things the Bear man "talked to the bear: he told it to be good, not to run after anyone, nor to kill people." Sometimes the other people cried while he was doing this.

825 782 432 It was incumbent upon the Bear people to redeem their poša. "The buyer would get broke while the hunter made lots of money." Then the hunter's people would have a big feast, for

[P. 1019] Wukchumni

825 they got the meat as well as the money since
the pošam could not eat it. No special dis-
782 posal was made of the carcass, according to
this informant, a statement which I have always
432 thought dubious.[237]

"Eagle was worse. If a man killed an
825 eagle he must take it to the tia'a or he'd die
782 right away, because Eagle would get mad." Then
all the chief's relatives would gather to pay
539 for their totem; a winatum called them to come.
432 All the tia'a's people cried when they saw that
dead bird. Since there were sometimes two or three chiefly men in a village they would divide the buying, thus, one would buy the wing feathers, another the leg bones, and another the down. Then the killer of the eagle ate the meat. "The chief would not let those people gathered there go away until all the meat was eaten." When the killer had finished, the chief took the eagle's carcass and buried it in water so that it would be revived and return to its supernatural home. As he did this he said, "ṭuñdi´ta po´dta ma ṭupɨ´nita" (? ? you go up). This was the same phrase used by a hunter when he had killed game.

825 The same thing was done with a coyote car-
cass. It was taken to a Coyote elder who
782 called his people to pay for it. The coyote
lay on a blanket, the people threw down their
432 strings of money over it, and cried. If the
hide were wanted for a Coyote clown costume, it would be skinned, but if not, the Coyote man "buried the whole thing right then because nobody ate that meat."

Totemic animals and associated profes-
825 sions.--J.P. and M.P. named a list of totemic
animals and their associated professions.

Rattlesnake: for rattlesnake shaman who made the Rattlesnake Ritual
Bear (both black and brown): for Bear Dancers
Cougar: for chiefs who might have this in addition to Eagle
Eagle: for all chiefs
Dove: for all winatums
Coyote: "always clowns"
Trout: only one person [Henry Lawrence] known to have this as a family emblem
Raven: ceremonial manager
Crow [blackbird (?), aduwɨts]: J.P.'s maternal grandmother had this; no profession

Neither informant ever heard of anyone
having deer as poša (though he could be a
dream-helper). Everyone ate deer, all kinds of
[262] squirrels and rodents, woodpeckers and other
birds. No person killed or ate any portion of
his totem animal.

These are all the totemic animals these informants could recall for Wukchumni people. They believed that the Gawia, Yokod, and other tribes had the same family totems: "they were

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[237] See, for instance, Heizer and Hewes, 592 ff.

X 825 just the same in any kind of tribe, just a different tribe, that's all." They knew nothing of totems being related or grouped as [615 moieties or phratries. J.P. said he had heard 616] of it, but neither the Wukchumni nor their neighbors did that.

PERSONAL AND FAMILY LIFE

Pregnancy, Birth, Infancy

843 A pregnant woman continued her work as usual until the quickening; even then she did not cease ambulatory work entirely but would do easy tasks such as gathering clover. It is said that not infrequently women away from home on such tasks would deliver unaided. M.L. remembered such an instance at Gutsnumi, when a woman returned to the village with twins: she had cut the navel cords with her long fingernail. Tabus on food were the usual ones on meat and salt and were observed from the first moon after menstruation failed. Even yellowjackets' larvae could not be eaten since yellowjackets are voracious meat-eaters. Neither could anything hard be eaten, such as dried cakes of meal, since this made the birth difficult. The result was that diet during pregnancy consisted almost exclusively of gruels and greens. A pregnant woman must not scratch her body lest it become ugly and wrinkled, nor her head as her hair would split and fall out.

The woman's husband observed the tabu on meat, did not fell trees by firing, did not hunt deer, did not gamble, and, in recent years, did not chop wood. The man's tabus were observed during pregnancy and until the newborn [846] infant's navel stump dropped off. There was no ceremonial observance of his renewal of a normal existence. The mother's tabus continued for about three months after delivery, when the resumption of meat, etc., was ritually observed.

805 "Women went by the moon and men by the sun," said M.L., referring to menstruation and 843 morning erection. By observing the phases of the moon a woman could judge fairly well when to expect her next period. When a period failed, she believed herself pregnant if it did not eventuate by the next occurrence of the moon-phase, and she began observation of the 843 food tabus. If the child was the woman's first, her mother or grandmother made the first cradle 854 for her. The child's second cradle, made also by mother or grandmother, was not started until the infant was delivered; to start it sooner would "make the baby come too soon." But this [177] is no longer the practice since the Mono-type cradles of fine willow, requiring more time for manufacture, have come in vogue; the former Y-frame cradle could be made in a few days. Also provided by the girl's mother were the necessary soft skins, shredded bark, and several sleeping mats for the infant. These things the woman kept in her storehouse.

[P. 102a] Wukchumni

844 The place of birth was in the dwelling,
according to M.P., but M.L, older and more
knowledgeable in aboriginal ways, insisted that
[343] delivery took place in a private hut. If the
separate hemispherical structure were not
erected for her by her husband, she would clear
out her storehouse and use it. The baking pit
for use after delivery was outside the dwelling,
and it may be this, rather than delivery itself, which M.L. had in mind.

At the onset of birth pains the woman got
her mother or whichever female relative was to
help her. They heated water. Meanwhile the
husband was preparing coals, hot stones, and
bark to be used in the heated pit, although he
did not go near his wife during delivery. No
845 men were ever present, unless a shaman was
755 called in a case of seriously difficult parturition. A shaman gave a drink of pulverized
[237] bear's claws to aid the birth. The shaman
Haičača had a long bear claw to help women in
parturition. He rubbed his hands on it, then
on the patient. Then he blew on the woman's
back and abdomen. Squatting before her, he
placed his hands on her hips and gently shook
her twice. "This made the baby come" (M.P.).
But often a woman had some method of her own.
M.L. had a little supernatural power; Quail was
her dream helper. When aiding her daughter in
labor, she called on Quail to help. Immediately some quail calls sounded near by, či´´up,
či´´up, či´´up: "the baby heard them and came
right out."

The maternal grandmother of J.P. dreamed
[787] of a roadrunner who told her how to help women
in labor. Although she was not a doctor --
"this was just her dream" -- she aided other
women with her knowledge.

A hollow was made in the floor to one
844 side of the fire pit. It was filled with sand
or dry earth and some pieces of old tule mats
laid over it. The mother squatted at its edge
and pulled on two stakes driven into the ground.
(These were not digging sticks.) The assistant
stood behind her, pressed her head, her back,
her abdomen, always with downward pressing
movements. If labor were prolonged, the parturient would get up and walk about between
spasms.

As the infant emerged, the assistant
caught it off the mats beneath the mother,
easing it onto some old deerskins. Pinching
the cord about two inches from the infant's
[412] body, she cut it with a cane knife and tied the
stump with a piece of fine sinew. The cord and
afterbirth were taken to the river and fastened
to a stake so they could not float away: this
prevented the child from ever being sick at its
stomach (M.L.). The afterbirth was thrown in
the river so the baby would never be sick, according to M.P., who added that often a girl's,

844 and occasionally a boy's, afterbirth was buried in an anthill: if the insects ate it, the child would be industrious. The Yaudanchi followed this practice (J.W.).

The assistant washed the baby in warm water in a big basket and greased it on the back, chest, and stomach [kind of "grease" not specified]. A bit of red color might be added with the grease on the chest "to keep it from getting [a?] cold." The baby was laid on a layer of shredded willow bark, on a piece of old deerskin, wrapped in a blanket of feathers or rabbitskin, and tied onto its tule mat
[553] cradle. It remained in this outfit constantly until it was named, about two weeks later, being taken out only for cleansing purposes.

Meanwhile the mother had removed to the heated pit. It was slightly longer and wider than her body and, when filled with heated rocks, ashes, bark, and mats, left its occupant at ground level. The woman lay face downward on deerskins. She wore no clothing save a belt and old breechclout, the latter loosely filled with shredded willow bark. The belt, opening on this occasion at the back, was tied, and the bark replaced, by the assistant. Deerskins were laid over the woman and for about one day she was surrounded with hot rocks laid on these and, in very cold weather, with a layer of warm ashes as well. More deerskins and rabbitskin blankets were laid over this. However, the upper layer of rocks and ashes was usually omitted. The baby was put with her. It was
[853] given warm acorn gruel which it sucked off the mother's or assistant's fingers until the milk appeared. The mother drank warm water for a few days, then warm acorn gruel. She kept on this diet as long as she was on the warm pit.

She left the pit twice a day while it was being renovated and reheated. The length of her stay was, according to M.P., six days "when the baby's navel dropped off"; according to M.L., twelve days, the child's anatomy having nothing to do with it. (Again I feel that M.L.'s opinion is the older and more reliable and agrees with the data from neighboring tribes.)

An alternative to the use of the hot pit, or sometimes used in conjunction with it to
[314] discourage hemorrhage, was a steaming of the vaginal tract with an infusion of redwood sap (ţanal). A lump of this dried pitch was cracked up and dropped in a basket of boiling water. The woman fastened a rabbitskin blanket over her shoulders, and tied one or two deerskins under her belt so they hung from her waist; then she squatted over the steaming basket of medicine. This was said to be done each morning for six days. After the intro-
[177] duction of European blankets the steamer surrounded herself and basket with the single large covering.

846 The father ate only "soft" food until the navel stump came off; the mother continued her abstinence from meat for three months. She might eat "greens" and any vegetable foods so long as they had no strong flavor or odor; because of its strong taste, fish was not allowed. (M.P.'s grandmother particularly restrained her from eating fish while nursing, as "it went to her breast.") If the mother should eat yellowjacket larvae (tabu because yellowjackets eat meat) the baby would get a sore mouth. [757] The cure for this was to wash the infant's mouth with a mixture of pulverized ša'apuš (unidentified plant) and dried, pulverized yellowjackets.

553 During the first week the baby was called yɨt no´mčɨn, literally "one-seven," i.e., one week, and during the second po´ñoi nomčɨn, "two-seven" or two weeks.[238] It was then given a name by its paternal grandfather: if a boy, the grandfather's name [or great grandfather's], if a girl the grandmother's.[239] Names belonged in families; persons who were not kin could not [551] have the same name (M.L.).[240] Wukchumni names were meaningless, said all informants. "If a name meant something it must be a nickname" (M. and J.P.). The grandmother [maternal?] gave the infant its permanent cradle, upon which it slept for one to two years.

846 Three months after delivery the mother was given a ritual cleansing and celebration (wi´ti lonu´wɨs) by her husband's mother. The mother-in-law brought "new clothes" (a deerskin apron if she could afford it), beads, and a "washing" basket and deer meat. She washed the mother's face and hair, combed her hair and put red paint on her face, and hung beads (koikoi) around her neck. Both paternal and maternal aunts were there, having brought large quantities of food with them. Village friends called, both men and women, with gifts for the mother -- beads, a basket, or some trinket -- and were given a present of food in return. The food was "usually eaten right there, though they could take it home if they wanted to." This "reception" continued for two or three days. Thereafter the mother resumed her normal existence, slept with her husband, and ate almost any foods save the "strong" ones.[241]

[805 177] [238] Probably "one-six" before the introduction of the seven-day week which "came with the Catholics." It is even possible that this designation of age by weeks is of European origin, although the "week," a native concept, is not.

[239] This is an over-simplification, as genealogical evidence shows. The tendency was to carry names through alternate generations, but those so bestowed are few compared to those seemingly chosen at random from the family's stock.

[240] This statement is entirely borne out by genealogical data.

[241] M.P. made a confused statement, which we never got disentangled, to the effect that after the mother's "party" she went home with her mother-in-law who "took care of the baby for her and the mother brought it food sometimes." Perhaps this was in case of birth during the initial period of matrilocal residence?

853 A child was nursed for two years, even if a new baby were also nursing. Weaning was very 862 gradual. The child was given acorn mush, and pieces of meat to suck, and "it liked those things better and wanted them all the time." Nevertheless, children up to four or so continued to seek the breast on occasion and were given satisfaction. K.G.'s little boy of five was gently pushed aside when his pawing was annoying to his mother, who was nursing an infant of some fourteen months.

861 Mothers talked to their children telling them what they must do. M.L. said naughty children were whipped. One suspects this was an innovation due to Mission influence; even today all Yokuts observed treat their children with a comfortable firmness of speech and manner which achieves satisfactory results without resorting to pushing, yanking, smacking, much less whipping, the young offenders.

844 There were certain beliefs concerning childbirth and children. It was lucky to give birth at the new moon: the child, whether male or female "would grow with the moon." [842] If a woman was sterile, it was because she had played at intercourse with boys when she was a little girl (M.L.). M.P. attributed sterility to carelessness during menstruation: "if a girl eats meat at that time it makes something hard so there is no room for a baby." One of M.P.'s cousins was in such a condition until she "drank something" which cured her; she has had two children since. A Yaudanchi woman named O'mo "had no children because she ate too much meat" (L.).

845 Twins were not regarded as good or bad fortune, though they entailed special care, if they were to survive. If one twin died, the other was sure to. M.L. said that, if a woman had twins, her daughter or granddaughter would have them also. She had never heard of anyone, native or white, having triplets and, when told of the phenomenon, asked if it would not kill the mother. She herself expressed a physical fear of having twins.

Kinship Terms

601 The Wukchumni kinship terms have been withheld with others from this publication. As with all Yokuts, cross and parallel cousins were classed with siblings and called by the same terms. Therefore, any cousin of another relative (of the same sex) was addressed by the same term as that relative; thus, a father's sister's cousin would be addressed as father's sister, or a father's sister's cousin's child (ego's second cousin) would be called sibling.[242] Degrees of relationship beyond this (as third

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[242] This made for much confusion in recording personal and genealogical data as most informants glibly used English "brother" and "sister" when speaking of actual cousins.

601 cousin) had no special term but were all lumped
as ṭa'aṭi (relatives).

A stepparent was called, according to sex,
by the term for father's brother or mother's
sister regardless of whether he actually was
such or not. When it was necessary to dis-
tinguish a related stepparent from a blood
uncle or aunt the word ni´'udi (another) was
added; thus, ni´'udi komo´dɨs (another father's
[587] brother). The levirate was of frequent occur-
rence, the sororate known but less common. A
stepparent addressed his stepchildren by the
usual terms for offspring, although it was said
he more often applied the general term a´hɨt
(child), which was used by true parents for
their children too. Step-grandparents were ad-
dressed by the regular grandparent terms.

The word no´či (male friend) was used by a man for his wife's sister's husband. This was a general term for friend and was used rather indiscriminately. (It was used mutually between most informants and myself.) The word ta´naič (female friend) was used by a woman for her husband's brother's wife. It applied only to women and was used between M.L. and myself.

Puberty

881 During her first, second, and third menses,
a girl ate only "soft food" (acorn and seed
mushes) and drank only warm water. She did not
retire to a separate hut, nor was the warm pit
used. She was equipped with an old breechclout
in which was a layer of shredded willow bark:
the bark was buried as it needed replacing, and
the clout washed. A scratching stick, which
M.L. said was "just any little twig or stick,"
she used to scratch her hair or body. Her
mother combed her hair each day; if she touched
it herself it would split. Pre-adolescent
girls could not eat quail: "quail would nest
in their hair if they ate quail before their
[757] hair grew long" (M.L.). Poultices of hot
mashed tamɨk were laid on the abdomen and back
to relieve menstrual pains.

881 The girl's mother invited another woman
and her son to come to the house: these guests
584 remained one or two days. They brought with
them gifts for the girl, perhaps a rabbitskin
431 blanket (later Spanish blankets, pinshala [sic]),
[30] and beads which they hung about the girl's neck.
The woman combed the girl's hair and gave her
quail-feathered ear plugs. In return the visit-
ing pair received a large quantity of food.
This little ceremony (witi lonuwis) was a kind
of tacit betrothal: the boy and girl usually
married eventually, but there was nothing de-
fined, nor was there any return of gifts if
they did not marry.

881 At the end of six days the girl swam in
the river and resumed her normal diet. She re-
turned to soft food and warm water during her
next two periods. At ensuing periods only the

[P. 104b] Wukchumni

881 meat tabu was observed. Girls who drank cold water and ate meat got overly fat.[243] Like M.L., M.P. said "girls followed the moon, and boys
841 the sun," but added that "girls were always sick on the full moon," which is, of course,
805 impossible. Girls gauged the expected arrival of their periods by the condition of the moon from month to month, as explained by M.L. In the old days, said M.L., a menstruant cooked for the family as usual, but she slept on the opposite side of the house from her husband and intercourse was strictly tabu.

881 During adolescence both boys and girls were sent to swim at night. The informant J.B. gave this practice a name, pa´duwɨš, and defined it more rigorously than others. For thirty nights during the coldest, frostiest weather (December-January), a lad or young girl was sent out three times each night, once just after he had fallen asleep, again halfway through the night, and again near dawn just before the other members of the household would be arising for their own swim. The youngster who slept soundly was given a vigorous poking until he got up and went out. The swimmer ran back wet to prove he had immersed himself; he dried and warmed himself by the low fire and jumped back into his bed. The purpose of these efforts was to produce a physical and mental hardiness. After adolescence a person of character continued the practice, though not quite so rigidly, i.e., one dip a night was sufficient. It took some fortitude on the part of the parent who himself must waken to see that his sons or daughters were roused each night three times: J.B. said, "old men some-
[751] times lost their children because they wouldn't see that they did this right each night." People often did the same thing in the summer-
[515] time and those who did "never got sick." Such bathing was of an extra and special sort: it was taken as a matter of course that one swam at daybreak every day merely as a matter of decent behavior and personal cleanliness.

861 J.B. added that every man talked to his own children, especially his sons, telling them how to behave, to be industrious, and to be respectful toward supernatural manifestations. Both boys and girls learned their duties and techniques of work from their father and mother by association, emulation, and specific instruction.

Marriage.

582 The only regulation of marriage was a restriction based on blood relationship. All Wukchumni informants claimed that a relationship as distant as third-cousinship was a tabu to matrimony. A marriage with such a relative

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[164] [243] M.P. attributed the obesity of a certain old woman, who was obviously tumorous, to infringement of the meat tabu.

582 would be called hokoi ´šan yiw· ´nši (sister
marriage) and would evoke the scorn of all who
582 knew of it. J.B. spoke contemptuously of two
588 recently married young Waksachi who are second
cousins. He added that he thought "people to
the north" married their cousins. No special
punishment was attempted in the old days when
such a marriage occurred. The parents of both
participants, having done their best to prevent
it by verbal argument, would not, and apparently
[558] could not, do anything more. There was undoubtedly
a loss of social prestige, but how
far this affected the offspring of such a union
cannot be said. The mere fact that informants
582 could not formulate rules for these marriages
is in itself an indication that commonsense
entered, according to the particular circumstances.
J.B. said that such marriages "never
occurred with the Wukchumni" and, while there
is no genealogical evidence to prove the contrary,
we can scarcely accept a complete negative.
No form of "uncle" marriage was known.

582 A man could marry where he wished, within
the tribe, within his own village, and even a
591 woman having the same family totem as himself,
provided no recognized blood-tie existed. If
he had been betrothed to a girl at her first
menses, he might, were he old enough, soon seek
her bed at night. But in doing so he committed
himself to a serious union with the girl and to
obligations in the provision of food to her
583 family. For two or three months he rose early,
going for the morning bath and thence to his
591 parents' home for breakfast. During the day he
would fish or hunt, taking the game to his
wife's home and remaining there for the evening
meal. If he did not go there he hung about the
sweat house and slept there at night; this was
especially true if the girl's home was already
crowded.

This sojourn at the girl's home was looked
upon as a temporary arrangement and rarely
lasted out a year. If the girl became pregnant
at once, she usually wanted to stay with
her mother until her baby came (M.L.).

After that the couple moved either to the
husband's home or to a house of their own.
When gathering seeds, or on any other food-collecting
expedition, the young wife joined
her mother if it were physically possible. If
she did not accompany her mother, then she did
not join her mother- and sisters-in-law but
attended to household tasks and helped in the
preparation of the food when it was brought in.

584 It may appear that a young man and woman
were wholly independent in their choice of a
mate, and especially so in their married life.
But the parents of both participants exerted
strong personal influence. They frequently arranged
betrothals at puberty and made every
effort to see that the marriage not only took
place, but continued. The parents-in-law and
[601] their brothers and sisters all called each
other by the reciprocal term ma´kši from the
time the betrothal took place.

584 time the betrothal took place. Whenever a rift
between the couple was apparent, they sought by
578 conversation or argument with the young couple
to mend it. Of her own volition, or at the in-
584 stigation of the man's parents, the girl's
mother would scold her if the fault were the girl's, the young man's mother reprimanding her son, if he were to blame. Laziness and coquetry on the part of the girl or failure as a provider of meat and excessive gambling on the part of the man were the usual causes of trouble.

595 Two wives were not uncommon, but all in-
[554] formants agree that it was only a chief, shaman,
or man of prestige who was likely to have them functioning on an equal status in the same menage. They were usually domiciled separately, but within the same village group. When a man lived with two women of separate villages, one or the other wife would be in a superior position with respect to the man's provision of food and wood and the amount of time he spent in her home and in attention to her children. A second wife was sought if the first were sterile or incapacitated by illness or age, or merely because the husband desired another feminine companion.

Three wives have been heard of, but M.L. claimed that a third wife would be resented by the first two. This opinion was undoubtedly based on the experience of her mother's brother
who, having two wives, sought a third. The un-
[579] fortunate prospect was severely beaten by the
two wives, and their husband abandoned his courtship.

One case of polyandry was reported: M.L. said her father's sister "had two men at the same time and they all slept together." Polyandry was also known to the Entimbich; in both groups no opprobrium was attached.[244]

586 Divorce, while hindered by the coöperative pressure of the couple's parents and relatives, took place if a woman were sterile yet fought against a second wife, if either spouse were slothful, or for intolerable incompatibility. "A man didn't like a woman to be dirty or one who talked all the time" (M.L.).[245] "A woman has to keep her food baskets right" (M.P.). "A man can't gamble all his money all the time. Some things he had to buy, like a good bow to get food for his children" (M.L.).

When the couple separated, the woman took all her clothing, utensils, and bedding if she went home. Usually, when a couple separated, a man left his wife in possession of their house if it were he who was in the wrong or who wanted his freedom and if she had more than two

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[244] Merriam, The Em´-tim´-bitch, 498; cf. Park, Paviotso Polyandry; Stewart, Northern Paiute Polyandry.

[551] [245] A Wobonuch chatterbox was nicknamed Wedawe´dna (i.e., in comparable American slang, "blah-blah"); two husbands left her.

586 children. In a sense, the arrangement depended on the solidity of the establishment: "it was easier for him to get out" (M.L.). On the other hand, a woman might "get mad and go home and take her babies" (M.L.). Children who were weaned, say of five years and over, went to either grandparents' home. The parents-in-law and the separating spouses discussed these arrangements. Often the children shifted about or went into the new homes of either parent when they remarried.

[585] 586 837 Infidelity, especially on the woman's part, was not overlooked. Although virginity was not essential at marriage, constancy was expected from a wife. The husband was entirely within his rights in fighting and even killing the wife's lover. M.L. said that, if the lover had a wife, she too would "come out and fight the other woman." In other words, offended spouse [579] fought offending spouse of the same sex. When women fought they hit each other with their digging sticks or rock-lifters, pulled hair, and gouged with their long fingernails.[246]

[181] When the husband was unfaithful, the wife "couldn't do much" (M.P.). "She might get mad and go home but it didn't do any good if her husband didn't like her anyway" (M.L.). As usual in Yokuts culture, personality, not regulation, resolved each case according to circumstances.

586 Divorced men and women were entirely free to remarry, although protests might arise, and be ignored, from the parents of a wronged spouse. There was no return of espousal gifts, M.L. said, in broken betrothals (but one suspects that quarrels may have resulted if an equivalent value were not eventually returned to the losing family at some time; see the Chukchansi, Pt. II).

587 The levirate was commonly practised, but was not compulsory; the sororate was known but less common.

Widows remained single one to two years, a widower three months to one year. Again, personal desires and circumstances affected one's actions; the periods named were those conventionally recognized or expectable.

The Transvestite

838 [767] The berdache had a special place in Yokuts society as a handler and burier of the dead and singer of mourning songs. But of the Wukchumni informants interviewed only M.L. would admit their existence. She stated that a paternal uncle of hers was a transvestite. He dressed as a woman, gathered and pounded acorns, and made baskets in the company of women. The informant's grandmother told her not to make any objection to his presence on their seed-

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[246] M.L. said women often "got mad over their cooking" and a winatum would come around and make them keep quiet -- these were verbal battles.

838 gathering trips, that he would hurt no one, and not to laugh at him. He had no facial hair. "Finally," said M.L., "he took a man and that killed him. He said he hated women."

Death, Burial, and Mourning

764 A death in a family might be announced by any of its members publicly or to any of the deceased's relatives. Relatives in other villages were usually notified by a winatum. Burial usually took place the morning following the day of death; but if death occurred late at night, then burial would be postponed until the morning of the second day. Since relatives were normally within a day's traveling distance the corpse was kept until their arrival, but it was never kept more than two full days. The bereaved persons wept and wailed until inter-
[767] ment. Some professional corpse-handlers (tono ʼč·m) sang doleful songs. Especially grieved individuals fell on the ground and threw ashes over themselves. (M.P. saw her maternal grandmother do this when M.P.'s mother died.) The corpse of a person who died not
[482] more than one day's journey from home would be brought back on a litter by three or four men.

Immediately death was recognized, the corpse was prepared for exhibition and burial by some relative by marriage, i.e., one outside the individual's lineage. Thus a man's body would be washed, the hair washed and combed, and his best clothing put on by someone in his wife's family, his sisters-in-law or "aunts"-in-law, but never his mother-in-law. A piece of shell money was put in the mouth; the eyes were not closed. The wife herself often helped. The opposite, of course, held true at a woman's death. Children were given this preburial care by someone in their mother's family, not their father's to whose lineage they belonged (J.B.).

Another informant (M.P.) said that the family who would do the ritual washing at the Annual Mourning Ceremony (the "opposed" party called by the term guʼi) came at this time to prepare the corpse. Furthermore, just before the corpse was flexed and wrapped, it was the privilege of the guʼi to remove beads and other ornaments from it and keep them. Also, at this time the guʼi brought gifts of money to the relatives of the deceased, and in return they received gifts of food -- the jerked meat, dried fish, and salt -- which the mourners now could not eat. A family which was extremely sad would give away everything, especially if a daughter died (M.P.).

[767] Still another procedure was described by M.L., who said that the women buriers (tonoč·m) came to wash and dress the corpse, as well as to flex it for burial.

[431] All persons who came to visit the bereaved at the time of death received a little payment from the grieved relatives.

[P.1079] Wukchumni

764 All Wukchumni informants stated that it
767 was the women tonočɨm who finally arranged the corpse for disposal and that the disposal was invariably interment. Cremation they attributed to the Monachi and to "people up north."

764 M.S., the ancient Yaudanchi, said that flexed burial was always practised by Yokuts people, cremation only by the Mono. She knew of a Waksachi doctor, wai´'ɨs, who was cremated
[766] by his two wives, Mawoˊkono, a Wukchumni, and Pawečikuˊdo, an Entimbich. They lived in Drum Valley.

For burial the corpse was always flexed, knees to chin, hands to sides of face or temples. It was tied in this position, then wrapped -- in deerskins if the family had wealth, in tule mats for most people -- and tied again. After European blankets were introduced, blankets of the deceased were used as wrappings.

[767] Meanwhile other tonočɨm were digging a grave by means of digging sticks and shallow baskets (usually old seed-beaters). A grave was about 4 or 5 feet long and seldom shallower than 3 feet. Cemeteries were located one to two miles away from a village.

[482 The corpse was carried to its grave by one of the strong female tonočɨm by means of tump-
286] line and carrying nets. Such women had extra large and strong nets for this special purpose. As they walked to the cemetery they constantly called to the previously deceased to watch for this relative of theirs who was now coming. The corpse was carried three times around the grave and then deposited on its back. As she did this the carrier or leader of the tonočɨm said, "I have carried you, čoinemniu [Choinimni person, or whatever]. I have taken you to the graveyard. You are going to get buried. These people [accompanying relatives] are going home." Then the relatives added, "We are going to make a mourning ceremony for you. Don't come back. You must not see your people any more. You have to go north now. Ţɨpni is there. You have to stay there" (J.B.).

Then all present, tonočɨm and relatives, threw in earth and they all ran home lest the spirit follow them; no one might look back (M.P.). The earth was filled in and tramped down by the women who dug it (S.G.). No food, gifts, or any objects were left at the grave. According to M.P., on their return home the
767 mourners washed the tonočɨm and paid them for their services. They were under no restrictions of foods or activities beyond this time of cleansing.

[838] Whether all the tonočɨm were transvestites is a moot point.[247] Perversion (in these persons) was denied by M. and J.P., J.B., and S.G. M.P. pointed out that her husband's maternal grandmother was a funeral singer and

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[247] The native word, tonočɨm, has been used throughout this discussion in its meaning as "burier" or "corpse-handler," not "transvestite."

767 burier. Among the Yaudanchi, too, women who
had borne children were funeral singers, for
instance M.S.'s stepmother's mother, Yaka´nɨč,
and another known mother, Tu´nɨč. S.G.'s
denial is perhaps understandable in the light
767 of M.L.'s statement that one of his paternal
uncles was a transvestite, a fact S.G. de-
838 clined to admit. If any of the group of
tonočɨm was a transvestite, it was probably the one who actually carried the corpse to the grave. Informants all said this was "a big strong woman." There is also the question of how many berdaches in female guise would be available in any village or tribe; expectably they would be really few. S.G. stated that even in a large tribe of more than one village there would be about three women who normally looked after the tasks of burial; if there were not more than one in any community, the chief would appoint some other women to help her and these, too, would be called tonočɨm. Thus it seems possible that some, but not all, tonočɨm were transvestites. S.G. also said that, if a burier had female children, they would carry on the profession.

J.B. claimed that tonočɨm were of either sex and, like others, he denied their homosexuality or transmuted habits.

765 Mourning was marked by singeing off the
hair, the degree to which it was shortened in-
dicating the amount of discomfiture. A wife
would have her hair cropped short at her hus-
band's death; so would a daughter for her
father or mother. Men were less extreme in
their outward exhibition of grief. It was the
practice to forego washing and, to heighten the
disheveled appearance, pitch was applied to the
face and chest; on this dirt accumulated. It
[262] was permissible to wash the hands. Meat or
grease was strictly tabu, and an almost com-
plete fast was attempted by some mourners.
Absolutely no participation in public gatherings was permitted, although it appears that this prohibition was motivated by melancholy rather than by a sense of spiritual uncleanliness.

Possessions of the deceased person were hidden away until after the release of the Annual Mourning Ceremony. The bereaved did not want to look at these reminders of their sorrow.

Some women mourners wailed ritually morning and evening until after the private mourning ceremony. While in mourning retirement women spent all their time making baskets for the forthcoming mourning ceremonies.

Private mourning ceremony.--For about two or three months after the death of a spouse or parent, a bereaved man or woman refrained from eating meat, from washing more than the hands, and from participating in social activities. In the case of a spouse's bereavement the family of the deceased decided when the tabus should be lifted; that is, the relatives-in-law provided for a small cleansing ritual and

765 set the date for it. This reciprocal group was called gu'ui just as is the reciprocal tribe in the public Annual Mourning Ceremony.

On the day set the relatives-in-law, headed by one of their group, brought meat and clothing. With them came two or three singers (ahe´n·č). The singers performed morning and evening, and the chief mourner, his relatives, and any others of his tribe who wished all wept [152] in accompaniment. This performance was called paho´t·t and continued all night. Sometime during the night money was collected from the mourners by a winatum and the next day was taken to the reciprocants.

The next morning the washers' winatum got large baskets of water, and the visitors washed the faces of the chief mourners, combed their hair, and dressed them in new clothes. These chief mourners would be the immediately bereaved and close relatives, e.g., a man and his children mourning a dead wife, or parents and siblings mourning a dead child, etc. Thereafter the faces of less closely related mourners -- cousins, aunts, grandparents, etc. -- were washed.

Then a general feast was held, games were played, and one or two shamans might dance during the evening. The shamans were given money frequently in order to keep them dancing. Sometimes a woman or two would dance with them.

Thereafter the initial phase of mourning was over. A widower was free to remarry, [587] though many men did not do so at once. A widow was expected to remain single for at least a year. Any deeply bereaved person continued to maintain a depressed demeanor and refrained from meat until the annual mourning celebration was held. During the mourning period a woman busied herself making baskets which she gave to the relatives-in-law who washed her. She continued this industry in preparation for the Annual Mourning Ceremony.

Age Categories

561 From M.L.. Her distinctions are not very satisfactory from the point of view of European culture. My impression is that for Yokuts the span of life is, roughly, in four parts: birth to adolescence, adolescence to mature manhood (say 20 years), manhood, and old age.

wi´tep, wi´tipeč: baby, baby boy; any child under 3 years; literally, little one
gu´tum witep: baby boy
mo´k·s witep: baby girl
hi´am paha´ta witep gutum: now little male, i.e., boy [here referred specifically to Mason García, aged 5]
witep mu´k·s: little female, i.e., girl
hiam pahata gutum: now male; i.e., man [here referred specifically to Felix García, aged 10]

561 hiam pahata muk·s: growing girl, 8 to 10 years

hiam pahata wu´h'not: now big male, i.e., youth 10 to 20 years

goi´yuma: young girl or young matron (marriage not a factor), 10 to 20 years

wit·p mi´tač gutum: "young man," literally, little real male, 20 to 40 years

hiam pahata mitač muk·s: young mature woman, 30 to 40 years

pahata gu´tum: full-grown male (referred specifically to Henry Lawrence, 40 to 50 years)

moho´do gu´tum: old man, 50 or over

modo´'o mu´k·s: old woman, past childbearing

SUPERNATURAL POWER AND SHAMANISM

756 787 The informants S.G., J.P., M.P., M.L., and Tm.W. contributed to the general account in this section. The following introductory statement is from S.G.

> A doctor begins to practise a dream like a man would study a book. If he dreams, he goes out into the night and prays to his dream to help him. A man cannot be a doctor unless something tells him to be one. A man who dreams of curing somebody could be a doctor if he liked but he didn't have to do it. If a man wanted to stay ordinary he let his dreams pass, either because he didn't know how to ask their help or he didn't want to bother. Because if you start to get help you have to keep it up or you'll die. Haičača died because he made a mistake in practising.[248] If a man took his dream, he would fast all day and pray at night to his helper. In one or two years he might get enough power to cure. All that time he told nobody what he was trying to do.[249] He just kept dreaming and learning from his dream [helper], and only ate a little bit of food all the time.

Acquisition of Power

787 776 778 When a boy was about the age of ten or a little older, his dreams became significant as a source of power. A lad might decide beforehand what sort of helper he wanted, Rattlesnake, Bear, Coyote, Owl, etc., and he would be instructed to keep his mind upon this until he achieved it. All young people were encouraged to secure some supernatural help to aid them throughout life. The rigorous bathing and abstemiousness imposed upon adolescents was an aid to this end. The cleansing of one's stomach with the tobacco emetic, a method used by adults, and constant praying were thought to induce regular dreaming. When the sought-for

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[248] J.P. also referred to this but I could get no account of his death.

[249] Did not tell publicly; he might confide in his parents or a helpful uncle or grandparent.

787 dream occurred, the dreamer rose and went away
776 from surrounding dwellings to talk to his dream
778 helper, which was usually an animal or bird.
He took eagle down with him and sprinkled it
[237] over little oak trees. Nothing was seen [no
"vision"] during this interlude; it was merely
a prayerful acknowledgment of the previous
dream appearance of the helper, with a request
for continued assistance. S.G. said that the
dreamer should repeat this exit from the house
about every half-hour after waking from the
dream; other informants said that once was
sufficient. The real point was that the dreamer should not fall asleep again: probably some found it necessary to remain active lest sleep overcome them. If one fell asleep and the dream were forgotten, it would not only be "lost," but the helper would be so deeply offended it would never come again, or might even cause sickness. The day following the dream the dreamer fasted entirely and went off to some secluded spot to continue his prayerful contacts with his tutelary. A few puffs of smoke might be taken at that time.

All persons with supernatural power, and
[788] those respectful to this cosmic force, tɨpni,
spoke prayerfully to the sun, moon, and morning
star when they first saw them each day.

J.P. and M.P. described the procedure of seeking and dealing with supernatural power.

If a man wanted to live long or wished for
[237 other benefits, he would go to a chief and buy
432] some eagle down (čayi). (He could resell all
or any part of this if he wished.) Some winter night, no matter how cold, he would go off to a distant hilltop. He wore no clothes and went about midnight. Before starting he chewed a little tobacco and then spat it out. At the hilltop he would scatter eagle down and in a standing posture "talk to those two tiaʼas" (Eagle and Wolf [*sic*; Mountain Coyote]). He would enumerate all those things which he did not want to happen to him and all those which he did want. He stayed and talked this way for about thirty minutes; Eagle or Wolf would reply.

No fasting preceded such an expedition and
there was no particular name for the spot where
the prayers were made. A chief usually went
[423] repeatedly to the same place, which by general
consent was known to be his and avoided. Women
occasionally sought help in this manner but would not go so far from their home as men. The preferred time for seeking supernatural aid was in midwinter "about Christmas time during the bad month" and it was only done once a year.[250] (It was at this time that youths were forced to rise and bathe in icy water at night.)λ If the seeker passed a stream of water on the way

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[250] Reminiscent of the midwinter spiritual period of certain northwestern tribes (cf. Spier, Klamath Ethnography, 260, 266; Ray, Cultural Relations, 102 ff.).

λ [i.e. during the puberty and initiation ceremony.— Analyst]

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787 to his sanctuary, he would swim in it either
776 going or returning. If the stream were small
778 or merely a spring the supplicant would
sprinkle some water on himself.

When he returned home he immediately went
to bed. If a dream helper came to him in ensuing
sleep and it was the one which was wanted,
it was cherished thereafter, and he prayed
specifically to this helper when in sickness or
in trouble. He might, if he felt inclined, go
out again occasionally and pray during the
night but "he needn't go so far this time." One
of the chief benefits derived from having
[754] supernatural power was the assurance of long
life for, if the person were in danger of being
"shot" by a malicious shaman, his soul or life
substance "would not be there [where his body
was] but away off on that hill where he had
gone to talk."

787 "What a man dreamed he kept right on him":
he kept a tangible talisman symbolic of the
778 supernatural helper. A curing doctor might
have many helpers, all the birds for example,
and he could call on one or more or all of
these to aid him when he was curing a patient.
He had a talisman for each one.

[828] A dream in the daytime was useless; nor
was one on a full stomach of any significance
(S.G.).

756 Although theoretically any one might seek
power by this means, and the dream was its only
778 source, there was a tendency for shamanism to
"run in families" just as there was for other
787 occupations, such as hunting, and for the same
reason: the children were better instructed
by their already successful parents. So my
informants argued, and the assumption is reasonable.
There was no inheritance of power, or
of a shaman's position or function.

Any person, man or woman, could seek dream
help and use it to help himself or his family.
Women, however, never became professional.
"There were none up Wukchumni way, there was
just one down south" [that S.G. had heard of,
probably the oft-mentioned Poi'ɩn].

[776] The dream helper was called ai´nɩč (from
ana´ñatswad, to dream), as opposed to poša, the
lineage animal symbol acquired by kinship; the
same name was given the talisman representing
it.

787 Supernatural power (tɩpni) bestowed by the
dream helper imbued a talisman symbolic of the
778 helper which every tutelary's protégé possessed.
A person might have several talismans representing
various helpers. But once a talisman
had been used to accomplish some act of curing,
it was necessary to have another dream of the
helper it symbolized to revitalize it, so to
say. The word for any talisman was wai´'ač, a
word which also meant "necklace" (a string of
beads or anything hanging from the neck; a
talisman was sometimes worn that way). The
word ainɩč was more commonly used for a talisman
when it referred to the helper whose power

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778 was infusing it: the word wai'ač referred to the talisman merely as a material object. Although the material which constituted the talisman -- feathers, claws, or whatever -- might be bought, talismans themselves were never sold, once they became talismans. An
754 owner of one would fear its discovery by a
778 malicious shaman (they could be "heard" by powerful people and taken). Thus an ordinary person with private power, or a young shaman, might be forced to give up his talisman through fear of being sickened, should a shaman demand the object. A talisman so acquired could be used by its new possessor (see Anecdote 10, below).

787 Sometimes supernatural help came unsought in the following ways. Although J.P.'s ex-
778 amples are of Deer helpers, he said "any animal might act like that." Thus, if a man were
756 chasing a deer and the animal became exhausted, it might turn back and offer the hunter supernatural help to become a doctor. The man was under no compulsion to accept. Another way this might happen was for Deer to offer power to an abnormally successful hunter who had been killing many of these animals, until "they got tired of it." Then the head Deer (mets hoi) who lived in the deer cave[251] would go to the man in a dream and offer to make him a doctor, promising him great success and an assurance of wealth if he would cease hunting. The man might decline to become a shaman "but he would tell Deer that he would only kill one deer at a time after that and only when he needed it."

Dream Helpers

787 The special gifts bestowed by animals as dream helpers are formulated in the following
776 comments by informants. These powers are those randomly acquired by dreaming, not through a
825 lineage association.

Eagle.--Dreaming of Eagle only made people rich.[252] In no other way did Eagle help with dreams (S.G.). One did not ask him for general help in acquiring supernatural power, which might be expected from his chiefly position in the realm of birds and animals.

Falcon.--A person who had Falcon to help him could make a crowd quiet, just like a hawk makes chickens quiet. But Falcon was also dangerous as a helper: he sometimes made people wild, they would break out of any jail they were put in (S.G.).

Cougar.--A person who dreamed of Cougar, or especially of struggling with one, would get so much strength that he would not dare to hit anybody [lest he kill him]. Cougar would do one thing or the other: he made a man either

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[251] See section on hunting and treatment of deer; also Wobonuch account, Pt. II.

[252] That is, it could not make one a chief.

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787 a good hunter or a bad man. A man who wanted
776 to show he had power through Cougar would wear the claws tied on his arms with cougar sinew
825 (S.G.).

Antelope.--"The little yellow deer (ija ´haj·t) was a shaman. His body was just like a net: bullets went right through it. He helped a man to be a doctor, but one who went by this deer did not live long because there were too many rules for a person to follow" (S.G.).[253]

Deer.--If a man were chasing a deer and the animal got tired, it might come back to the hunter and tell him it would make him a powerful doctor (J.P.).

Owl.--The horned owl (hutu´du) w[illegible]he dream helper of the huhuna·dancer. "H[illegible]ould see anything" (M.L.).

Miscellaneous.--Cougar, Wildcat, and Buffalo [sic] (Elk) are three helpers for good hunters (S.G.).

Coyote, Weasel, and Skunk are doctors' helpers (J.B.).

Curing

756 All shamans had a collection of talismans,
778 which were usually kept in a sack of skin such as a weasel, otter, skunk, or small wildcat skin. The shouldered basket (osa) was so used sometimes. This collection was not kept around the house but was hidden outdoors in some rocky crevice. Anyone who touched it would get sore fingers or sore eyes. Because of their power these outfits were burned or buried at the owner's death. Only a relative who had at least as much power as the deceased shaman would dare to keep and use the talismans; if he
[764] tried to and were insufficiently powerful, he would die. However, shamans were buried like plain people; there was no special disposal.
[237] An essential to all curing equipment was eagle down, both loose and rolled into cord; all persons with ṭ·pni power, whether professional or not, wanted and used this material.

757 Shamans seem to have been called to cure headache, chest pains, chest congestion, heart trouble (vertigo), rheumatism, and chills and fever. Nausea was said to be uncommon, and
[753] persons suffering from this usually cured themselves by drinking herbal infusions. These ailments (save nausea) were all thought to be caused by the intrusions of some malignant object which might have been sent by a malicious shaman, by a ghost, or by an offended supernatural animal or bird. The first cause was regarded as the most probable, the last was least likely.

Chills and fever were usually accompanied by headache. To cure this a doctor put water on top of the patient's head and sucked without

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[253] That is, the person made a mistake and offended his helper who caused his death. This is a strange word for antelope, but what other can be meant?

757 cutting. "The chills and fever came right out of the top of the head" (M.P.).

If a person met a ghost (tawa´tsa) after
755 dark it might cause the intrusion of such objects as fingernails, hair, or clots of blood. These had to be sucked out from a cut. (See Anecdote 8 below.)

If a woman had an intimate man friend who died, he might come back and have intercourse with her. An orgasm during sleep was attributed to this. But a severe headache was believed to result, which had to be sucked out through the top of the head by a professional shaman.

754 Most illnesses were attributed to evil shamans who were thought to "shoot" the intrusive object in order to be called to treat the case and so receive payment. (See Anecdotes.)

J.B. said all sicknesses with pain were
[827] caused by shamans. Pain was called ho´ba (the word also for blood). Shamans shot pains into the lumbar region of woman's backs.

756 When curing, shamans wore the same dress
regalia as when dancing: feather headdress,
535 weasel-skin wristlets,[254] down-strand skirt,
feather bunches hanging from the wrists, ear
292 plugs, and other ornaments. Not every shaman
237 owned such a complete outfit: the most important item, after the feather hand bunch which after all was an implement of work, was the feather hat. Any man who was going to do something special in a ceremonial way would buy or borrow one of these, whether he was a shaman or not.

755 Cases of slight sickness did not call for singing or dancing. The doctor pressed his patient all over, asked for symptoms from both patient and attending relatives, and also asked about the patient's recent activities in order to explore the possibility of the sick man's having had some weird experience (such as meeting a ghost) to which the illness was attributable. Then he smoked, communed with his helper, and proceeded with whatever treatment he deemed best. A more stubborn case would call for singing and dancing. This was done in the house beside the patient and in the presence of the family. As the shaman danced he repeated aloud what his supernatural advisor was telling him. (But he was not possessed; it was not the helper's voice or words, but his own.) If the doctor "wanted to make a show," he would have the patient removed to the public fire where people assembled to watch. During this performance the shaman might hire a singer
755 to accompany him and a winatum to assist him.
It was the privilege of anyone who wished or
522 dared to give a clowning pantomime of the
shaman's activities, "but it was usually a

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[435] [254] These protected the vulnerable seat of supernatural power in the wrists. M.L. said a shaman would pay one hista (about 25 cents) for a weasel (aho'ot) skin.

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755 Coyote man" [i.e., of Coyote lineage] who did [522] so (S.G.).

The methods used by the shaman Haičača were offered by J.P. and M.P. as examples of the customary curing procedure. (See also Anecdote 10 below.)

Haičača had dreamed of Falcon (lɨmɨk). He [237] then bought a falcon head from someone, skinned it, leaving the beak intact, and filled the skin with fine tule shreds. He hung beads on threads run through its nostrils, and wrapped the whole thing in many strands of beads. These were never removed even when he was curing. When curing, Haičača dipped the falcon head in water and ran his hands over it. Then he laid it down and rubbed his hands over his patient. This was used on one case, then was useless until he dreamed of Falcon again.

He had an eagle head similarly prepared [237] with which he cured J.P.'s back.

He had a long bear claw (Bear was his family totem), which he used to cure a woman in 755 labor. It was used like the falcon head. He also blew on the woman's back and abdomen. 845 Kneeling before her, he placed his hands on her hips and gently shook her twice. "This made the baby come."

Haičača did not sing when curing: he con- 755 versed prayerfully with his supernatural helpers (ainɨč) and to Water which was helping him. Since the water he used was obtained at Gutsnumi, he addressed it as "Gutsnum." Water was [776 a powerful helper. At Gutsnumi there was an underwater person who was adverse to strangers 823] swimming there and pulled them under. Like eagle down, Water was a general assistant in supernatural matters and to dream of it was a propitious indication of its willingness to help one, yet it was not a tutelary in quite the same sense, not so personified perhaps, as a flesh-and-blood creature like Cougar, Eagle, Owl, etc.

Miscellaneous Powers

Contagious magic.--While the practice of 754 contagious magic was not developed, it was clearly recognized, and Wukchumni took pre- 789 cautions against leaving their hair, saliva, discarded clothing, etc., available to malicious shamans. S.G. denied the practice to the Wukchumni, saying that they left their hair and soiled clothing wherever they wished; he attributed the evil to "southerners." It is difficult in cases described, to distinguish between this idea and that of poisoning, and I am not sure that a difference exists, save that in poisoning an actual contact between the person and the poisoned object seems to be necessary. In either event some very personal possession of the intended victim, such as hair combings, or a piece of dress, is treated with some virulent material or "poison." Whether the

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754 poison is real or imaginary I could not dis-
789 cover.[255]

Airshot.--Shamans of any standing were believed capable of sending intrusive objects into other persons. Such objects were called by the word for arrowhead, tu´yoš, in English, "airshot." Properly speaking, airshot is the invisible shot which shamans used in the Shamans' Contest, but the English and native words are used loosely for all intrusive objects. These objects might be grains of sand, a beetle, a cougar's whisker, or a shaman's own beard hair, fingernails or seeds. "Some kinds of shot knocked you down while others hardly hurt at all. The same doctor could make [i.e., propel] different kinds" (S.G.).

All shamans used a basketry tray (tai'iwan,
656 Wukchumni, bo´gtu, Patwisha), similar to the
285] woman's gambling tray but larger and handsomer,
as the basis or foundation from which the shot was propelled. The shot was set off either by blowing across the tray or slapping it face downward on the ground.

The invisible airshot was derived from the
[821] sun. It was made from nothing (i'a´mči, lit.,
756 nothing). The shamans prayed to the sun,
grabbed toward it with the hands, and then
754 rubbed them on the tray where the shot appeared
789 looking like buckshot, fish eggs, seeds,
pebbles.[256] This all disappeared when the shamans again rubbed their hands over the tray.

According to J.P., this same airshot could
825 be transformed into living creatures. Thus a
shaman would "blow airshot off his tray and it
756 would change into an owl that went and talked
789 to the doctor's victim. Sometimes it would be
a coyote -- they are mean just like owl." While
754 owls and coyotes are the customary servants of
shamans, other informants indicated that these were living animals, not magically created ones, which were under shamans' commands.

756 **Transformation**.--The Wukchumni believed
that persons with supernatural power, not
789 necessarily shamans, could transform themselves
under conditions of great stress into the form
778 of their animal dream helper. (See Holoanči's experience, above, and Anecdote 4, below.)

Bear transformation was believed possible
[613] for persons of the Bear lineage, provided they
had dreamed of Bear and had sufficient ṭɨpni to
accomplish it. Men did this, never women. It was not a common practice and I could secure no stories or anecdotes concerning it, and at least one informant denied it *in toto*.

789 **Flying power**.--The power of flying through
space, while mentioned, was only incidental.
756 Thus in an escape, for example, the distressed
person suddenly found himself a safe distance away from his threatened danger. The power

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[255] Vide J.P.'s experiences, Gayton, Yokuts-Mono Chiefs and Shamans, 403.

[256] Whatever simile informants used in attempting to describe airshot, the common element was a granular aspect.

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789 was not developed as a specific ability by Wukchumni shamans as it was with those of Western Mono.

Rain-making

No Wukchumni or Gawia had power to control weather, to the knowledge of present-day informants. The only person M.P. ever saw affect the weather was a doctor named Ela´mki who came up from Kern River. He visited her uncle, Haičača, who asked him to make rain. Elamki had a basket of water, and as he sang, he dipped the end of a special sort of stone in the water and with it sprinkled water in all directions. Then he picked up handfuls of earth and threw after the water. Then he lay down to sleep. He had been asked to make a hard rain. And so he did. It rained so hard that Haičača had to give Elamki a dollar and ask him to make it stop.

Killing of Shamans

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754 Shamans were feared because of their ability to cause sickness and death. Not only did they secure fees by this means, but by threats of misuse of their power were able to demand "gifts." Three anecdotes of malicious Wukchumni shamans have been previously published.[257]

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756 When a shaman was believed to be a public menace, the chief of the village of his victims would give those who wanted revenge permission to kill him. Usually the outranged relatives of the shaman's most recent victim would be the ones to do this; they might be joined by other avengers. Sometimes a man who was known for his reckless bravery (hi'auta) would be hired to do the killing. There was a risk even in killing a shaman, for his powerful ghost might return to do further harm.

683 Such killings, however, were not infrequent, and the shaman who lived above suspicion was fortunate. Apparently the desire for wealth and social power caused shamans to pursue their uneasy life. "Doctors did not like to hear shooting -- they always ran" (J.B.).

A typical account of a shaman's death was given by M.S., the Yaudanchi. Her mother remarried, this time to Ki´paṭ, a Patwisha [?] shaman. They all lived at Čihoi´li. Someone "from near Clovis" (Gashowu territory) had a grudge against Kipat and enlisted the aid of Košowi, an Entimbich shaman, for revenge. Košowi induced Kipat to drink a decoction of jimsonweed and, while the latter was in a stupefied condition, the aggrieved man came up and killed him. After Kipat was buried, a tremendous wind arose, so great that "it fright-

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[257] Gayton, Yokuts-Mono Chiefs and Shamans, 394-395, 403.

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683 ened all the Indians. This was because Kipat had so much ṭ•ṗni."

The Shaman's Cache

756 778 It was believed that most shamans had private caches (pa´čki) where they kept not only their sacred outfits of talismans, but their wealth, and even the stuffed skins of dead women adorned with beads and other valuable ornaments. The cache would be in a cliff or rock pile; cracks indicated the door, which opened at the owner's command. [531] The rocks were usually painted; in fact, any rock with pictographs was thought to be a cache. A rock pile in Drum Valley was shown me as a shaman's cache; there was another at Hoganu.[258]

756 778 823 Both S.G. and M.P. described a big cache near Outsnumi which they said was in a big hill known as Bell Bluff, called Čoiš•šiu (lit., dog place). This was on Kaweah River directly opposite the old village site, now known as [531] Terminus Beach, and was marked with pictographs. (These I was unable to find; M.P.'s children, who started as guides, became frightened and ran home.) S.G. said that there were several inner chambers "each as big as a house" and that they were filled with native treasures (baskets, beads, feather ornaments, etc.) and female effigies of stuffed skins. When one walked over the hill one could hear it was hollow, "your footsteps sound different." S.G. expressed apprehension lest the hill might some day be dynamited, for if so, "all kinds of bad diseases would fly out over the country."

825 778 539 M.P. had a frightening experience there (hence her children's nervousness). The rocks of the bluff are painted with pictographs, she said, but she would not accompany me there.

756 Long ago her uncle warned her not to look at them as she would get sore eyes. Moreover there was a beautiful weird dog there which came out of the rocks to attack investigators. However, she and her cousin went down there one evening just at dusk. A ghost came out after them. They jumped to one side of the trail and "it went right by and on down the hill looking like fire." M.P. believed that the cross she was wearing at the time saved her. When the girls reached home the uncle chided them for going down there. He said that in that hill were [the skins of] beautiful boys and girls stuffed with tule, and each one had a basket of money. The shamans had eaten their flesh and liver. The dog which guarded the cache had a snake's body and human hands for feet. A white man once saw it, shot at it, and died the next morning.

The belief in these guardian dogs explains the common term for shamans' caches, wherever

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[258] Shown in Steward, Petroglyphs of California, 110-139, figs. 51, 52.

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756 located, Čoiš.šu (dog place); the correct name is pački.

Anecdotes of Supernatural and Curing Experiences

787 776 1. J.P.'s grandmother, Pono´sa, dreamed of a roadrunner which came and hopped on her hand; it told her how to help women in labor. She was not a professional doctor: "this was just her ain.c" [dream helper].

[752] 2. J.P.'s maternal great-uncle, Holo'anši, was a snake handler; J.P.'s poša was Rattlesnake.[259] Once J.P. was bitten by a rattlesnake; he went to his uncle, who cut off the snake, put it in a bag, and later released it near a rock pile. The uncle sucked the wound and put ashes on it; he told J.P. never to kill a snake.

3. In 1926, J.P.'s horse, while grazing, was bitten on the nose by a rattlesnake. It was sick for a week yet recovered although J.P. did nothing to cure it. J.P. said, "It got well because Rattlesnake is my poša. Anybody else's horse would have died. Yes, sir!"

787 789 776 4. J.P.'s maternal great-uncle, Holo'anši was of the Rattlesnake lineage. He had the special power of being invulnerable to bullets, having "dreamed of a gun that didn't go off" [*sic*]. He dreamed thus:

He was down in a gulley. Two men came along and shot at him, but the bullets did not penetrate his clothes. They called to him to come up, but instead he flew out of his clothes and landed on the far side of the [Kaweah] river. There he turned into a rattlesnake "so that even the horses could not see him."

An analogue to this dream occurred soon after. The old man was down by the river when two white men, one of whom was John Doe,[260] came by on horseback. They called to him and, when he did not respond, shot at him. "The bullets came right at him but didn't hurt him." He called on his poša: instantly he turned into a rattlesnake and slipped away in the underbrush.

J.P. added that dreams of invulnerability were common.

756 789 237 5. The power of flying, known to northern neighbors of the Wukchumni, was mentioned by S.G.

A shaman from Kings River came down to a Wukchumni celebration a long time ago. He was going to be killed by some avengers, but someone warned him. He had three strings of eagle-down cord each about five feet long. At this ceremony he walked out across the assembly space dragging the talismans behind him. Suddenly he vanished from sight. After the trouble was over he reappeared again.

756 787 6. J.B. told of a man who dreamed he was chased by a ghost (tawatsa) all the way from Dunlap to Drum Valley. When he arrived there, a shaman already knew what had happened and told of it. "Doctors always knew what other people dreamed."

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[259] He followed his maternal lineage totem because his paternal ancestry was part white.

[260] J.P. added, "John Doe went blind because he wasn't a good man. He had a lot of white doctors to help him but he didn't treat them right."

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756 7. J.B. accused Čokonɨk, a Choinimni shaman of great power, of making his son ill.[261] 754 "He was a big doctor. He thought I had lots of money so he made my boy sick. He made him sick and then cured him." Čokonɨk used the sucking method; he exhibited a fingernail as the intrusive cause. During the treatment he talked to Owl, asking that tutelary to help him and telling Owl what he was going to do. He also rubbed the patient with a talisman (ainɨč). He was well paid with money and baskets.

755 8. M.P. lived with her maternal grandmother after her own mother died. Both women mourned deeply for this death. M.P. became very ill from prolonged crying and fasting. She developed a chronic headache and could not see. Her uncle called a shaman. When he [304] arrived, she was in a stupor. He cut her between the eyebrows,[262] at the back of the neck, and on the left breast. He sucked and extracted a lot of her own mother's hair from these wounds. The hair he wrapped around an eagle feather and then burned the whole thing. He explained that her mother had been trying to take her [to the afterworld], that the grandmother's continuous crying for her dead daughter had thus brought her back. Then M.P. was "able to get right up and eat."

[778] 9. M.P. had a headache on another occasion. The shaman who treated her [Haičača] had an owl head and a falcon head as talismans. He wet these in a small basket of water from Gutsnumi, which he kept calling on for help. He pressed the wet objects on her head and blew on it twice. Then he shook her head gently but rapidly back and forth. Then he cut between her eyes and sucked out "a little plain blood" which he burned.

756 10. The following affairs of Haičača were recounted by his niece, M.P.

Haičača (Jim Hangton) was one of M.P.'s maternal uncles. He became a shaman although his father was not one: Bear was their family totem. When he was young he did not eat any meat; he spent most of his time outdoors, away from the village, hunting. What game he brought home his grandmother skinned and cooked. The lad became hungry and asked for some meat, but his grandfather told him "not to look at meat, to just eat some acorn mush and go to bed." Haičača did as he was told.

During the night the old man poked the boy and his four brothers with a long pole, telling them to get up and go swimming as it was nearly morning. Sometimes he made them go in the middle of the night.[263] "The boys got awful tired of this."

756 Finally one night Haičača dreamed an enormous frog came to him. The frog said, 787 "Hello, napaš [brother's son, w.s.]. I will be your guiya [paternal aunt]. I will help you when you need me." The next morning the boy told the grandfather his dream. He was sent to swim and then to hunt until the afternoon. When he came home, his grandmother gave him a little

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[261] J.A., a Chunut informant, also accused Čokonɨk of malpractice (cf. Gayton, Yokuts-Mono Chiefs and Shamans, 395).

[262] The scars are visible, as they are on other informants who have been subjected to this method of curing.

[263] Note that all the boys were subjected to the rigorous night bathing but only one became a shaman.

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756 acorn mush. He went swimming in the middle of
the ensuing night and then came home and slept
787 until dawn "when opod [sun] called him." He
swam again and ate a tiny piece of meat for
breakfast. Haičača continued this routine
until both his grandparents died.

After that he went to live "over Telamni
way." While there, he dreamed of Crow (ho´toi),
[778] who promised him aid "if he would only believe
in what he was dreaming." He secured a crow's
wing which, as a talisman (ain·č), he kept
close to his person. About a month later a
shaman who came down from Dunlap engaged
Haičača in a gambling game. This doctor could
hear the crow talisman (hotoi ain·č) singing
under Haičača's clothes: "It kept singing
[754] 'kah! kah! kah!'" The shaman demanded the talisman.
Haičača denied that he possessed one,
"but it was no use." The doctor threatened to
make him sick and kill him if he did not give
it up. So Haičača gave up the crow wing and he
cried for an entire week over the loss.

At about this time Haičača's mother's
756 cousin, whom he went to visit at Naranjo, gave
him some jerky. He took the meat home and ate
787 it. Soon his heart began to palpitate. He
754 started to go to Dohem [?], where he was working,
and after crossing the river he coughed
up blood. It was at Dohem that he had had his
first dream of Frog, and when he reached there
he vomited. He remembered his dream and called
on Frog to help him. Down at the spring where
he went to drink, a big frog came to him. The
man had lain down by the water and the frog
jumped on his stomach. At once he vomited an
object that "looked like blood all wrapped up
in coyote hair." Then a whole chorus of little
frogs came up around his feet and sang.
Haičača felt better at once and, rising, went
right back to Naranjo. His "uncle" ran off at
his approach and did not return until Haičača
left.

Subsequently Haičača went down to Tulare
to shear sheep. One night, while his vest was
hanging on his bed, someone put poison on the
shoulder of it. When he put on the garment,
his shoulder felt like fire. He kept the vest,
however, and a little later a woman "burned it
up for him." Instead of being cured, the
shoulder became worse; his shoulder, chest, and
finally arm, hand, and foot swelled up badly.
"He nearly died." How he was cured of this
ailment M.P. did not know, "unless by a Catholic
priest's prayer."

756 Haičača became a good doctor; "he never
hurt anybody." He would have taught M.P. to be
a doctor "if she had been a boy. There were
lots of women doctors south of Kern River."

[237] Haičača once cured M.P.'s husband, J.P.,
of a lame back. For this he used the eagle-head
talisman for rubbing. "Then he cut and
sucked out blood in the shape of two little
frogs."

546 11. The only case known to my informants
of a water creature serving as a family totem
613 (poša) was that of H.L.'s family. M.P. told
of it. H.L. himself is "master of Otter"
825 (naha'at). Neither H.L. nor his sister will
eat fish "because their father was sick for a
long time from fish."[264]

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[264] On the contrary, Fish, as his poša, cured him in both illnesses recounted. The statement is merely a case of inversion due to H.L.'s inadequate English.

755 Kawu was H.L.'s father and mother's cousin of M.P.; he was a Yauelmani. He was ill for a very long time, and a shaman who diagnosed his case said "that he had a water snake in his stomach that kept trying to get out through his navel." But the shaman was afraid tc cut deep enough to suck it out. Finally Kawu went up Kern River to a big waterfall called Kono'ɨ'lkɨn. Fish was his poša so he called on the fish to help him. He dived into a deep pool below the fall. While he was under the water a rainbow trout (epɨs) went down into his stomach. When Kawu returned home, he lay down outside his house and told his wife to tell everyone in the village to come near. This was done. Then his wife called to the fish, and it popped out of his mouth. Then Kawu sat up and told his friend, Noho'no, to cut the fish open and see what was in it. Inside the fish was a bloody water snake. "Kawu got well right away."

A little later on Kawu was bitten on the ankle by a rattlesnake. The snake fell over, stunned, on the ground. Said Kawu to the snake, "Why do you bite me? Do you want to kill me?" Then he ran to the river and, calling on his poša [Fish], jumped in. Immediately many trout came, sucked his wound, and saved him. The water was thick with fish. "He went home and sent everybody down to gig them."[265]

787 12. If an undesirable dream came to a person, he was privileged to ignore it. J.P. dreamed about an owl which told him he was going to be a curing doctor. But as J.P. did not want to be a doctor, "he didn't pay any attention to it."

13. Similarly J.P. rejected offers of Rattlesnake to make him a Rattlesnake shaman.

[756] J.P.'s grandfather was a Rattlesnake shaman, and this reptile was the family totem. "The snakes would only go to somebody whose ancestors were Rattlesnake people." J.P. dreamed of rattlesnakes many times. People wanted him to participate in the annual Rattlesnake Ritual that was held to prevent people from being bitten. He dreamed a rattlesnake came right up to his feet. It said to him, "When are you going to start that dancing?" And J.P. replied, "I am not going to start that dancing. I'm not going to handle you."

14. M.L. said that when she was young she dreamed about her future husband. Later she dreamed she was talking to her children and, as they grew up, this helped her to talk with and advise them. [178 262] She added that in old times, when the meat tabu was more strictly observed, an ill person would dream of something that would help him and he would begin to feel better. "That doesn't happen any more because people eat too much meat and grease."

Miscellaneous Practices and Beliefs

789
825 A woman going seed-gathering in the spring and summer would smear her forearms and legs

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[825] [265] There are a few other instances of a man's indifference to the killing or eating of his poša although he would not do either himself. The attitude of informants was that "it didn't matter," particularly if the animal involved was a common food (cf. Michahai and the winatum's pigeon booth, Pt. II).

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789 825 [301] with tobacco as rattlesnakes were said to abhor the smell and would go away. Shiny ornaments, such as an abalone-shell pendant, were worn in the fields in spring as they would startle the snakes and make them rattle.

789 301 821 But such ornaments were dangerous to wear at other seasons because they attracted thunder [lightning]. S.G. related the following as an illustration.

When S.G. was about fifteen, his father remarried. The new wife had a small boy whom the father hated. The man put an abalone pendant (tu´ta) on the child and told him to go sit under a certain tree. Soon the lightning struck the youngster and his dog. S.G. was not far away, and carried the burned child home. This happened at Pupunao.

To wear an abalone ornament on any cloudy day would invite a thunderstorm, according to M.P.; M.L. said the ornaments offended Thunder, "made him get mad."

755 [823] A black substance from underground (bitumen?) was heated on a rock, then applied to the top of the head to rid one of bad dreams caused by ghosts.

825 Goldfinches (soi´soi) sat out in the brush and whistled to people when it was time for them to gather blackberries. M.L. knew of no other bird or animal who did such a thing.

776 At Gutsnumi, in the bottom of the swimming pool, lived an old woman named Moča´ta who pounded acorns all day long. If a stranger went to swim there, she would grab his feet and pull him down to her house. (Not long ago a flood came bringing quantities of sand which spoiled the pool as a swimming place.)

552 A railroad train is called hu´da (lit., it cries) in reference to its whistle.

PLEASURE DANCES

796 Evenings spent in pleasure with professional entertainment occurred not more than once a month in any one village, as there was so much intertribal and intervillage visiting for all such festivities. The kind of dances that were given by the shamans depended upon the chief's choice. His winatum would tell the shamans what to dance. Besides the regular schedule of [535] dances -- Bear Dance, Snake Ritual, Beaver Dance, etc. -- there was the dance for entertainment called the kam or watiyod performed by shamans all the year round.

Kam

535 The kam was one of a few dances performed purely for the entertainment of spectators. Whether the dance was always the same, i.e., had specific songs and steps which differenti-

535 ated it from all other pleasure dances, cannot
be said, as no informant could give the necessary details. For no ascertainable reason it is referred to in English as the "war dance." J.B.'s account follows.

Tepo´sa, a Wowol, and another man named Ana´ki, danced this at times of celebration, particularly at the close of a mourning ceremony. "It was only done at a very big fandango. Bob Bautista danced this any time to make money but that wasn't done in the old days."

The dancers wore the regulation feather
skirt and headdress. Teposa had his face painted entirely black; Anaki had one-half his face
black, the other side white. Both men had
[302] their bodies covered with short horizontal
white stripes. Two singers accompanied them,
[533] Ka´tai and Yawa´umi; they were Teposa's sister's
sons.

535 When it was the appointed time after a
mourning ceremony for a dance, such as the kam,
574 several dancers from visiting tribes would take
turns performing for an hour or so. In this
way a keen sense of competition was created and
the dancers catered to an appreciative audience.

535 The dancers who participated in the all-
night dance after a mourning ceremony were al-
765 ways doctors, according to J.P. They would be
[756] sought from among the visitors, as would be the
singers. There would be four to six men
dancers who stood in a row, while one woman
only stood in front of them. Whatever woman
was asked for this role had to comply, and she
would be given about ten cents (a half hista of
bead money) for doing it. "If she didn't know
how to dance, she just stood there until she
got her money and then ran off."

533 The singers used clapper accompaniment
534 (the cocoon rattle was used only for the Bear
Dance and Snake Ritual). There were three or
765 four of them. One man sat beside them and
collected the money for the dancers and singers;
a man who did this was termed winatum for the
541 time being. J.P. said that in the old days
"when the money was beads, it was so piled up
you couldn't carry it off in a blanket."

When a chief wanted to make money he would collect some dancers and singers and visit other villages, or often the performers themselves would go without a chief's sponsorship. Of course, they could not give an entertainment at any place visited without having the permission of the chief of that place. When a chief accompanied them as "manager," he collected the money and distributed it among the performers. The singers were invariably paid "because it is hard work to sing all night."

552 The name "war dance," which has become
attached to this shamans' pleasure dance (kam
535 or watiyod), J.P. regards as entirely due to
white persons' misunderstanding. No fight or

552 hostile intention was ever associated with this
536 dance in practice or by tradition.

Watiyod

552 The wa´tiyod was a dance performed by
shamans for the entertainment of onlookers and
756 for making money for themselves. Usually two
or more women participated. The accompanying
[534] singers used the clapper (taowɨd). The dance
could be made at any place at any season. While
it was wholly profane in character, it was,
nevertheless, performed only by doctors.

J.B.'s account is localized at Šiyedu, a Wukchumni seed-gathering camp.

This dance was done by Watišti (Watisti) and his mother Boyiwan (Poi'on).[266] This was the only "pleasure" dance they made and the only dance performed at the camp called Šiyedu. It was done every month or so, "whenever the doctor wanted to make a little money, or somebody else, like the tia'a, asked him to." Men, women, and children assembled to watch.

Watisti wore the vertical feather and
feather wreath headdress, a feather skirt, and
carried feather bunches (wač´am) in each hand.
[302] His face was painted entirely black, and short
perpendicular alternating black and white
stripes covered his torso. Black and white
stripes encircled his arms and legs.

Poi'on, who danced with him, had eagle
[302] down glued across her forehead, wore a deer-
skin apron, and carried hand feathers. Her
face bore alternate stripes of black and white
running obliquely from beneath the eyes to the
edge of the jawbone. Her body was unpainted.

535 Their accompanist was Ponato (Bill Gar-
field), who "always sang at Šiyedu." He wore
533 no paint or ornaments, merely carrying his
elderwood clapper. Beside him was a basketry
tray on which spectators deposited small sums
of money as payment. The singer received one-
half the total amount.

Both dancers sang in unison with the singer. The man's step was the usual stamping with high-lifted knees. Although he remained nominally in the same place, he turned about facing this way and that at will. The woman kept her feet parallel, close together, and took sidewise jumps, moving her hands in unison and in the same direction as her feet. She covered more ground than her partner, although her movements were less facile.

The performance began at dark of a summer evening, about eight o'clock, and might continue until midnight. Each dance unit lasted three to five minutes, during which time the singer repeated the same song two or three times. Then there would be a rest, and then again another song and dancing for a few

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[266] See the Bankalachi account of these people who were "southerners" living at Šiyedu.

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535 533 minutes. When the dancer wanted his singer to start or stop, he held his hand feathers out toward him. For each dance unit there was a new song although the steps remained the same.

J.B. was unable to repeat any of the songs, but he said their content dealt solely with the animal creatures who inhabited the world during the mythical prehuman era, they were all about Eagle, Coyote, Dove, etc. He did not think there was any defined order for the series of songs.

535 The informant M.L. used to participate in the watiyɔd as one of the female dancers along with her mother, mother's sister, and mother's brother. She said that nearly always the women would be some kin of the men performers. She described the affair as follows.

'This dance could be held at any time of year -- whenever a doctor wanted to make some money or was asked to perform. Usually it was an evening spectacle. The village winatum would build a fire at the dance space, a large one in winter, a small one in summer. Spectators brought tule mats and sat around to watch. They also brought a bit of money as payment, which was collected by the singer accompanists who shared in the profits.

535 302 Usually there were four or five men and four women participants. The men wore feather skirts (ṭuˊhun), bracelets and anklets of crow feathers, and each carried one large black quill in the right hand. Their bodies were painted with horizontal stripes of white. The women wore deerskin aprons (some of them trimmed with rattling deer hooves), bead necklaces, ear plugs, and carried a feather bunch in each hand. Their faces were covered with red paint and over it a horizontal row of white dots crossed the cheeks and nose.

535 533 Two or three singers sat at one side using clappers. The doctors had their own songs, which the singers knew, and all sang together. And, said M.L., the women sang also in a loud shrill manner.

The dancers all stood in a row with two women taking the end positions. The men stamped heavily with each foot, swaying the feather quill back and forth, while the women jumped from side to side with feet clamped together, moving their feather bunches in unison with their feet. If a "tiya wanted a dancer to show off he would have his winatum call to him to step out of line and dance alone for a bit." A winatum could also call out mistakes made by the dancers. M.L. could not say what such errors might be other than getting out of step with one's companions. A singer might attract attention to a dancer's mistake by stopping his clapper, patting his hand against his mouth and uttering a loud ululatin "Ha-a-a-a," at which everybody laughed.

533 The songs were "all about animals." A few M.L. recalled appear below. She said the first

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533 two were sung by Chunut doctors,[267] the other
four were Wukchumni.

533 1. ta´wɨt ṭɨ´nima tawatawɨl [repeat 4 times]
dead maybe motion of hand feathers in
dancer's hands
539

soisoi ma´yɨn tawɨt tɨnima
Goldfinch calls dead maybe

ho ma ta´niša tawɨt ṭɨnima
are you going dead maybe

soisoi mayɨn
goldfinch calls

Perhaps dead? feathers moving
Perhaps Goldfinch tells [you] to be dead
Perhaps you are going to the dead
Goldfinch is calling [you]

2. hiwai´tɨn ni
walking I [it is understood Bear is
speaking]

hu´nai hiwaitɨn ni
nothing walking I

hunai hoi´yuwo nɨm
nothing come back my

ča´wai hunai o´yai
someone nothing calls

I am walking
I am just walking for nothing
My return is for nothing
Someone is calling me for nothing

3. so´kšok šo´kšok ṭu´mɨt na ṭɨpni ṭumɨt
na ṭɨpni
kingfisher kingfisher cover me power cover
me power

šo´ho· šo´ho· na· na´hɨt na· na´hɨt
[nonsense line]

kate´ wahɨŋ na
doing circle I

Kingfisher, Kingfisher, cover me with your
power
I am circling about [as a kingfisher flies
when hunting]

4. ñohõ´ʼõ o´mta na ma hanɨ´nwa
Bear hunting I you all

ma ah´taha na
you hunt I

ṭepa´ne ma
power you

Bear, I am hunting you all
You have great supernatural power

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[267] Later on, while we were working with the Chunut at Lemoore, little girls were overheard singing the first song (1). Kroeber gives several Yokuts songs in The Yokuts Language, 363-372.

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533 5. aiyama´tɨn na pa´nɨn
539 worthless I country [it is understood
Coyote is speaking]

he´yɨn do´mto panɨn aiya´mči
they call mountain country worthless

I'm worthless
The mountain people call me worthless

6. ta'a´nad uku´n ču´haš pokai´du
I going drink finished [?] spring water

wa do´mtuk Wukediu
far mountainward Wukediu [name of spring]

I am going to drink spring water
Far up the mountain at Wukediu

524 883 Another dance or game was described most incoherently by M.L. She could give it no name and said it was participated in by young people on moonlight nights. Essentially it was a kind of "roughhouse." Girls who did not want to take part would be seized by winatums, laughingly scolded, and thrown into the group.

VARIOUS CEREMONIES

Jimsonweed Ritual

796 The following account combines information from M.L., M.P., S.G., and J.B., who were in agreement on all essential points. Not one of these informants, however, admitted taking jimsonweed and no subsequent information led me to doubt their veracity. A participant would have been preferable as an informant.

796 262 276 The ceremony of jimsonweed drinking (taña´yɨn; ta´ñai, jimsonweed) was always held in the early spring about February to March; "while the sagebrush was in bloom" (M.P.). Soon after the winter solstice a winatum would go through the village saying that all those who wished or intended to participate in the next ceremony must cease to eat meat. Not only did the prospective drinkers observe this tabu but also "their parents and everyone connected with it" [i.e., specifically the leader of the ritual] must abstain also (M.P.). Thereafter only acorn dishes and clover were eaten until twelve days after the rite had taken place -- roughly speaking, a period of three months.

796 787 276 Adolescent boys and girls partook, but not under compulsion. The general purpose was an insurance of future good health and consequent long life; some youths hoped to obtain supernatural helpers by this means; much secret knowledge was discovered during the coma, e.g., who were evil shamans and who their prospective victims, or the causes of peculiar and chronic illnesses. Normally jimsonweed was taken but

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796 once in a lifetime; a man who sought extra
supernatural power might take it each year, or
787 every few years, provided he observed the usual
tabus. A man who desired special power was not
276 differentiated from other participants during
the ritual but behaved and was treated like the
novices.

796 The ritual leader was "any man" who knew
how to administer the drink safely and who was
276 of good character, i.e., "who had never killed
anyone, or told lies; he must be a kind man"
(M.P.). The leader and local chief, after consultation, set the day for the rite, and it
was announced twelve days in advance by a winatum.
[262] Thereafter the participants drank only
thin acorn mush. Meanwhile the grandmothers
[603] (both paternal and maternal) of the novices
went to the leader and arranged the details of
their grandchildren's participation. An experienced participant did not necessarily need a sponsor, but if he were a shaman he might have his winatum help him through the crisis.

At dawn of the day set, the leader with two winatums went through the village calling the boys and girls to come drink jimsonweed with them. They assembled and all went for a long walk or run while the leader procured his plants. At the village of Gutsnumi, for example, the procession ran, with the leader ahead and a winatum before and behind the line of youths, along the trail to Čoiš.šiu (Bell Bluff). At the beginning of the trail an arc of willow withes, about three feet high at the center point, was erected over which each person must jump. One failing to clear it, or tripping, was believed to have broken the meat tabu and was sent directly home.[366] "There was no use keeping on as tañai wouldn't work on anybody who had eaten meat" (M.P.). The total length of the run was about two miles. The winatums returned with the youths while the leader dug the jimsonweed.

The plants he brought back to a bedrock mortar where the participants' mothers were gathered with baskets of water. After the man pounded the weeds, he put them to soak in the water and it was allowed to stand for a while. (M.L. said "a woman dressed up with beads soaked the tañai in water." This does not fit with other information, though all persons were dressed in their best, even if merely onlookers.)

Meanwhile the drinkers were taken to the assembly space where blankets were laid out for them. Each child had a blanket, an individual drinking basket, and two women sponsors [the grandmothers?] present. Then the leader
796 brought the decoction and made a speech telling
the youths to pay attention to what they would
276 see in their dreams and to fear nothing, saying
787 that, if they dreamed of some particular bird

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[366] For mythical reference to this practice see Latta, California Indian Folklore, 71.

796 or animal, it would become their helper in time
276 of need. Then each boy and girl was given a
[787] drink of the liquid which was dipped up in the
individual drinking baskets. M.P. thought the
quantity was about one to two cupfuls; sometimes
a second dose had to be given if the
initial amount was not effective. The drinkers,
wrapped in blankets, remained near the central
fire as a preventive of chill, an effect of the
narcotic which was recognized as dangerous. As
each one became unconscious, he was carried
into a shelter where his women attendants took
charge. One held his head in her lap, the
other his feet, and both gently rocked the
child and sang as he slept. The mother and
father stood by watching; they could not be
present if they had eaten meat. The chief function
of the attendants was to guard against
flight: "sometimes a child would rise right up
in fright and rush out never to be seen again"
(M.P.). If this happened the leaders of the
ritual were held to blame for carelessness.
Such flights usually occurred in the morning
following the drinking, as a heavy coma set in
during the first twelve to eighteen hours.
Sometimes a light gruel was given the drinkers
796 as they stirred and became active. About the
time they were expected to awake several women
276 would sing gentle "waking" songs. M.L.'s
mother sang on such occasions though M.L. could
533 give no reason other than that she often sang,
danced, etc., in public performances. The
songs were simple, saying "You drank tañai, you
should wake up," or "Get up and drink more
tañai" (but more jimsonweed was never administered
then). One such song was:

upu´tumi·	uka´naka taña´ya	lu´lhe'	lula´lhe'
Arise.	Drink tañai.	Walk!	Walk!

796 As the drinkers became active they were
able to see obscure causes of illness. A sick
276 person would come, give the drinker a feather
755 bunch, and his sickness, which, it was said,
usually appeared as swarms of insects to the
intoxicant, would be brushed off. As these
microcosms were brushed into a fire they made
a popping noise audible only to the drinker.
The person was invariably cured: "even cancer
was cured this way" (M.P.).

796 As an example of typical behavior M.L.
said a drinker, seeing S.G. throw a burden-
276 strap toward his mother, immediately brushed
her off, believing that it was a snake trying
787 to sicken her in some way. M.L.'s first husband
took tañai and saw "the railroad before it
came; he saw something moving around without
any horses to pull it; it frightened him so he
ran around wild."

If occult disclosures concerning the evil
[754] behavior of certain shamans came to a drinker,
he confided this to his parents (provided they
had eaten no meat) and to his attendants. What
was done with such information was not stated.

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276 It was said that an evil shaman who feared dis-
covery through this means would try to render
787 the narcosis ineffectual, i.e., blank, and
754 drinkers who failed to have visions always
blamed this cause.

On the twelfth day after the ritual a
796 general celebration took place. The children
276 dressed in their best. Fathers provided meat
and fish, mothers, baskets of acorn mush. The leader, relatives, and children, "all who had anything to do with the drinking," took part. The chief made a little speech recapitulating the events and causes that led up to this literal "break fast," for none of these persons had as yet touched any meat. Even at this time those who had actually drunk tañai took only a minute piece of meat, which they invariably vomited.

796 This little feast provided an occasion for
betrothal if any families cared to take ad-
584 vantage of it. This is the only indication
that the ritual was an induction into anything,
884 and even this was only into maturity, so to say.
Even this is inferential, for informants denied the ritual any formal aspect of initiation into tribal life, ceremonial participation, or even spiritual experience, for many of the drinkers already had dream helpers. The betrothal preparations were no different from those normally made by a boy's parents. On such an occasion, at the time of the feast, if one of the girls who had drunk tañai was desired as a daughter-in-law by some family, they would go to her home before the feast and array her for it with gifts which they brought. Even if the offer was accepted, the young couple would not marry at once but "waited until they were grown up" (M.P.).

276 Jimsonweed was well known as an anaes-
757 thetic. It was used both internally and as a
poultice. When jimsonweed was drunk, the meat
[262] tabu was observed in so far as circumstances
permitted. A twenty-four hour fast was the
minimum, but two or three days were preferred. When so used, the jimsonweed was thought to have a power for healing, a quality beyond mere anaesthesia. Fractures were set and bound
[752] while the injured person was in a coma. Poul-
tices were made of mashed leaves of the plant and tied over sprains and flesh injuries that were excruciatingly painful (see Holo'anši's experience, p.72).

M.L.'s first husband took jimsonweed to help severe rheumatism. His mother's sister suggested it and her husband prepared it. The sick man drank only gruel and water for six days; then he drank the decoction. He got up and walked to his aunt's house. He ran and jumped; he was led around by the arm. His head ached. He saw things flying about which terrified him. Then he took an eagle-feather brush and brushed off his aunt. When he recovered, his rheumatism had disappeared.

276 752 S.G. knew a man who had a broken bone. He fasted twenty-four hours. Then he drank tañai in continuing small doses which "kept him drunk three or four days during which time the bone was set. When tañai was used this way bones would set within a week."

M.P. knew a man who lived in Antelope Valley; he was part Patwisha, part Wukchumni. He broke his arm. He took jimsonweed to drink and also made a poultice for his arm. "Even though the bones had overlapped they went right back into place."

276 J.B. knew two Wukchumni who lived in Antelope Valley who took tañai "just to find out things." They were Obogu´nda and Walai. J.B. had seen Choinimni take it but "never saw anyone use it at Dunlap" [Entimbich and Wobonuch, but see Wobonuch account, Pt. II].

Bear Dance

796 613 The Bear Dance (ñoho´'o ka´maič) was one of the most important ceremonies of the year.[269] It always took place in the fall after the new acorn crop had been gathered and stored. Until the rite was performed, the new acorns were tabu to all people having Bear as a totem animal, although others could eat them if they wished. Important people of Bear lineages, particularly the dancers, conversed among themselves, deciding on who should take part, on the date, and so forth. Their decisions were told to the local chief who, through his winatum, announced when and where the affair was to be held: the date was usually set six days ahead. Meanwhile food was gathered by the persons of the Bear lineages and by the chief.
They were the hosts and provided all the food,
although visitors might send or bring food, for
[574] which they would be paid. The visitors from
other villages often began arriving soon after
the initial announcement was made.

796 The dance itself took place about nine o'clock on one evening only; it was never given in the daytime. The dancers were usually, but not necessarily, residents of the host village. Two to four men participated, and one woman, who was always a relative -- daughter, sister or cousin -- of at least one of her men companions, although the men need not be related. The one prerequisite was that they all, as well as having Bear as a family totem, had dreamed of the animal. (I am not sure how essential the dream was for the woman.)

796 The men wore whole bearskins attached to
themselves with thongs. (At another time J.P.
[237] said the male dancers wore bear-paw skins
pulled on over their hands like mittens.) Bear-claw necklaces were worn, and sometimes flicker-feather bands were tied like streamers from the arms. The woman dancer merely wore her "best clothes" -- deerskin apron, beads, down head-

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[269] This major account and accompanying demonstration are from M. and J.P.; other accounts follow.

[P. 120 b] Wukchumni

796 band, etc. The singer accompanist, who was
[534] also a person with Bear totem, sat at one side
and used a cocoon rattle.[1] The dancers stood in
[554] a row, with the most powerful or important man
at the right end, the woman at the left (from
the audience's point of view). The men held
[198] their hands cupped to their mouths to augment
their heavily aspirated grunts. The woman held
[516] her hands beside her shoulders, wide open,
palms forward, and her elbows close to her
sides. While the accompanist sang and rattled,
796 the dancers turned toward their left, and the
men, with feet together, took three slow, stiff
535 jumps forward. At each jump they exhaled a
harsh, hard "Xo'! xo'! xo'!" The woman remained
in her place and, with feet together and heels
off the ground, moved herself rhythmically with
a gentle bouncing-springing motion on the balls
of her feet. The upper part of her body and
her shoulders she turned to right and left on
alternate "bounces." She kept this up continuously while the men jumped and walked backward to their former positions three times. The whole performance lasted no more than ten minutes at the utmost, yet it could not be repeated under any circumstances until the following year. For this reason it was particularly admired, and urgent demands for repetition from the onlookers, with consequent refusals from the dancers, seem to have been a traditional part of the affair. If the spectacle were to be witnessed again that season, it would have to be in some other village or tribe with other dancers.

[773] When J.P. was young he saw a Bear dancer whose arms and legs were entirely black. Spectators said to him, "If you are a bear, let's see your hair!" At once the black portions turned into hair all over the man's limbs.

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825 The dance was supposed to be a replica of real bears' antics; they were said often "to dance with trees."

A man was out hunting once about sundown and saw a little bear dancing beside a small oak tree. He was standing on his hind legs and holding up his paws; he jumped at the tree three times. Then he clawed up some earth and threw it at the little tree. The tree was his singer and the little bear was mad because the singer made a mistake. The human dancers act just the same way [not toward their singer, however] and will not look back over their shoulders until they are through.

J.B. gave a similar anecdote.

His wife, her sister, and her cousin were out gathering seeds. They saw a bear dance. He was near a little white oak which they believed was his singer. He jumped and grunted three times, then he grabbed at the tree and playfully mauled it. Three times he did this and then went off. The women were much pleased at the spectacle.

[1] [in the Bear Dance. -Annotator]

796 M.L.'s description of the Bear Dance was essentially the same. She was a participant along with her relatives -- her mother, mother's sister, her younger sister [cousin] and brother [cousin?] -- of whom her mother's brother, Tai´sus, was the leader. The chief at Diapnuša would send his winatum to Taisus saying it was time to hold the dance [sic].

796 The male dancers wore whole bearskins fastened on their backs, but held nothing in
237 their hands. The women merely wore the usual deerskin apron, ear plugs, etc., of dress occasions, and carried bunches of crow feathers
[534] in their hands. At one side were two singers who used rattles made of stiff deer hide tied over the end of a stick and containing a few pebbles. This type was used for no other dance.

The men held up their hands and, taking three hops forward, said "Xo'! xo'! xo'!" The women made no sound, but remained in one place with feather bunches raised, making little lifting motions with their heels.

796 Meanwhile the singers sang. Two of their songs follow:

533

539 1. so´nowau nɨm luka´omao
storehouse my [place name]

(My storehouse is at Lukaomao)

2. wa š̃o wa·ha·so· hu·še·me·hu
small basket small basket [futurity]

wa š̃o ukun husɨm ñohõ´'õ na husɨm
small basket drink [futurity] Bear I
[futurity]

(I, Bear, will drink from my little acorn
mush basket)

796 No matter how much the spectators wished to see the dance repeated, it could be done but once on each occasion, "they had to wait till next year."

The Yaudanchi probably had the same dance, as Kroeber attributes it to them and to the Choinimni.[270]

[302] [237] ...The two or three participants were painted entirely black, and were naked save for a head-band of eagle down and a claw necklace, or a skin around the loins that had been taken from the animal they controlled. The dance was clearly mimetic. The feet were held together, the body leaned forward, the hands hung down. Gradually the doctors jumped to their song, growled, spread their fingers like claws, and leaped forward as if to seize a foe.

The Yaudanchi informant, M.S. of Moko village, categorically denied the Bear Dance

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[270] Handbook, 517.

[P. 121 b] ~~Western Mono~~ NS25
Patwisha

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796 and Huhuna Dance to the Yaudanchi, attributing these dances and any performers making them to the Wukchumni.

Deer Dance

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796 Another dance, ascribed primarily to the Patwisha and of somewhat the same genre as the Bear Dance, was the Deer Dance. According to J.B.'s account:

> This was done every spring soon after the Snake Ritual. It was danced by Ni´wič and Ha´ñaš, brothers. Both men were fine hunters. They assumed no deer ornaments, merely dancing in the usual ceremonial regalia. They held their hands up close to their shoulders, palms out, and took dainty steps markedly to the left and to the right, at each step uttering a plaintive "Ma·a·a·!"

M
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825 Like the dancing bear she had seen, J.B.'s wife also saw some dancing deer, a very rare experience.

> This was on a little hill near Dunlap. Six deer came tripping out from some undergrowth. They progressed by taking a step to the right, hesitating, then a step to the left, hesitating, and so on. At each step they said "Ma·a·" in squeaky little voices "just like lambs." J.B.'s wife remained utterly still until the deer, still mincing, vanished into the brush.

Beaver Dance

Y
796 Another ceremony of the display type was staged by men who had power from fish, or possibly from water or water creatures. Both M.L. and M.P. had witnessed this, but neither of them could attach any purpose to it. The citing of "fish camps" along the rivers suggests that the rite might have something to do with the fish supply.

According to M.L., the Beaver Dance took place about midwinter. A doctor who had power from fish (čadut añṭu, catfish doctor) built a tule-covered house around the outside of which he hung cured beaver skins (tau´piš). While spectators gathered outside, he entered the booth, sang, and danced. As he did this the beaver skins trembled and a "swsh-swsh, swsh-swsh" sounded continuously. Then a woman, a "plain" woman, who had no ṭɨpni power and who was not sick, would lie down and groan. The doctor emerged, brushed her off with his hand feathers, and sang in a soft whispering voice:

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čaʹdut, čaʹdut, čaʹdut
catfish, catfish, catfish

eʹbɨse, eʹbɨse, eʹbɨse
trout, trout, trout

[P. 122 a] Wukchumni

796 koko´čo, koko´čo, koko´čo
539 [a very large fish]
533
tapa´psu, tapa´psu, tapa´psu
perch, perch, perch

The onlookers marked time with their hands or feet and sang continuously the burden:

ha´ho·'ho·', ha´ho·'ho·', ha´ho·'ho·'

The woman "patient" did not sing. Several more women would do the same thing. M.L. thought they were perhaps empowered by the doctor's mind, hypnotized so to say. [This fits with Kroeber's description of this rite as a "willing" or "wishing" one.] Then a man (ahaja´'amu añṭu, not translated) lay down groaning too. Neither in this nor in any other display had M.L. seen showers of fish appear.

796 [756] [184] M.P.'s description differs from this somewhat, and it may be that shamans differed in the staging of their displays. She said that the "fish doctor" performed in his own house, but that a partition of mats was arranged between himself and his audience. Two or three men participated, and men, women, and children looked on. M.P. said the one performance which she saw was in her childhood and she "wouldn't have been able to keep awake if it hadn't been so pretty."

The walls and partition were hung with beaver skins. The principal fish doctor danced and in a singing voice called out the name of every fishing camp and village along the river [Kaweah]. As he did this the beaver skins shook and little fish (ta´kɨt, minnow ?) dropped out of the skins. In some manner these fish fell over the other side of the partition on the shamans who "had to call for help there were so many of them." After this performance the "men and women ate all night" but what they ate M.P. did not know because she was sent to bed.

[825] I have used the term Beaver Dance for this ritual because the beaver skins seem to be an essential part of the performance and because the term fits with the Yokuts ritual series -- Bear, Snake, Seed-growing, Rain-making, Jimsonweed-drinking -- more appropriately than the correct but abstract name "wishing ceremony" (*ohowish*) used by Kroeber.[271] His description of the rite is as follows:
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> ...Several shamans gather in a specially made house or booth, behind a screen of tules, and perform to songs appropriate to the occasion. The skins of beavers and otters hang about the walls. These animals are the personal spirits of the *ohowish* medicine men, the "wishers" or "willers," whose power seems connected with water, as among their achievements mentioned is that of making fish in a vessel of water. Such

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[271] Ibid., 507.

[P. 122 b] Wukchumni

796 displays appear to be the kernel of the ceremony, which ends toward morning by the performing shamans "fighting" one another magically. 756

Another display dance was mentioned by M.L. in which she danced with her shaman uncle Taisus. They sang song No. 5 (p.118), and then the shaman "made a mudhen come and fall in the fire."

Rattlesnake Ritual

796 [825 From no informant was I able to obtain a description of the Rattlesnake Ritual which in any way approximates that given by Kroeber for the Yaudanchi.[272] It was one of the native rites most frowned upon by missionaries and white settlers and has not been performed, even aberrantly, for many years. The reader is referred to Kroeber for a full account. My own summary and, in a few instances, supplementary data are given below. The only major differences in these are the absence of any "shaman-killer" (given as kuyohoch, obviously confused with hi'auta), and the presence of the Coyote clown, not mentioned in this connection by Kroeber.

This ritual, called šo´no, was made in the spring of each year, about April, always just prior to the snakes' emergence from their winter hibernation.

224 One of the participants at Diapnuša was J.P.'s maternal uncle, so J.P. went with him when he got his snake; both had snake poša. They went up to a rocky ledge on Diapnuša hill; J.P. sat down and watched. The uncle had with [534 237] him a flat tray (koiyoṭo), a bird-bone whistle (wa´hɨd or šo´ho), hawk down, a small stick, a long pole, and a willow cage (čo´mɨš). The tray, its surface covered with hawk down, was laid on the ground in front of the snake den. A rattlesnake came out and circled once around the tray. Uncle did not like it and told it to go back. Another came out. This was repeated six times. Each snake had taken one little piece of down. When the sixth and satisfactory snake came, it would not take a feather. Then Uncle told it to take one and it did. Then he circled his little stick over the snake's head. When it coiled, the tray was inverted over it, covering it with down. Uncle then picked up the snake in his hand, putting it in the wicker cage. He talked to it continually, telling it where it was going, that it was to participate in the Snake Ritual, and that it must not bite anyone. The cage was put on the end of the pole, and J.P. was allowed to carry it home. There it was hung in a tree until wanted.

796 The ritual was held in the afternoon in the village dance space. A vertical-sided pit

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[272] Ibid., 504-506.

796 was dug, a log laid across it, and the doctors
put their snakes in it. Two singers were
present to sing "snake songs." Then the as-
sembled onlookers walked to the pit, dipped a
heel in the pit as they crossed the log, and
threw in some money. The doctors did not par-
ticipate in the "stepping rite."

796 While the doctors were doing their pre-
522 liminary dancing before picking up their
237 snakes, Coyote clowns came upon the scene.
[613] There might be one or two of these, usually a
brother and sister (or first cousins) of a
Coyote lineage. The man wore a coyote-skin
costume on his back, the head of which was so
arranged that the nose was pulled far down over
his own. He was painted with black about the
[302] eyes and mouth. An artificial tail [M.L. could
not say how this was made, but it was not the
coyote-skin tail] was extended from his but-
tocks. This he could jerk about with obscene
gestures. He carried a long stick.

796 Approaching the snake pit, he would run up
and pretend to strike the reptiles. He would
522 pretend the snake had bitten him, groan lavish-
ly, and mimic the snake doctors' motions.
When he became too boisterous, the chief would
send his winatum with money to make him keep
quiet. He would get in people's way, knocking
about awkwardly with his long stick: people
would pay him to desist. Then he would seize
his sister (or cousin), pull her up to the
snake pit, and there lie down with her pre-
[786] tending to have intercourse. This caused the
greatest amusement, as the incestuous implica-
tion added to the impropriety. When the clown
pretended to be bitten by a snake, his sister
would rush up to him and burlesque the curing-
by-brushing motions of ṭ·pni people.

At Diapnuša it was M.L.'s son-in-law, his
father, and father's sister who were of the
Coyote lineage and performed the Coyote antics.
M.L. had seen the same thing once at Dunlap
where there were also male and female clowns;
one of the women was probably J.W., a Wobonuch.

796 The doctors, of whom there were usually
three or four, walked in line around the pit,
followed by a group of boys and young men
carrying sticks and singing. Each doctor took
his snake from the pit and danced with it.
First the head of the snake was held in the
left hand, the tail in the right. A step left
was taken, and the arms were extended a little
upward and outward to the left. Then a step to
the right was taken. At the same time, the
right hand released the snake's tail, while the
left, holding the head, passed the reptile be-
hind the dancer's neck, where it was taken into
the right hand. And with left hand now grip-
ping the tail, the arms were extended upward
and outward. The snake was now passed from
right to left back of the neck. These two move-
ments, complementing each other, were repeated
over and over as the doctors filed around the
pit, followed by the crowd of boys.

796 825 Then people began shouting for the "biting" display. "They would put up $50 to $60 for this." The doctor who was daring enough threw his snake to the ground to anger it. It would turn toward him and bite him. The arm was extended, so that the snake struck high in a spectacular manner; the reptile was displayed dangling by its fangs from the doctor's arm.[273] Then the other doctors sucked the wound and spat on a tray, and the victim recovered at once. This ended the ritual, usually about 5 p.m.

The feast provided by the doctors was then eaten. They, of course, received the payment in the pit. The next morning they returned the rattlesnakes to their respective dens.

J.P. said "the worst he ever saw" was a doctor whose snake struck him three times. He was given the sucking treatment and lived, but he remained unconscious until the following morning.

J.P. said the "sun snake" was more dangerous than the rattler. If a doctor wanted a sun snake, he "held his tray up to the sun to get power" (this at the time he was seeking the reptiles for the ritual).[274]

224 The informant Tm[illegible] seen Pušlɨlɨn get snakes for a dance at [illegible] (a Chukaimina village). He went out with a bone whistle. When the snakes heard it they "rose right up in the rocks and were told to 'Come on!'" As a snake turned away, the doctor grabbed at the back of its neck. He put it in a willow cage called čo´mɨs. Tm.W. had also seen Solopono do the Rattlesnake Ritual at Porterville, but this informant was not equal to describing it. A rattlesnake was called pu ˇčuš tu'ud (little rattlesnake) or mɨts tu'ud (big rattlesnake).

796 The Rattlesnake Ritual was held by the Yaudanchi at Moko early each spring. Several doctors participated. Those M.S. recalls were her stepfather Kipat (Patwisha), Čokonɨk (Choinimni), Umičana (Wukchumni), Čiwɨn (Wukchumni), and Šu·t (Gawia). Each man had a snake which he had obtained at its den. This informant's description of the rite differed from others in the following respects.

During the dance the coiled snake was held out on the palm of the hand, or was wound around the neck "like a muffler." There was no "biting" display. Each doctor had a hole for his own snake; the people who filed by paid each snake by dropping in a bit of money, stamped at the side of the hole, and passed on. 285 While in captivity, the snakes were kept in bottlenecked baskets (osa) instead of cages. A pole (wi ˇčɨt, any stick or pole) was set up beside the dance space and gifts of baskets for the doctors were hung upon it. The doctors

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[273] I do not know whether this "dangling" is physiologically possible for the rattlesnake, but Kroeber reports the same action (ibid., 505).

[274] M.A., the Paleuyami, said her father "made snakes come down from the sun."

796 provided and paid for all the food that was eaten at the end of the ritual.

ANNUAL MOURNING CEREMONY

769 A ceremony (duniša) which at once emphasized and dissipated the hardships of mourning was held at one- to three-year intervals by each tribe in the Central Foothill region. The number and financial status of bereaved persons determined its frequency. The ideal was an annual occurrence, which was the normal schedule for a tribe as large as the Wukchumni or [556] Telamni, but unless a tribe was large and the bereaved were wealthy a yearly occurrence was not warranted. Tribes like the Gawia and Yokod would hold the ceremony once in three or four years. Three to six families would sponsor the affair with, of course, coöperation from their chief.

Great expense was entailed in these six-day affairs and the money and gifts had to be assembled by the sponsors before one could be undertaken. When the bereaved families believed themselves sufficiently prepared, they told their chief's winatum. The chief then consulted with the heads of the families and also consulted other chiefs of the same tribe in other villages (if, as with the Wukchumni, more than one village was involved). If all were in agreement, the date would be roughly set at least one and sometimes three months ahead to permit the accumulation of necessary food and the preparation of shelters.

Financial Preparations

The mourning families had collected sums of money which they now gave to the chief. Amounts were added to this by the chief, his subchiefs -- i.e., chiefs from the other villages of his tribe and the especially appointed tuye'i who functioned only at this time -- and by any other persons, men or women, [426] who wished to contribute. Some men borrowed money for this at the regular rate of 50 per cent interest as a pure business investment, for reasons made clear below. The whole amount [426] S.G. and J.P. estimated as roughly equivalent to $200.00; the aboriginal money was, of course, shell beads.

769 The disposal of this sum was called lakana´n·č and followed an established method. 431 A tribe, sometimes more than one, was selected as the recipient; but this tribe was not the 437 tribe of the ceremonial reciprocants or official washers, although there was no rule that it might not be. Wukchumni recipients were usually Telamni or Chunut. The recipients of the sum were to return it with 100 per cent interest at the time of the ceremony. The sum plus its duplicate was called ilu´'us. (The

[P. 124 b] Wukchumni

769

431 normal rate of interest was at 50 per cent, tu ñw̃as.)

437 To return to the original contributors of the sum, each one who had put in an amount, say $10.00, had to agree to provide an equivalent amount of food or gifts ($10.00 worth) which would be received by the recipients at the end of the ceremony. In other words: in terms of value, no profit was made on either side; in terms of materials, the hosts received money in exchange for commodities. The money was required to pay the washers, singers, winatums, huhuna dancer and accompanying shaman, the participants in the Shamans' Contest, and entertainers on the final day of celebration, and, above all, to pay for the food provided and consumed throughout the week. The recipients who received the commodities could sell them on the spot if the transactions were possible. All informants agreed that a great deal of side trading went on during, and on the final day of, the ceremony. Naturally, the opportunity was unparalleled throughout the year.

At the inception of a mourning ceremony then, a sum of money was made up by the mourners, chiefs, and investors of the host tribe and taken to another tribe by a winatum. Before setting out, the winatum was given a meal and a payment by his chief: in return the winatum made a slight gift to the chief, which might be money, food, or clothing. At the village to which he was sent the winatum was received as usual by the chief and given a meal. An assemblage was called, the purpose of the visit announced, and the money distributed to those tribal members who wished to accept it, knowing the obligation it entailed and the "gifts" they might expect in return. The chief of the recipient tribe was responsible for the personal accounts, as it were, of his fellows. That is, at the ensuing ceremony, the return of the money with its interest and the receiving of gifts from the hosts were carried out between the chiefs (by means of winatums). The individual sums were not collected until the last day of the ceremony (the day of the washing ritual) when they were presented in toto to the host chief, or [illegible] was my understanding.

The tribe approached as recipient was not obliged to accept. If it were deemed advisable by the chiefs, subchiefs, and others to decline, this was done, or a compromise might be suggested, i.e., that they take part of the funds and that the remainder be sent to another tribe. Even if accepted the money could yet be returned within six days if on further consultation the recipients felt they could not meet the obligation. If this happened, the sender's winatum was sent to take back the money; the recipient winatum did not take it but took only the message to the sender chief explaining the situation. When, as a result of this, the sender's winatum went after the money, he was paid by both parties for the service.

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769 When the funds were accepted, the re-
cipients had the opportunity to indulge in
431 trading on this one- to three-months' loan and
437 to make among themselves, and probably with the
coast traders beyond, more than the 100 per
cent they had guaranteed to return.

If, at the time of the ceremony, the full amount was not made up, as much as possible was returned. The chief held the accounts, and as much cash as possible was contributed by his subchiefs (tuye'i) in an effort to meet the demand: the subchiefs were obligated to help make up this deficit, whereas ordinary citizens
were not. If there was still a shortage of
Y actual money, it was equated in commodities.
Thus several hunters would be dispatched to get
[224] deer, or any available game. (The Gawia were
laughed at for always supplying ground
[558] squirrels on such occasions.) And women were
called upon to make up quantities of acorn meal.
However, these foods were not brought with the money but were sent to the host tribe just before the ceremony, and the hosts bought the food as part of their needed supplies while the money went over to the recipient tribe to help meet the shortage. The collecting of food to be sold in this manner was called ka´suwaš.

Y
Another method of raising money was for
the recipient tribe to enter its shamans in the
[756] Shamans' Contest. These men would be paid by
the host tribe, and while they retained part of
the payment for themselves, their singers, and their winatums, a good portion (what percentage I could not determine) went to their chief.

Furthermore, the gifts received at the finale of the ceremony could be sold on the spot, taken home, given away, or used as payment on borrowed money.

This whole method of money exchange was
Y not necessarily carried out between tribes, but
might be an inter-person affair. Thus a mourn-
[426] er, to raise money, would lend sums to several
individuals in order to receive interest from
each. Such lending was of normal occurrence in Yokuts life, but the heightened need for money at a mourning ceremony emphasized the practice.

Both sexes contributed in all affairs wherein money was called for: women acquired money by selling baskets, blankets, pots, mats, etc., to each other or to men.

Y

Reciprocity

769 The washing functions at the close of a
mourning ceremony were traditionally arranged between certain families of certain tribes. But while the actual washing was a between-family function, the whole tribe of the washers was
Y regarded as reciprocal to the whole host tribe
M in the entire function.
769 The pairs of Wukchumni and Waksachi fami-
648 lies who stood in this reciprocal relation were
767 named by J.B., and corroboration of some of

V
M them later came independently from Waksachi informants.
769
648
767

Wukchumni	Waksachi
Čiwɨñyi's family (chief)	Bill Osborn's family (chief)
J.B., his mother and brother	Bill Tyner's family
Jim Hangton (Pohot family)	Bob Osborn[275]
Mollie Lawrence	Tom Bacon
Walai (winatum)	Sam Osborn (winatum)

Sometimes, J.B. said, a chief's family would wash two or three other families, not necessarily all acting chiefs, but of chiefly lineage.

The reciprocal pairs of tribes were listed by J.B.; statements of other informants are initialed.

Wukchumni-Waksachi

-Wukchumni-Patwisha (secondarily)

Wukchumni-Yaudanchi (J.P.)

Waksachi-Entimbich (secondarily)

Waksachi-Michahai (secondarily)

Gawia-Yokod

Wolasi-Telamni

Choinuk-Chunut

Tachi-Nutunutu

The families who came to wash the mourners brought with them the special washing baskets and new clothes in which to dress the released mourners. These, after they were washed, dressed, and in receipt of the washing baskets, paid the washers either with cash or with gifts of valuable objects. Informants seemed to think that this exchange was an equal one; at least in theory neither washer nor washee was a gainer.

Organization and Administration

769
648 The host tribe, the reciprocant tribe, and the financial associate tribe by no means comprised all the persons present at an Annual Mourning Ceremony. Anyone who wished was welcome to come as a spectator, and these were many. Interchanges of festivities took place between the following tribes, from whom attend-

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[275] See the Waksachi account of a recent mourning ceremony wherein Entimbich people served as washers because "the right people" [the Wukchumni Pohots] were not there.

769 ants might appear at any ceremony: Wukchumni,
648 Gawia, Yokod, Yaudanchi, Tachi, Wechihit,
Choinuk, Chunut, Telamni, Wolasi (all Yokuts);
also Waksachi, Patwisha, Entimbich, and Wobo-
nuch, the last two but recently and rarely (all
Western Mono). (It is to be noted that the
[578] hostile Tachi and Nutunutu were omitted from
the list as given by J.P.; the list is corrobo-
rated, of course, by other informants and much
indirect evidence.)

When, in 1819, Estudillo traveled through Yokuts territory, he found members of the following tribes in attendance at a mourning ceremony at Chischa, a group neighboring to or in Wukchumni territory:[276] Choinuk (whose "captain and greater number of inhabitants ... were at Chischa 8 leagues away"), Apalame (in foothills but exact locality uncertain), the Nutunutu, and the Telamni (of whom only 14 old women and 9 old men had remained at home). (The Chunut, however, and some Wowol had gone south to attend a similar ceremony at Buena Vista rancheria in the southern end of the valley.) Undoubtedly representatives of other tribes were there of whom Estudillo naturally remained unaware since this was the first entrada into the Central Foothill area.

769 The organization and administration of the
624 ceremony lay in the hands of one or two of-
571 ficials who functioned only on such occasions,
the yate´'ıč or "dance managers." Not all in-
formants agree whether this was a regular of-
ficial or not; perhaps only larger tribes had
need of them. They were the "bosses" of the
winatums who, both male and female, were worked
to the utmost in their responsibility of pro-
viding shelter, water, firewood and, above all,
sufficient food for the crowds. Around the
[417] assembly space were erected long shades, with
back screens if needed, under which the visi-
tors camped in tribal clusters. Theoretically
the reciprocants[277] were camped opposite the
hosts, the other visitors at each end; infor-
mants were indefinite as to how far this plan
was followed. In the families of the winatums
all members helped: the older winatums saw
that there was sufficient food and generally
directed activities, while their sons supplied
wood and water and carried messages, and their
wives and daughters prepared and cooked food.
The visiting winatums, particularly those of
the reciprocants, helped also, but the hosts
paid for their services just as they paid their
own winatums. The preparation and organization
175 of these affairs for a large tribe like the
769 Wukchumni were no mean task. Estudillo speaks
of this at Chischa.[278]

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[276] Gayton, Estudillo, 73-75.

[277] Ceremonial or "washing" reciprocant tribe, not the financial reciprocants.

[278] Gayton, Estudillo, 74.

[P. 126 b] Wukchumni

175
I counted 437 able-bodied young men on the
769 walk I took [around the village], and about
600 women and children all placed before this
161 village. Across the front of the ranchería I
counted 358 double paces [pasos dobles] which
[361] makes 624 yards [varas], and across its back
432 paces or 756 yards in the form of an imperfect half moon. All [the houses] are of
[342] mats and willow branches. In front of the
ranchería were guests, all separated, where I directed myself along with the captains who accompanied me. Each of them were in little groups; thus men, women, and children were presented to me, and it was not possible to count them as I had done with the Chischas. However, the number of young men was not less than 600, and some 200 younger women.

When I walked behind the Ranchería of
Chischa I immediately came upon the arroyo
[561] which was near by. On its banks, I found more
than 100 middle-aged women washing seeds for
the atoles of the guests, while younger ones
[252] were grinding seeds on stones as is their
custom .... Its [Chischa] people, and those of their neighboring friends who were found assembled, presented in number some 2400 persons, all of comely appearance.

Some two hundred more he discovered in hiding, and later over one hundred visitors came from another rancheria.

175 The visitors brought with them their own
769 mats and blankets, shinny sticks, and gambling
574 equipment. Games and gambling were frowned
upon at the site of the ceremony, but during
525 the week of the ceremony men who wanted to play
shinny might do so if they went beyond shouting distance from the assembly.

Ritual Weeping; Effigy-Making

769 Events during the six days of the cere-
mony followed a definite program. Since the
177 introduction of European culture, and perhaps
owing to early Spanish-Catholic influence, the
period has been equated with weekdays so that the night of crying fell on Saturday night, the washing, feasting, and aftermath of celebration on Sunday. The plan of events was this: the
[532] first day or two (Monday and Tuesday) guests be-
gan arriving, and the bereaved families spent their time making the effigy dolls; on the third or fourth day (Wednesday or Thursday) the Huhuna Dance was performed -- on the third if a minor or "warming-up" contest of shamans was to be given on the fourth; on the fifth (Friday) the Shamans' Contest; on the sixth evening, the burning of effigies; and on the seventh day (Sunday) the ritual washing and feasting. The native feeling was that the effigy burning and subsequent washing and celebrating all constituted "one day," i.e., the sixth, which is not illogical as the events continued from Saturday evening until Sunday evening without break for sleep or rest.

769 767 152 Ritual weeping.--Throughout the week a group of professional mourning singers, the tonočɨm, at dawn and at sunset sang mourning songs accompanied by wails of the bereaved. According to M.P., on these occasions the bereaved took out the effigy dolls, the gifts of money and baskets, and exhibited them by carrying them to the assembly fire. The singers and mourners all moved with a special dancelike step as they alternately sang and wept. The singers sang; then their leader held his hands forward palm down as a signal to cease, at which the mourners immediately broke into wails of grief. As soon as this was over, the effigies and treasures were retired to the special hut in which they were kept.

The informant M.L. maintained that the singers and mourners gathered outside the village for this ritual expression of grief, and Estudillo's encounter with a mourning chief retired from his village corroborates her statement. (Practices may have differed.)

> [I] continued eastward [from the Choinuk] and reached a deep arroyo, where I found two huts with Indians. They came out to receive me, one of them being the captain of Chischa [Joasps]. With his brother, wife, and other relatives he had retired this afternoon to weep during the night for the death of their relatives . . . .[579]

769 532 Effigy-making.--The first two days of the week of the mourning ceremony (Monday and Tuesday) are devoted to the construction of the effigy dolls (woi´doš). These are made by women, one image for each person mourned. The basis of the doll was a cross of wood, the upright staff of which was about 5 feet long, the horizontal about 2-1/2 feet tied on about 18 inches from the top. "It must be high but not too heavy to carry when dancing" (J.P.). In old times the covering of the frame, making a sort of solid body, was of fine tule matting, more recently of calico. If the effigy was of a woman, a little basket cap was put on the head. Each image had quantities of beads hung about the neck, and especially made baskets with beads woven into them hung from the arms, back, and front. When finished, the effigies were placed in a specially constructed house at the assembly space and covered with blankets. While the mourners were thus engaged, the chief of the reciprocant tribe came and talked to them and they all wept in response. Here also were placed all the gifts and offerings for the final night of crying.

Huhuna Dance

769 On the third or fourth day (Wednesday or Thursday) the Huhuna Dance was given. This

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[579] Ibid., 73.

769 would be on the third day if on the fourth there was to be a preliminary or informal contest between shamans, as was usual if the ceremony was a large and impressive one. Otherwise the Huhuna Dance was reserved for the fourth day and "nothing special" happened on the third other than the morning and evening singing and display of dolls and gifts. J.P. said that the Huhuna Dance might be given any day and repeated, from the very outset, if people wanted it, but certainly this was not the customary [541] practice. The Huhuna Dance could be performed at any time out of its ceremonial context and was a favorite method for both entertainment and money-making at any season of the year.

M.L. gave the following account; in so doing she particularly had in mind a performance at a mourning ceremony given by her father-in-law, Muṭoñi, at Diapnuša. A few interpolations are from J.P.

769 A Huhuna Dancer was not a shaman (añtu) 535 (although he might be) but had Owl (hutu´du) [613] for a family totem. M.L. thought this "went in families but had to be dreamed about as well" [as being the family emblem]. She thought all tribes had the dance. Although it was a regu- [541] lar part of the Annual Mourning Ceremony, "it could be done at any other time if a man wanted to make some money or other people wanted to see it." The shaman who entered at the end might be "any kind," provided he had the power of making airshot. M.L.'s stepfather, who took part in the dance at Diapnuša, was a Rattlesnake shaman. A Huhuna of any tribe could engage in the affair during the mourning ceremony, i.e., he was not necessarily of the reciprocant [gu'ui] tribe. But the killing shaman was always of the host or local tribe. The usual costume consisted of an ankle-length, [237] sleeveless dress of netting covered with eagle, crow, buzzard, and o'ow.ts [?] feathers. On the back were little sticks painted red and so strung together that they rattled as the wearer danced. A headdress of netting covered with owl feathers had two little peaks to resemble an owl's head. The eyes were not covered, al- [293] though J.P. and S.G. said that abalone shell discs were sewed over the eyes on a net which covered the face. On each wrist hung a swinging bunch of feathers (so´n.l). The man held an eagle bone whistle in his mouth, and in each hand carried a slender rod about eighteen inches long (fig. 8, c).

At this dance at Diapnuša two Yokod men were the Huhunata (pl.). They went off to opposite sides of the village to don their costumes. While they were gone, money provided by the local chief was hidden in various spots around the assembly space -- in a sack of acorns, in the crevice of a shade, or in the ground.

One or more singers accompanied the dancing performance.

769 535 The Huhunata approached with mincing, half-turning steps, trembling continuously, knocking their own two sticks together and whistling a high repeated note. They began to look for the money, pointing to it with their sticks, and a winatum disclosed it. Sometimes "even the winatum could not find it so they had to dig it out themselves." M.L. said she was frightened when they drew near her. All the money they found they kept in little skin sacks which hung over their shoulders.

After all the money had been found, a shaman (on this occasion, Ša´maka, a Wukchumni) entered dressed in full regalia. He sat down on the edge of the dance space. The chief gave him a tray (tai´'iwan) and a winatum built a fire beside him. The shaman rose, swung his hand feather bunch (son·l) over the fire, then held his tray up to the sun to get airshot. Then he exposed it to the audience so all could see the seedlike "bullets" adhering to it. The winatum took the tray to one of the Huhuna and "asked him if he wanted to die by it." The Huhuna replied "that it was not strong enough." So the shaman strengthened it, and on second inspection Huhuna was satisfied. When the tray was returned to the shaman, he banged it violently on the ground twice. Each time a Huhuna "fell over dead." Two winatums carried them to one side, and immediately the host spectators came dragging long strands of money which the winatums threw over the prostrate victims. Everyone present wept. [152]

All the visiting Yokod sat down behind their men. Then a Yokod shaman entered, revived his two compatriots, and, making airshot at the fire, bowled over the Wukchumni shaman, who was in turn revived by a fellow shaman. The Huhunata received all the money thrown on them, but from this they had to pay their singers who had been singing for them throughout the performance. The local chief paid his own shamans for their part. J.P. said the affair lasted from about 8 a.m. to 4 p.m.

Shamans' Contest

756 789 769 The preliminary to the Shamans' Contest was called gokosyu ñ·t. It was a more or less spontaneous affair and, if held at all, preceded the real contest as a sort of trial. The entrants in this were said to be "warming up" for the big contest. "Any kind" of shaman might enter, but never Bear Dancers. In this little contest a single powerful shaman would sometimes take on two or three lesser ones. This trial also permitted novices to test their skill before entering the more dangerous fracas.

The Shamans' Contest (he´šwaš) was held on the fifth day [Friday] of the week of the

[P. 128 b] Wukchumni

756 Annual Mourning Ceremony.[280] The contestants were aligned by tribe (J.P., M.L., and J.B.);
789 the two sides might be composed of shamans from different tribes (M.P., S.G., and Tm.W.). I am
769 inclined to accept the first opinion which I think not only represents the correct theory but was practically possible in the days before the decline of population. As indicated by J.B.'s lists (see "Reciprocity" above), a single tribe could provide several shamans at once. According to J.B. and M.L. these tribal
[616] alignments were further regarded as Tokelyuwich and Nutuwich (see p. 98) and the opposing sides took up western and eastern positions on the assembly space.

Within the dance space a number of fires were built in a row, one for each entrant, of whom there might be four to eight. Each shaman had a coiled basketry tray (tai'iwan) which he held in the smoke of his fire, then raised aloft, face outward, in his right hand and shook toward the sun. The sun's power caused the magic missiles called airshot (tu´yoš), "which looked like a bug or something," to appear on the tray. S.G. said that the airshot looked like buckshot. The doctors held their hands up to the sun, from which the airshot came, made grabbing motions, and then rubbed their hands together, thereby making the shot invisible. Sometimes the doctors would test their shot before entering the contest by propelling it at trees and shooting off pine needles, for example. S.G. thought that shamans never assisted each other in the process of shot-making, and no other informant implied that they did. It was customary for winatums to ask for a show of airshot from a shaman before permitting him to proceed in the contest. Theoretically this was to protect an unskilled shaman from exposing himself recklessly to injury, but it seems possible that the audience was equally desirous of getting its money's worth and did not wish to be duped by unfit entrants; all entrants were paid.

The contestants were all dressed in the shaman's usual regalia: feather crowns and plumes, swirling skirts of eagle-down cord tipped with bluejay or flicker feathers, wrist bands of weasel skin, feather bunches hanging from wrists, elbows, and knees, garlands of eagle-down cord looped like bandoleers, and quail-crest ear plugs (fig. 8, d).

On the end opposite the fires sat a group of singers using clappers and singing for both sides. They too wore feather headdresses and perhaps other ornaments which, I understand, were not infrequently borrowed.

The audience sat under the surrounding shades. Although betting on the winners was

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[171] [280] M.P.'s statement that it occurred on the last day after the ritual washing is perhaps due to her recollections of aberrant Waksachi practice, as the Wukchumni were reciprocants on the occasion of Waksachi mourning ceremonies (cf. Michahai-Waksachi, Pt. II).

[P. 129 a] Wukchumni

756 heavy, there were no shouts or urgings from the
onlookers as there were at games: the spec-
769 tators watched in sober silence.

The shamans assembled in two groups at
789 opposite ends of the assembly space. With them
were youths and boys carrying "long poles, pieces of brush, or anything they wanted to grab" (J.P.). When ready, the shamans in single file, followed by their winatums and by the youths waving the poles, advanced toward the center. A man on each side would cry "Hu·’u·’o·’o·’o·’" three times, and the audience would respond three times with "A·’a·’a·h!". During the contest, the youths kept up a continuous explosive grunting while parading and a sort of "Oh’! oh’! oh’!". The two lines of contestants passed around each other in two arcs and came to a halt facing each other about thirty feet apart. The shamans were ranged in a single row while their more exuberant young cohorts remained behind at a safe distance. When the chief ordered them to start, all the shamans raised their trays in the air, shook them and, whirling so that their backs were turned to their opponents, slammed their trays face downward on the ground. Each time this was done a shot flew from the tray at a rival, and this was repeated until the rival fell unconscious or the aggressor himself fell a victim. As the men dropped they were carried off to a shade by two winatums who were paid by the host group (unless the shaman had a personal winatum to aid him). This magic bombardment continued until only two shamans remained on their feet. This crisis always seems to have been attained. They fought a long time; the best man was believed to have the greatest supernatural gifts. Such men remained to the last because of their ability to pick the air-shot off themselves at the very instant it hit, whereas others were knocked down. The weasel-
[826] skin wristlets served as protectors of the vulnerable spot on the wrist; the weasels "swallowed" the shots. When one of this last pair finally fell, the victor staggered backward exhausted, and, assisted by winatums, reclined panting under a shade.

Now the host chief called his people together. His winatums collected money and gifts which were distributed to the chiefs of the tribes whose shamans had participated in the
[152] contest. Everyone present was crying. "They cried and cried right up to the middle of the night" (J.P.).

In the meantime the injured shamans were being revived. A host winatum went to the winner and asked him to remove the shot from his fallen rival. J.P. maintained that they got doctors who had not participated to revive the others, but M.L., S.G., and J.B. claimed that each shaman in turn revived those men who had been his victims. The revival was accomplished by the brushing method of curing. A shaman took a feather from his headdress or

756 used his hand feather bunch to brush down the
769 body of the patient. A winatum held a tray beside him upon which the doctor shook or squeezed
789 off the granular airshot from the feathers. The
shot was taken away and burned.

M.L. and S.G. said that all the shamans were paid by the spectators who had thrown down their strings of bead money on a tray provided by a winatum, while the contestants lay unconscious. From this sum the shamans paid their singers and, if they had them, their own personal winatums. They also paid a good share to their chief.

754 In discussing the revivings, J.P. said that at this time "chiefs would bribe each
756 other's doctors if they wanted to get rid of one that was knocked out." If any of the magic
769 ammunition was permitted to remain in a victim, "he died in about three days," or at best would
789 linger on for a month. This might be done then deliberately, or the victim might be left totally unconscious with the claim that he could not be brought to.[281]

Corpse-Handlers' Dance

769 On the morning of the sixth day (Saturday) the group of people known as tonočɨm who
767 handled corpses, supervised their burial, and sang the funereal songs, had a little ritual of their own; it was the finale of the daily ritual singing and weeping. J.B. described this performance as he had witnessed it at Hoganu, a Wukchumni village.

There were about six or seven tonočɨm, Telamni, Wukchumni, and Entimbich,[282] some of them men, some women [that any of them were berdaches he denied]. A few regular singers (hideʹtɨč) using cocoon rattles sat in the assembly space and sang while the tonočɨm approached in single file, the men leading. The men carried long poles in their right hands and had their faces painted black, whereas the women held both fists up before their shoulders, carried burden baskets on their backs, and wore wigs of long false human hair which trailed on the ground. The wig had no beak;[283] it was tied on with a band which passed around the forehead and the tumpline helped hold it in place. They danced past the visitors and lined up, while the active mourners lined up facing them with the payment for their services. As the tonočɨm danced and sang, along with the singer accompanists, the mourners threw the gifts, which were usually payment in kind rather than money, at

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[281] The full implications of this malpractice have been discussed in Gayton, Yokuts-Mono Chiefs and Shamans.

[282] The inclusion of Entimbich is very dubious and probably an interpolation due to J.B.'s many years of association with Entimbich at Dunlap. Possibly he meant Waksachi, if any Western Mono tonočɨm were present.

[283] As Kroeber describes for the Tachi (Handbook, 500).

769 them, and these were grabbed by the women and
thrown over their shoulders into the baskets.
767 When the dance ended the tonočɨm retired with
their goods and then, giving a great shout,
they all ran to the river to swim. (Although
this ending suggests a cleansing rite, it is
[783] purely a ceremonial gesture as all informants
agreed that corpse-handlers were under no tabus
nor were they considered unclean after they had
performed a burial service.)

Effigy Parade

769 The remainder of the sixth day was spent in preparation for the evening. The reciprocants' winatums stacked wood for two extra-large fires, one at each end of the assembly space. The mourners had retired for constant weeping. When evening came, the reciprocant (gu'ui) tribe would sit near one fire; the non-participating members of the host or mourning tribe, by the other. Spectators from other tribes would be grouped at each side.

In the early evening the gu'ui's winatums
called the active mourners and brought out the
effigies and treasures for them to carry. Each
doll was carried by a member of the same sex,
usually the one nearest of kin to the deceased
it represented. Other mourners carried money
and gifts: men carried the shouldered treasure
basket (osa) filled with money, while women
carried basketry trays (koiyoto) laden with
money, fine baskets, or valued ornaments. At
about the hours of 9 p.m., 12 m., 2 a.m., and
4 a.m. these mourners, led by the group of
singers, paraded around the fires with a curious
halting step. On each alternate step the
effigy-carriers held the staffs upright, on the
others lowered them, pointing the doll heads
toward the fire and making a feint at throwing
them in. The others made the same feint with
the treasures they carried. During the intervals
between the parades the chief of the reciprocants
rose to make a speech in which he
referred to the deceased persons they were
mourning and to the bereaved who had been enduring
much sorrow and privation; he spoke of
the effigies as if they were the actual corpses,
saying how they were to be burned, destroyed,
and forever forgotten, and how the mourners
might look forward to release from their grief.
[152] These simple topics were long drawn out to a
continuous obligato of weeping from the mourners,
who had again retired. At intervals the
singers sang.

When it was time for the mourners to make the fourth and final circuit of the fires, a winatum told the reciprocants to line up by their fire. They did this while the mourners were parading about. The latter took up a position in line by their fire, the two groups being about fifty feet apart. Then at a signal from the managing winatum, the mourners threw

769 the effigies and all their treasures at the reciprocants who scrambled and fought over them. Whatever anyone seized was his. After this the dolls were stripped by the gu'ui who threw the frames on the fire: this was their duty. Sometimes more or less worthless objects were thrown with them. But anything so dispatched to the fire might be snatched out by another reciprocant.

Ritual Washing

769 By this time dawn had come, and the reciprocants went to eat breakfast and prepare 783 for the later feasting while the mourners again retired. Then the reciprocants' winatums got baskets of water which they took to the assembly space where the washing families had come with their supply of new clothing for the bereaved. The water baskets had been especially made for the occasion; they were coiled, large, [285 deep, and flaring (pl. 1, top center). Those the Waksachi (and other Western Mono) provided 171] always had somewhat peculiar patterns which no other baskets carried.

The winatums called the mourners and, these being allotted by families as explained above, the ritual cleansing proceeded. Members of the same sex washed each other. For these true or deep mourners the washing of body and hair was complete, the washee, stripped to the breechclout, standing beside the basket and being swabbed down with wads of shredded willow bark dipped in the water. Fresh water and soaproot were used for washing the hair which was then dried, brushed, and trimmed with bangs. [301] The new clothing, including a new breechclout, was donned. Ornaments such as ear plugs, necklaces, and headbands were added. The [465 washers were each paid a small sum (about 25 431] cents) and given presents of baskets by the washees. Then all persons of the mourning tribe had their faces washed by members at large of the reciprocant tribe. They all stood in a long line for this service. The washers each received about five cents (in bead money) for this.

[522 During the washing and dressing at least 613] two men of the Coyote lineage came in clowning. They wore coyote skins on their heads and backs, [237] with the snouts stiffened out and with artificial tails attached. They carried seeds which they threw all around [the purpose of this I could not discover], got in people's way, knocked over the baskets of washing water, and were chased about by the winatums.

769 Then a feast was held, the main dish of which was deer meat, for this was the end of [262] the meat tabu for the bereaved. The reciprocant chief made a speech telling everyone to come partake of this feast, the mourners to enjoy their meat, etc. After the feast the host chief made a speech saying that now their sorrow was dissipated, that everyone should

769 laugh, play, and have a good time. The afternoon was devoted to games and dancing (see section on "Games").

During the afternoon the host chief and 769 his subchiefs (tuye’i) assembled to settle the 426 payment of debts for food supplied either by visitors or by members of their own tribe. This type of debt was called hočao´’ɨšna. Such a meeting would take place when the financing of any general tribal ceremony was necessary, not alone after the Annual Mourning Ceremony. The chief made a set speech: "We must now pay off our debt" (soi´’inad mai hočao’išna mayɨn; lit., pay you debt our). To which the subchiefs answered: "We will dispose of our debt" (ama´mai du´haš hočao’ɨšna mayɨn; lit., we-will dispose-of debt our). Then the chief's winatum collected money from all, and the visiting chief's winatums accepted it for their chief who in turn distributed it among his own people. Any other persons who should be paid off at this time were given money by the host winatums. It not infrequently happened that chiefs, subchiefs, and members of the mourning tribe were completely insolvent after one of these affairs.

769 While daylight lasted the shamans of the host tribe danced, but in the evening, when fires illumined the assembly space, those of either the reciprocant or spectator tribes danced. This dancing was kept up all night or at least as long as the hosts were willing to pay for it to continue. No shaman danced and no singer sang for nothing on public occasions. The dance was the watiyod customarily given for entertainment at any time (see section on "Pleasure Dances").

The following morning another general breakfast was eaten and the visitors began leaving for home.

J.B.'s Account

769 J.B.'s account of the mourning ceremony was curtailed and confused. It is given merely 756 because it differs in what may be some significant respects from the descriptions by other 789 informants. He did not assign a definite order to the series of ceremonies, but stated that the Shamans' Contest took place every morning of the week of the affair.

The Shamans' Contest he called ku´kesyu´ñɨt, saying that to kill by means of fire [?] or poison [?] was called kuku´siyɨč. Two doctors and a singer (uda´kɨč) took part. The singer with his clapper came [to the dance space] first. Each shaman had a winatum who built a fire for him. Then the shamans themselves came and each made airshot at his fire. They tried to kill each other. One of the shamans would be from a visiting tribe, and the people who came with him, i.e., his chief, singer, winatum, were always paid for the spectacle. "Any

769 people who wanted their doctors to make money
756 could have them go into this fight if they
liked."

789 The Huhuna Dance, J.B. said, was seen only
at mourning ceremonies at Lemoore, Porterville,
769 and Lemon Cove [that is, Tachi, Yaudanchi, and
Wukchumni]. It was danced in the afternoon to-
535 ward the end of the week, on Thursday or Friday.
The most noted Huhuna dancer was Čamčušan, a
Yaudanchi; a Choinimni named Ho´tᵻs was also a
Huhuna dancer. His costume consisted of a long
feather-covered dress, and he had pieces of
abalone shells (ṭu´dṭud) fastened over his eyes
[on the net headgear, presumably]. Under his
left arm hung a skin purse in which he put the
money he found.

After he had given the usual exhibition of
money-finding, his winatum would tell him he
was to be killed. The shaman chosen for this
task was usually Čokonᵻk, although J.B. had
seen Ma´mᵻl, a "Southerner" do it also. The
shaman made airshot at a fire and knocked
Huhuna unconscious. Two winatums carried him
aside, then the shaman would restore him. For
this spectacle both Huhuna and the shaman were
paid by the host [mourning] tribe.

The last, or Saturday, night of the cere-
769 mony the burning of images took place. This
was called ahana n͡ᵻt. Only the hosts took part;
the visitors looked on. A large fire burned in
the center of the dance space. The chief,
mourning families, and others proceeded around
[481] it (anticlockwise) in a long file, stepping
high and stamping. Women of the mourning
families carried the effigies of the dead
(woi´dowᵻš) while both men and women carried
long poles to which were affixed baskets and
beads for the visitors. The poles were carried
[198] in one hand while the other hand patted the
mouth to produce a long ululation, long and
doleful rather than staccato, and the poles
were waved in the air. At the end of the
second circuit of the fire the mourners cast
the effigies on the fire. At the same time the
poles were thrown to the visitors who scrambled
for the money and treasures; this part of the
ritual was called ka´mᵻts. This custom of
[184] tossing the poles was followed by Wukchumni,
Telamni, Gawia, Yokod, and Yaudanchi, whereas
the Mill Creek people (Choinimni and Western
Mono) kept the poles until the time of the
ritual washing when the gifts were presented to
the washers.

GHOST DANCE OF 1870

177 The introduction of the Ghost Dance was
668 attributed by J.B. to J._´joi, a Mono man, "a
796 Holkuma maybe," from the northeast.[98a] "He went

[text continues on p. 133]

[98a] The course of the Ghost Dance of 1870 among Yokuts and Western Mono has been described previously (Gayton, Ghost Dance of 1870).

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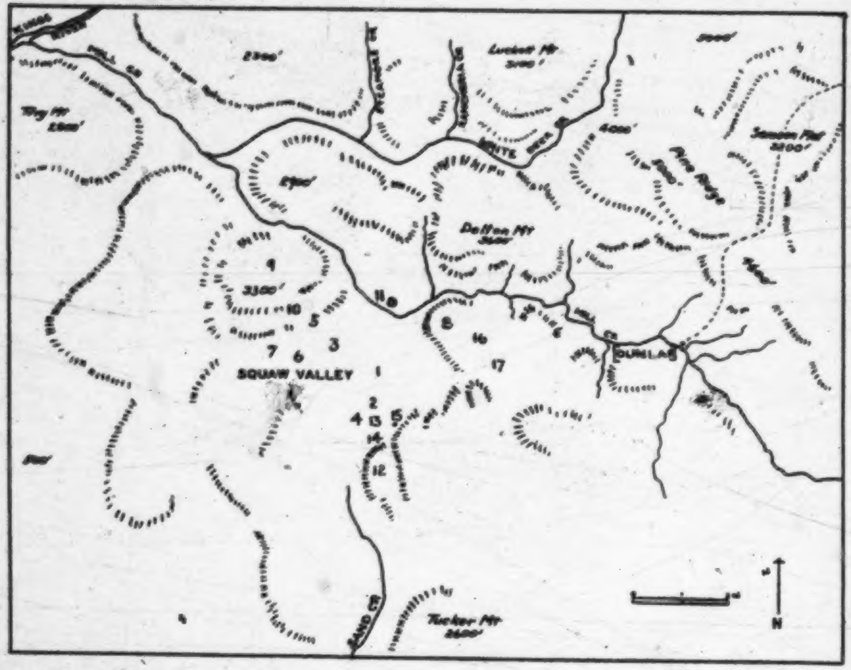
133
361


Kings River
Mill Cr
Tivy Mt 2000'
2300'
Lockett Mt 3400'
White Deer Cr
4000'
Pine Ridge
Sampson Flat 3200'
Dalton Mt 3600'
9
3300'
10
11
5
3
7
6
8
16
17
SQUAW VALLEY
1
2
4
13
15
14
12
DUNLAP
Sand Cr
Tucker Mt 2600'
N

Map 4. Local Map C: Chukaimina and Michahai sites

[P. 133 a] Wukchumni
Chukaimina

177 668 796 over toward Nevada every year to get the songs and dances which a man named Mo´man [Moman ?] was making there. He [Moman] was painted red." In turn, several Entimbich and Wobonuch singers would go north to learn the new songs from Joijoi. They went up there before Joijoi came south, which he did once or twice later on. The group of singers came back and held the first dance at Eshom Valley, then at Dunlap, then in Choinimni territory on Mill Creek, then went "to near Lemoore" [Pierce's Ranch ?], to the old Tule River Reservation, and to Fort Tejon. They held no dances on the return trip. In several subsequent years they retraveled this route as far as Tule River but omitted Lemoore: "singers from there came to dances in the foothills." J.B. was uncertain who composed this group, remembering only Samson Dick, Lewu´čui, and Little George Dick (all Entimbich), and A´pawɪč, Koiye´wa, and "Tonočim" (nickname) (all Wobonuch). An Entimbich named Mo´suš did the exhortative preaching. As "all the songs were in Mono," J.B. could not understand them [then].

668 796 The Ghost Dances ceased a long time ago: J.B. did not know why. There was never any revival. He had never heard of Wovoka. He did not believe the dance was a preventative of sickness or death.

When the first dance was held in the southern end of Eshom Valley, J.B. was living at Diapnuša (Lemon Cove). He was "just a little fellow and went with his father and mother and boy cousin." He had three older brothers who remained at home. J.B. said that by no means did everyone go to the dance "though most did because they were afraid not to" [but of what he did not know].

[Text Continued on Top of P. 133b, --- Analyst]

CHUKAIMINA

115 The following information is regrettably brief and not always clear. The available informants at Squaw Valley were inadequately equipped in personality and language to discuss or reconstruct Chukaimina culture from memory. They were not able to distinguish clearly between events at Maštinao and those occurring at neighboring Entimbich and Choinimni villages. Neither could they get down to cases. For example, while Mo. knew her own and her mother's totem animals, she "wasn't sure" about her husband's, and so on. What was got from P.M., A.M. (a Wukchumni by birth), and Mo. is given for the sake of complete record: only the moiety data can be used safely as it was rechecked several times for mutual agreement.

LOCALITIES

131 P.M. could not define Chukaimina territory

[Text Continued in middle of P. 133b, --- Analyst]

[P. 133b] Wukchumni
Chukaimina

668 The dance was called soto·´tow‧d kam (to-be-going-around dance). A circle of [men and]
796 women, usually alternating, and holding hands, moved in an anticlockwise direction. No fire
535 was in the center, but many fires from encircling camps provided light. Singers wearing the regular feather headdress (ču) sat at one side. They used no instruments. (J.B. thought "some people to the north used clappers and the dancers had bells tied to their ankles.") The singers were not paid, but their food and fire were provided by winatums from various visiting groups.

No unusual clothing was worn, but all used red and white face paint.[285] Red paint was not new at this time.

The dancing was continued all night. During interludes of rest Mosuš made speeches. He said, "God made all this land. The dead people are coming if we dance this dance. They dance this dance all the time where they [the dead] are now."

At sunrise dancing ceased; every one went to swim. During the day people rested, slept,
[262] or played games. There was no abstinence from meat. J.B. never heard of dogs being eaten; on one occasion some dogs were killed "because their barking scared away the ghosts [tawatsa]." The affair at Eshom lasted six nights.

The Wukchumni informant L. said she had
[184] participated in Ghost Dances at Kadawinao and Sohonto, Wobonuch villages. She insisted that all circular dances progressed clockwise.

796 M.L. said she was a small girl living at
668 the old Tule River Reservation near Porterville when a number of drunken Indians "mostly Mono"
177 came down and sang songs about the annihilation of the Indians.

CHUKAIMINA

[continued FROM p. 133a — Analyst]

131 as distinguished from Michahai save that Michahai claims were said to run west and southward from Squaw Valley to Drum Valley and to merge with Waksachi in the Murphy Creek region. The following localities P.M. pointed out from the height of his hilltop and I later identified them on U.S.G.S. Topographic Map, Dinuba Quadrangle, as best I could.

131 The following Chukaimina and Michahai sites are shown on Local Map C (map 4).

361

103

1. tolsi´hao (Michahai)
2. takša´myu (Michahai)
3. buči´h‧ntao (Michahai)
4. ot'o´to
5. bo´kto: Pete Marlo's place
6. woto´no: site of present Squaw Valley grocery store

---

[285] See ibid., fig. 2, b.

131 7. šu´lmao: Charlie Drake's place
361 8. kapa´no: long hill lying northeast to southwest on east side of valley
103 9. toi´yok: high peak northwest of no. 5
10. wiše´lao: hill between no. 5 and no.9
11. wo´nyu: village site on flat
12. ţo´po: hill south of no. 4
13. kiwe´yu
14. soiyo´'o
15. wai´yo: seed-gathering camp
16. busuta´o: a "bald" hill
17. ka´lpo: an isolated hill

Not definitely located: 18, didɨ´pča: a spring near Jeff Long's ranch; 19, opnɨ´nyu: a Chukaimina campsite on Pughe's ranch; 20, po'o´lo: a Chukaimina summer camp on Bill Curtis's: [?] place; 21, maštɨ´nao: most important Chukaimina village.

592 The informant Mo. could recall only four houses and their inmates at Maštinao.

1. Mo.'s home; she lived there with her father and mother. She claimed her "brother and sister were already dead."

2. Mo.'s father's brother, Šo´'ok (Copperhead) lived alone. He had been married, for his son's daughter was mentioned as "Mike's wife."

3. Mo.'s father's sister, Meyu´lat, married Pu´lkos; their son was Pusɨnɨnwait (P.M.). [P.M. said his father was Toihitcha, a not contradictory statement.]

4. Mo.'s father's female cousin, Koi´yut, married a grandson of Pušlɨlɨn named Ai´jo (Jack); their daughter was Ai´nɨk (Lillie).

BIRTH AND INFANCY

843 The following information was entirely from Mo.

She said there were no prenatal tabus for the expectant Chukaimina mother or father.

844 Birth took place in the house. The mother was assisted by her own mother, sister, grandmother or, if none of her own kin were near by, some of her husband's women relatives would help. There was no rule. The woman squatted over a depression in the floor, and the attendant caught the baby on a basket tray (čo´pai). The cord was cut with a cane knife (si´kɨd) to about four inches in length; the end was turned back and tied with milkweed string. When the stump fell off, it "was made into a ball with beads" and hung on the hood of the second [789] cradle. After the child abandoned the cradle, the stump was put in an anthill so the child would become industrious.

846 A hot pit was prepared for the mother in her own house. A depression was filled with coals and hot ashes, then earth, then grass and mats laid over these. The mother remained on this for ten days but she rose every three or four hours for a renewal of the coals. For the

846 first three days she steamed herself under
blankets. She drank only acorn gruel and hot
water for ten days (while on the pit); there-
after she might have solid vegetable foods, but
not meat for three months.

The father refrained from meat and solid
food ("bread," sic) and from laborious work for
ten days.

At the end of ten days the mother rose and
846 was washed at a little ceremony called teša´taš
553 ("means not to sleep any more," Mo.). This was
done by the infant's paternal grandmother, who
also bestowed a name on the baby and brought
its second cradle. The name given was always
from the father's side: usually a boy received
his paternal grandfather's name, a girl a
[854] paternal aunt's. At this time the baby was
moved into its second or permanent cradle where
it slept until the cradle was outgrown.

846 At the end of three months the mother was
given another ceremonial washing by her hus-
band's relatives. The mother-in-law and
[602] sisters-in-law washed the woman, arranged her
hair, and dressed her in fine new clothes. They
brought baskets of food, and the men of the
paternal family provided deer meat. A general
feast was held at which the mother discontinued
her meat tabu. Relatives from both sides of
the family were present and partook of the
feast; also "any friends who wanted to. Every-
one who came brought little presents to the
mother."

854 Both cradles were made of twined chaparral
brush.[206] The first (bi´´ıč) was small, and had
a circular band hood. The baby stayed in it
only ten days. The second (aki´lıč)ı was the
[177] larger one with the fan-shaped hood of Western
Mono derivation which has been described else-
where (cf. Wukchumni). When it was outgrown,
which was normally in eighteen to twenty-four
[856] months, it was hung on a young live oak tree so
that the child grew as the tree grew. New
cradles were provided for each new baby. Mo.
[184] said that the cradle with forked-stick frame
was used only by the people of the lake region.

881 With regard to puberty Mo. stated that she
knew of no ritual marking a girl's first menses.

MISCELLANEOUS DATA

323 Pottery.--All people known to Mo. made
pottery. Her own mother and aunt made it and
taught her. She described the coiling method
[262] and said the ware was fired about two days.[207]
Meat was always cooked in pottery vessels.

Women's dice game.--A.M. described the
524 women's dice game (hučuˊša). The pieces used

---

[206] Unidentified; chaparral is a generalized word for
underbrush or low growth, not a specific shrub.

[207] For complete process of manufacture, see Wukchumni
account herein or a previous publication, Gayton, Yokuts
and Western Mono Pottery-Making.

524 were called: čaˊpai (tray); hoˊwɨč (dice made of nut shells); čaˊkat (pine-pitch filling of dice); čuneˊti (abalone shell fragments set in pitch). She gave the count as: three face down, 1; two up, 2; all up or all down, 4. Twelve counters (wičɨˊl) were held by a scorekeeper; all must be obtained to win. This was the method of play at Maštinao [A.M. was Wukchumni by birth].

Hand game.--A.M. said she had seen the hand game (henaˊoša) played by the Entimbich at Dunlap when she was a little girl. She knew nothing about it save that "Coyote and Eagle used to play it all the time."

MOIETIES

616 The Chukaimina were divided into moieties named Tokelyuwich and Nutuwich. Their activities were reciprocal at mourning ceremonies during the washing rite and in playing games. However, they were subordinate to the tribal division which constituted the major reciprocal unit.

616 825 Totem animals which were individually, not collectively, symbolic of patrilineal lineages, were divided by moiety as follows, according to Mo:

Tokelyuwich:

toˊhɨl: eagle
ŏˊiŏˊi: roadrunner
toˊnol: wildcat (tukobɨč, Western Mono)
ṭunaˊo: badger
tiˊči: raccoon
suˊhup: chicken hawk (suˊpa, Western Mono)
wihɨˊšɨt: cougar (tuwaˊwiya, Western Mono)

Nutuwich:

lɨmɨk: falcon
hots: buzzard (wiˊho, Western Mono)
kaiˊyu: coyote (huˊʼušu [sic], Western Mono)
nahōˊʼō: bear (biˊowɨši [sic], Western Mono)
heˊwi: dove (Western Mono)
ṭeˊʼel: rattlesnake
hutuˊlu: owl

[582] All informants insisted that persons of the same totem animal (hence of the same moiety) could marry. No specific cases pro or con could be recalled, however. A man with Eagle totem was always chief; all his family were called tiˊya.

Redemption of Totem Animals

231 826 Mo. said that her paternal grandmother, who was of the Nutuwich moiety after marriage, raised an eagle. Her son, Mo.'s father, hunted

231 825 deer conti[illegible] the bird might be fed deer liver. Whe[illegible] mature, "all the Tokelyuwich people got together and paid her to let it go."

There was no person with Bear totem at Maštinao, hence no Bear redemption or Bear Dance.

[787] The inherited animal must be dreamed of to be of supernatural aid. "The Tokelyuwich dream of Eagle, the Nutuwich about Lɨmɨk [Falcon]" (Mo.).

Reciprocity at Mourning Ceremony

616 648 Intertribal reciprocity functioned at the Chukaimina mourning ceremonies. Informants named Choinimni as the reciprocant (ki´ʼi), since the moiety division was also followed by them -- Tokelyuwich of Choinimni washing Nutuwich of Chukaimina, etc. It was also said that Michahai sometimes washed the Chukaimina, but under what circumstances I could not discover. Since the Michahai did not segregate by moiety, the function was presumably an interfamily one. The real question is whether the totems of the washers and washees were the same (as with Michahai, Waksachi, and Wukchumni) or different (as with the Choinimni) when controlled by moiety dichotomy.

CEREMONIES

Mourning Ceremony

769 According to P.M. the Chukaimina held an annual mourning ceremony which lasted seven days. What occurred during the week he could not say [presumably only the morning and evening ritual singing and wailing] because the Shamans' Contest did not take place until either the day before the washing or on the last day after it [informants quite uncertain]. On the seventh day (Sunday) the washing ritual, which was primarily intertribal and secondarily intermoiety, was followed by the Shamans' Contest [Huhuna ?], and at night by the shamans' entertainment dances.

Various Ceremonies

796 Ceremonies which the informants would be expected to know, they seemed to know only by hearsay.

The Huhuna Dance, P.M. said, was done by a man who had a whistle, he sang, his dress was all feathers. There was no one up here who did it, nor any Wechihit or Toihitcha. "It came from Wukchumni way."

Names of Yokuts ceremonies were given thus by Mo.: Mourning ceremony (duni ʼša); crying ritual (aha´na); washing ritual, either at

796 mourning or for mother (epla´oiša); Shamans' Contest (heša´oišaš); Rattlesnake Ritual (laiya´la); [rattlesnake, ṭe´'el]; shaman's pleasure dance (ka´mkam).

P.M. had seen the Ghost Dance but Mo. had not.

769 Mo. claimed that the only mourning ceremonies she had witnessed were recent ones at

[P. 136 b] Chukaimina

769 Dunlap by the mixed Wobonuch, Entimbich, Waksachi,
Chuka:imina, Michahai, and some Choinimni.
Mo. said her father, Maka´na, participated
796 in the Rattlesnake Ritual with Pušl·l·n. "They
had little whistles to call the snakes." She
never saw this; "all she knows is what P.M.
told her."

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AAA-M	American Anthropological Association, Memoirs.
BAE-B	Bureau of American Ethnology, Bulletin.
CNAE	Contributions to North American Ethnology.
JAFL	Journal of American Folklore.
PMM-B	Public Museum of the City of Milwaukee, Bulletin.
PM-P	Peabody Museum of Harvard University, Papers.
SI-AR	Smithsonian Institution, Annual Report.
UC-AR	University of California, Anthropological Records.
UC-PAAE	University of California, Publications in American Archaeology and Ethnology.
USNM-R	United States National Museum, Reports.
YU-PA	Yale University, Publications in Anthropology.

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PLATE AND EXPLANATION

[P. 140] Miwok NS16
Western Mono NS25

Y
M
W
285
531

Explanation of Plate 1

Yokuts Specimens in Case 76, Room 15, Peabody Museum, Harvard University.

Miwok specimens to left of verticals, Western Mono specimens to right of verticals. (Photograph by courtesy of Peabody Museum, 1939.)

Top: large ceremonial basket flanked by other baskets of gift or ceremonial type. Across center: twined ware -- left, sieve with stripes; center, fish basket; right, seedbeater over coiled ware circular winnowing tray (perhaps a shaman's), flanked by small bottleneck or "treasure" baskets. Three fine bottleneck baskets with quail plume ornament. Bottom: gambling trays, mush basket type, small mush baskets. On floor, right: stave dice, arrow straightener, pair of hiding bones; center, bone awls and cane arrows; right verticals, looped rocklifters, plain bow, digging stick, and shaman's staff (black).

[P. 141]

Miwok NS 16
western Mono NS25

Y
M
W
285
531

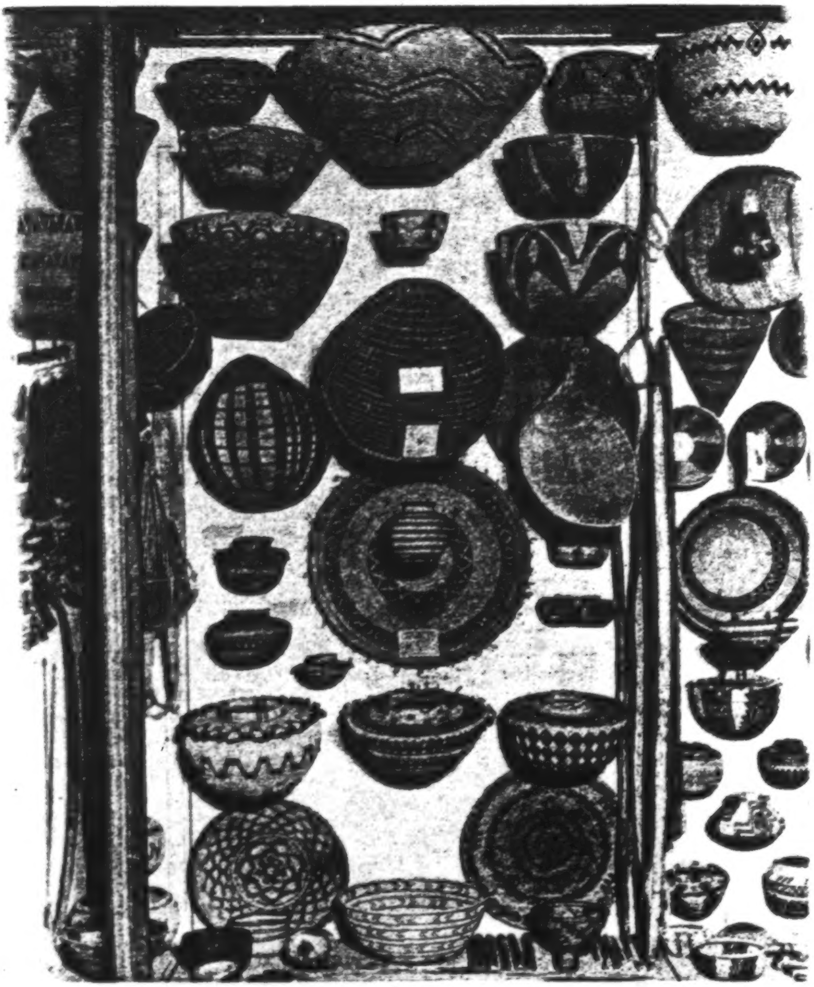

PLATE 1. YOKUTS SPECIMENS, PEABODY MUSEUM, HARVARD UNIVERSITY

[P. 142a]

ODD

YOKUTS AND WESTERN MONO ETHNOGRAPHY

II: Northern Foothill Yokuts and Western Mono

BY

A. H. GAYTON

ANTHROPOLOGICAL RECORDS
Vol. 10, No. 2

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PREFATORY NOTE

"Yokuts and Western Mono Ethnography," of which the present paper forms Part II, was prepared originally as a single publication. In Part I will be found a general introduction and certain illustrations relating to the cultural materials described in both parts.

I wish to reiterate here my indebtedness to Miss Barbara Thrall (Mrs. Arthur Wood Rogers) for the section on the Chukchansi Yokuts: the data are hers, their organization mine.

A.H.G.

November 8, 1945

INFORMANTS

Below are the names and approximate ages of contributing informants and the tribes about which they gave data. The initials are those under which they appear in the text. Asterisks denote major informants. Interpreters, none of whom were important as personalities, are listed separately. About eleven individuals who will remain unnamed were tried and rejected as informants.

Yokuts: Lake Tribes

*** J.A. Josie Alonzo, 65, Chunut, Wowol, Tachi, Telamni, and Nutunutu
** M.G. Mollie Garcia, 80, Tachi and Telamni

Yokuts: Southern Valley

** M.A. Martha Alto, 70, Paleuyami and Yaudanchi
* F.M. Frank Manuel, 65, Bankalachi
B.J A. Big Jim Alto, 70, Yauelmani and Hometwali
D.F. Dick Francisco, 80, Koyeti

Yokuts: Central Foothills

*** M.L. Mollie Lawrence, 70, Wukchumni and Gawi (blind)
** S.G. Sam Garfield, 65, Wukchumni and Yaudanchi
** M.G. Mary Pohot, 55, Wukchumni
** J.P. Joe Pohot, 60, Wukchumni and Patwisha
* J.B. Jim Britches, 70, Wukchumni
K.G. Katie Garcia, 30, Wukchumni (and a star interpreter)
L. Lottie, 60, Wukchumni
M.S. Mary Sanwihat, 100, Yaudanchi
J.W. Jim Wilcox, 70, Yaudanchi
T.W. Tillie Wilcox, 70, Telamni
A.M. Annie Marlo, 60, Chukaimina
P.M. Pete Marlo, 60, Chukaimina
Mo. Mollie, 60, Chukaimina
** P.D.W. Pony Dick Watun, 70, Choinimni, Gashowu, and Entimbich

Yokuts: Northern Foothills

* E.M. Ellen Murphy, 70, Kechayi and Gashowu
* B.W. Bill Wilson, 90, Dumna
C.D. Chicago Dick, 70, Chukchansi
* N.W. Nancy Wyatt, 50, Chukchansi
M.W. Mike Wyatt, 55?, Chukchansi
* J.R. Jack Roan, 80, Chukchansi and Southern Miwok
* P.R. Polly Roan, 50, Chukchansi
M.N. Matilda Neal, 70?, Chukchansi

Transitional Yokuts-Western Mono

*** S.O. Sam Osborn, 65, Michahai and Waksachi (blind)
** B.O. Bob Osborn, 75, Waksachi
D. Dinky, 55, Michahai and Waksachi

Western Mono

*** M.J. 'Merican Joe, 80, Wobonuch
** Jn.W. Jane Waley, 65, Wobonuch
* Jo.W. Joe Waley, 75, Wobonuch
* G.D. George Dick, 40, Wobonuch and Entimbich (and a star interpreter)
B.S. Basket Susie, 60, Wobonuch
D.S. Dead Susie, 75, Wobonuch and Entimbich
M. Martha, 60, Wobonuch

Interpreters

M.L., K.G., S.G., G.D., Lillian and Marian Wyatt (Chukchansi), and Martha Waley (Wobonuch)

[p.142 e]

PHONETIC KEY

104

a, e, i, o, u as in Spanish

ɛ	as in met
ɪ	as in it
ɔ	as in off
ü	as in German für
ö	as in German schön
ə	the obscure vowel of about or idea
ai	as the vowel sound of eye
ei	as the vowel sound of hay
oi	as the vowel sound of boy
iu	as the vowel sound of you
ⁱ	raised vowel, whispered
g	as in gig
j	as in jig
ñ	as in sing
š	as in share
č	as in church
ṛ	trilled r
ṭ	postalveolar or palatal placement
x	deep or gutteral aspiration
h	simple aspiration, as in hand
ʼ	glottal stop
·	raised period, protraction of a vowel sound
´	accented syllable

[P. 142 g]
[P. 142 f contains no text]

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YOKUTS AND WESTERN MONO ETHNOGRAPHY

PART II: NORTHERN FOOTHILL YOKUTS AND WESTERN MONO

BY
A. H. GAYTON

YOKUTS: NORTHERN FOOTHILLS

CHOINIMNI

[P. 143 b]

choinimni

TERRITORY AND INTERTRIBAL RELATIONS

101 131 The Choinimni occupied land along Mill Creek from the junction of its north and south forks to its union with Kings River (see Local Map D). Above them on Mill Creek were the Entimbich, a mixed Yokuts and Mono tribe, and the Michahai, a basically Yokuts tribe who shared Squaw Valley with the Chukaimina Yokuts. From Sycamore Creek on Kings River, where Apa´wɨč was the Wobonuch frontier village, the Choinimni held both sides of Kings River as far west as Hughes Creek and perhaps a little beyond, where the Toihicha took up the north side of the river. On the south bank the Choinimni territory continued to Kipai´yu, their last village, which was fairly close to Centerville; there Aiticha land began on the south side and, on the opposite side, now somewhat west and south, were the Wechihit. This area is somewhat larger than that indicated on Kroeber's map.[1] The data for Mill Creek, I think, are wholly trustworthy: that is the locality P.D.W. knew best. His eastward extension to Sycamore Creek fits with Jeff Mayfield's statements for about 1850-1860.[2] On the west, Centerville as the eastward limit of Aiticha territory was a point on which P.D.W. was insistent; his location of Kipaiyu, however, may be incorrect, Kroeber's location being perhaps more exact. This still leaves it possible for the Choinimni to have dominated the river on the south side for some distance, that is, to about Centerville.

648 177 Prior to 1860 the social relations between the Yokuts and Western Mono were not so casually friendly, much less so intimate, as they have been in recent years since the two groups were forced into mutual contact by white domination of their country. 439 In the 1850's the Choinimni carried on trade, through a few individuals who seem to have been professional

---

[1] Handbook, pl. 47.

[2] Latta, Uncle Jeff's Story, 15.

439 barterers, with the Monachi (Wobonuch Western
Mono) neighbors on Kings River above Sycamore
Creek. The Yokuts considered themselves
186 superior. Unlike the Penutian-speakers of the
[197] valley, the upland Monachi were found to be
treacherous and thievish by the Mayfield
family. However, with characteristic fairness,
Mayfield said that this might be due to his
family's friendliness with the Yokuts and that,
had the Mayfields been placed first amongst the
Monachi, these Indians probably would have been
the friends and the Yokuts would have proved
equally inimical.[3]

What is clear throughout is this: that
619 utmost friendliness prevailed among all the
Yokuts tribes in contact with one another along
423 these waterways, particularly with regard to
fishing privileges. While the Choinimni felt
the north bank of Kings River to be theirs,
between the Wobonuch on the east and the
Toihicha on the west, the Gashowu were welcome to
occupy their fish camp (Map 2: Local Map D)
during the spring salmon run. These neighbors
remained there while the fish dried, which they
then took home to store. Similarly there were
the most flexible "boundaries" for seed and
acorn gathering. As elsewhere along the
eastern side of the San Joaquin Valley, there
was an abundance of fish, game, and vegetable
foods; probably for that very reason, nothing
[574] was begrudged. There was much intertribal
visiting during ceremonies; the Choinimni,
Michahai, and Entimbich particularly combined
on such occasions.

The Choinimni, for their part, were annual
574 visitors in the Tulare Lake region, where they
484 were hospitably received by the Tachi. An
excursion to the lake on tule balsas is described
[501] by Jeff Mayfield. The visitors took with them
supplies and equipment for camping. The large
574 balsas were boarded at the edge of the hills,
502 some ten miles below Sycamore Creek, where the
river waters were broad and placid, yet full
484

[text continues on p. 145]

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[3] Ibid.

[P. 144] Western Mono NS25

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13)
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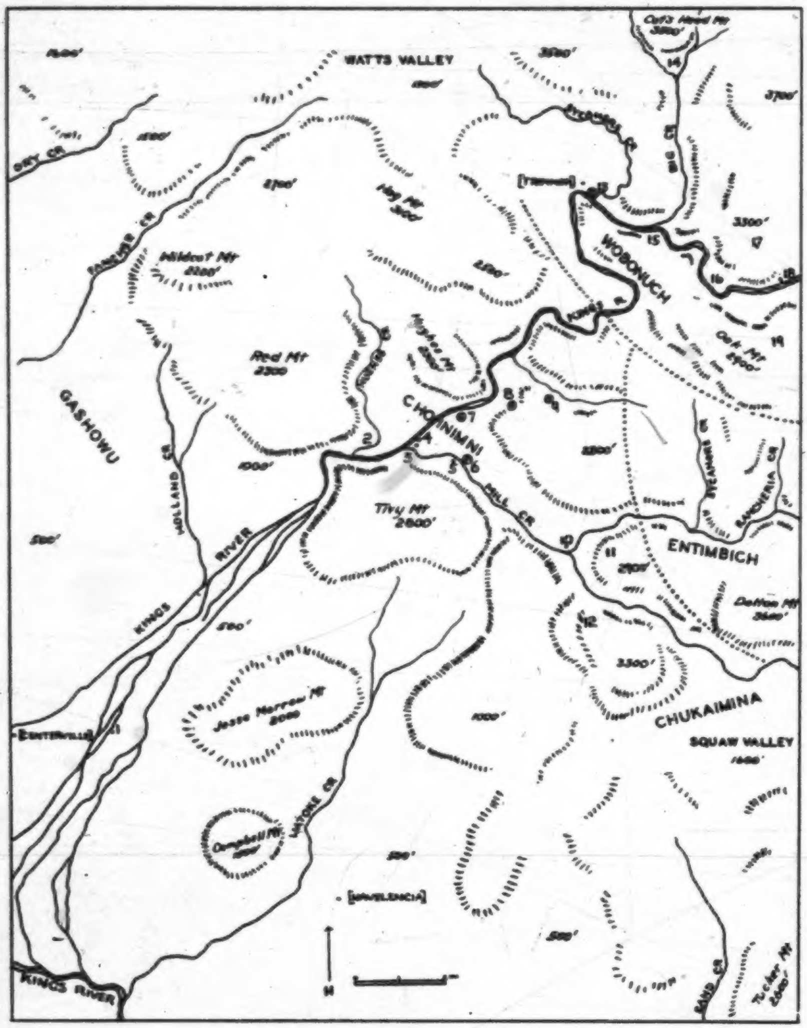
361


WATTS VALLEY
Cat's Head Mt 3880'
3500'
3700'
1500'
1800'
DRY CR.
1500'
2100'
Hog Mt 3000'
FANCHER CR.
Wildcat Mt 2100'
2500'
BIG CR.
WOBONUCH
KINGS R.
Oak Mt 2500'
Red Mt 2300
GASHOWU
HOLLAND CR.
CHOINIMNI
1000'
2500'
Tivy Mt 2600'
MILL CR.
SYCAMORE CR.
ENTIMBICH
2900'
Dalton Mt 3600'
3300'
500'
KINGS RIVER
500'
Jesse Morrow Mt 2000
1000'
CHUKAIMINA
SQUAW VALLEY 1600'
CENTERVILLE
Campbell Mt 1000'
WAHTOKE CR.
500'
VALENCIA
500'
SAND CR.
Tucker Mt 2600'
KINGS RIVER
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Map 2. Local Map D: Choinimni and Neighboring Territory

574 from the spring floods which would carry them
502 over impeding sand bars. About ten days were
484 required for the trip. Accompanying hunters sometimes traveled afoot all day and joined the group on the barges wherever they were moored for the night. While at the lake, the foothill
[22 people engaged in fishing, bird snaring, rabbit
438] drives, and so on, and doubtless traded their native products for local ones.[4]

726 P.D.W. had heard of but one "war," in which "all the Indians gathered at a flat near Centerville and then ran up back of Pine Ridge." No more coherent statement could be got: it suggests an occurrence under white pressure, perhaps in connection with the Ghost Dance.[5]

101 In referring to neighboring people, directional terms were generally applied when one did not wish to make reference to a specific tribe. Thus the Gashowu, Kechayi, Dumna to the north were called hošəˊm. The Michahai, Chukaimina, and even Wukchumni were homtiˊnɨn, southerners. The term waˊkliʼu was applied to the Toihicha and Wechihit on the west. The Wobonuch and Entimbich to the east were spoken of as nɔt. Collectively all Western Mono groups were referred to as nutaˊwi or nutsaˊwi (easterners, uplanders), just as were other mountaineers to the south, Tübatulabal (Pitanisha) by Paleuyami, Koyeti, etc.

823 Directions were spoken of spontaneously by P.D.W. and given unhesitatingly in the following order: hošoˊmo (north); homtinɨn (south); wakliʼu (west, possibly downstream); nɔt (east, mountainwards); ṭiˊpɨn (up); atɨˊl (down).

Localities

131 Local Map D shows the following Choinimni and Wobonuch sites.

361

103 Choinimni sites:

1. kipaiˊyu: west terminus of Choinimni territory; Centerville
2. hohaˊltao: valley east of Piedra
3. hɨʼhaˊšyu: cemetery for no. 4
4. taheˊču: meaning "fish going up"; a fishing camp
5. wohoiˊnu: campsite
6. kulušaˊo: an old large village
7. wašaˊmao: a village
8. yegwoˊnyu: a village
9. loloˊnču: a village
10. mučetoˊʼo: a camp
11. wišeˊlao: west terminus of Entimbich territory where they came for fish
12. woʼaˊltyu: northeastern terminus of Michahai territory
13. apaˊwɨč: Trimmer Springs; west terminus of Wobonuch territory called by them wasaˊmu

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[4] Ibid., 29, 30.

[5] Perhaps earlier, 1851, at the time of the Mariposa Battalion's forays.

[P. 145b] Western Mono NS25

M
103 Wobonuch sites:
14. sui ́nawe
131 15. suina ́weta mapa ́dowɨn: suinawe junction or fork
361 16. paha ́wetᵘ: meaning "pestle place"
17. kini ́dewetᵘ: Sacata Flat
18. sasi ́wetᵘ: fishing camp; given as sasi ́we by D.S.
19. wiya ́ma: Oak Mountain

STRUCTURES

Y
Dwellings.--A house was called tomo ́ʼhɨš,
342 and was probably hemispherical, not conical nor gabled, if my understanding of P.D.W.'s description is correct. The frame was called sutu ́wɨts, the term for the material used, and was covered with a thatch, not mats, of a "brush" called ai ́ač, which was tied on with hoʼ. This grassy "brush" had the quality of matting when wet, so it was practically waterproof. The floor was not dug out "except to make a good sleeping place"(possibly individual
[352 hollows filled with bark and tule mats). The
513] doorway of the house was called ti ́šɨč, covered with a removable door of twined aiač fastened on a frame.

A dome-shaped earth lodge was used by the Choinimni, according to Mayfield; his circumstantial description fills an omission in Kroeber's data and my own. This lodge was circular, excavated about two feet deep. Willow poles were abutted in the walls about six inches apart, their tips then bent inward and tied to a wood hoop. Other circular, horizontal withes were lashed around the frame. "Around and over this frame were stood tules to a depth of about ten or twelve inches. Then the soil was thrown over the tules to a depth of several inches. After a few years grass grew over the house and it looked like an underground house or cellar." The floor was
[352 covered thickly with tule mats, with extra
513] layers at the sleeping places. Rabbitskin blankets and, if obtainable, bearskins were used as bed-coverings in winter. Save for sleeping, the house was used only in bad weather, when a fire was made in the middle of the floor, the smoke escaping directly above.
[252] Otherwise all food preparation, cooking, and eating were done outside.[6]

The average-sized house comfortably held a family of six. No ceremonies took place in
[533 it, though a man might dance or a flutist play
524] if he were asked, or someone might sing. The hand game (henao ́ɨša) was played there.

Storehouses.--Little thatched storehouses
343 (wiči ́ti: literally, little house) were built
251 close to the dwelling. There the men of the family kept their dance regalia and their materials (sinew, hides, drills, feathers, etc.) for making various things, as well as

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[6] Latta, op. cit., 22-23.

343 small trinkets stored in baskets. Women kept
extra baskets, the burden and fish baskets
251 there, and food which was stored for immanent
use.

The acorn storage bin (suʼu̧ʹna) was made
of twined mats of aiač tied around a stout
cylindrical framework. The upper ends of the
mat wefts were left untwined and, after the
bin was filled, these loose tops were bunched
up and tied tightly. Acorns were removed
from a hand hole near the bottom which was
plugged up with willow bark (or any convenient
material). The bin was set up on a special
platform supported by four posts or in the
branches of a tree, to which it was lashed with
hoʼ.[7]

343 Sweat house (mos).--This was the usual
two-post structure described for the Central
515 Foothill region. A new one was not built until
the old one burned or was beyond repair. The
fire was just inside the door; so was the firewood,
in two piles, one on each side of the
door. Whoever was sitting nearest the wood
kept up the fire.

Any male "old enough to stand it" was
welcome to make use of the sweat house. There
was no ceremonial dancing within it, but
doctors or others who knew how would occasionally
dance there (perhaps for practice, as we
[533 know from the Wukchumni). The flute was often
524] played there, but games were not indulged in.

SUBSISTENCE AND CLOTHING

262 Foods.--Foods available and used were
those customary with other foothill Yokuts and
were procurable in abundance. Rock salt was
[263] known -- probably traded from the Monachi --
but more often the salty deposit on certain
grasses was flicked off on a small willow twig.
Greens and bulbs, tule and iris roots were the
vegetable foods besides the staple acorn.
Buckeye seed was used after a thorough leaching
only when acorns were scarce.

In discussing the preparation of acorns,
252 Mayfield says that "a sort of sieve or collander,
made of fine willow shoots," was used to
262 separate the coarse and fine particles. (This
does not necessarily preclude the usual Yokuts
circular winnowing tray.) The preparing and
cooking of acorn foods are as reported generally
for the Yokuts. The soaproot brush with
[412] straight bristles was used for brushing up
acorn flour at mortar holes.

Piñon nuts were collected and prepared as
by the Waksachi (see below), eaten roasted or
mashed in a rich mush.

262 Ground squirrels were smoked from their
224 burrows, but the fan used was a basket or
piece of hide, i.e., evidently not a feather
184 fire fan.

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[7] Mayfield describes a similar granary (ibid., 23).

264 Meals were irregular, save for a late afternoon supper just before sundown. Snacks were taken by workers as they came home from tasks away from the village. Mayfield claimed all persons ate from a central basket by dipping in three fingers, but used small baskets for drinking.

Traps and weapons.--The fish trap was a 227 cone-shaped net of milkweed fibre. Its round mouth gaped in a weir facing upstream; the fish were driven downstream into it. In shallow pools fish were caught by wading in and pouncing an open-bottomed basket over them; they were then extracted by putting a hand through the opening.

A double-pointed harpoon, one tip of which was detachable, is described by Mayfield; the pole handles were often 20 feet long. A scaffolding was constructed to spear the fish from: two poles, crossed like shears, were set butt down in deep water 10 to 15 feet from the bank, the crotch about level with the land. In this crotch were lashed the tips of two long poles whose ends rested on the bank and were some 10 feet apart. Across this frame were laid poles and leafy branches, amongst which the fisherman lay face down. As he could see fish in the shady water below, he speared them through an opening between the poles.

411 Mayfield, when a lad, was given a fine sinew-backed bow. This was about 3-1/2 feet long, wide, flat, with handgrip in center and recurved ends, and was "painted in pretty [283] colors." The string was of sinew, tied at one end and looped at the nocked end, which was unfastened when not in use. These bows were all [439] bought from the Monachi by the Choinimni and [463] taken back to them for repairs, in fact, to a certain skilled individual north of Sycamore Creek.

The Choinimnis' own simple bows were without recurved ends.

Excellent details of hunting, of the 411 making of weapons, etc., are given by Mayfield in a passage too long to reproduce here. The 224 essential points are: arrow release with two fingers, three fingers for heavy bow; arrows with obsidian-tipped foreshaft for warfare and heavy game, hardwood foreshaft for light game; simple arrow for practice; bird-arrow tipped with four cross-pieces; foxskin quiver; the pigeon booth (see Michahai below); and the deer disguise. Deer and elk were snared, but the method is not described.

Clothing.--The man's breechclout was ten 291 inches wide, cut from a full length of deerhide, held in place by a buckskin thong over which the clout was doubled at the back and over which the two front ends hung in a flap. Women wore a "rabbit skirt woven together like the blankets." This consisted of two knee-length aprons, the larger one in front. Cougar skins were worn about the shoulders in cold weather. Mayfield claims footgear was unknown.

[P. 147 a] Chowinmi

000
302 Both sexes wore the hair long, banged across
the forehead by women, parted in the middle
and held back with eagle-down cord by men.
[304 Women tattooed their chins, and a few wore a
bone through the nasal septum; both sexes had
307] pierced ears. Men plucked beard hairs with
split-twig tweezers. The hair was brushed
with a soaproot brush which had curved tips on
its bristles. White paint, put on over red
paint was used ornamentally.[8]

286 A hairnet served as the foundation for
feather head ornaments, the usual ču and sema,
301 but it was also used by any man who wanted his
hair held compactly for practical purposes.
P.D.W.'s net, made of grocery string, is now
University of California Museum specimen no.
1-27001. The method of putting on the net is
as described for the Central Foothill region
and shown in figure 7, Part I.

MISCELLANEOUS DATA

481 Means of transport.---As with all Yokuts
dwelling upon the lakes, sloughs, rivers, and
creeks of the San Joaquin Valley, the Choinimni
[868] were expert swimmers. Infants were immersed in
icy waters before they were able to walk and
learned to swim from that time. A swimmer in
the San Joaquin used "a long overhand stroke."[9]

The Choinimni at Sycamore Creek made small
501 tule rafts for use on the river near their
village; these carried one or two persons.

The large barges of tule, made for the
journey to Tulare Lake, were constructed in
sloughs about ten miles downriver from Sycamore
Creek. These were 50 feet long, of three long
separate bundles bound with willow withes;
the two outer ones were raised slightly as a
sort of bulwark above the level of the center
bundle. Each end of the boat was pulled up 2
to 3 feet higher than the deck. Along the
center was piled all the equipment, which "included
mortars and pestles, baskets of acorns,
acorn bread, seeds, meat, skins for bedding
and many other things." Eight to ten persons,
[502] usually of one or two families, sat along the
sides while four men stood and poled, though
this was mainly for guidance as the river
current carried the craft. The return trip
was made toward summer while the river was
still high enough so the boats could be poled
upstream to the original point of departure.
From there the dunnage was carried afoot up to
the village at Sycamore Creek.[10]

482 According to Jeff Mayfield, the carrying
net of milkweed twine was used to support the
[282] conical burden basket on the back, though it
is implied that this was done only with an excessively
heavy load, such as acorns. Occasion-

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[8] Ibid., 16, 17, 23, 26, 27, 38, 39, 40-42.

[9] Ibid., 29, 12.

[10] Ibid., 29-31, 37.

482 [854] occasionally a basket cap was worn under the tumpline
to ease the pressure, as was sometimes done
when carrying a heavy child in a cradle.[11]

Musical instruments.--The elderwood flute
534 (u´tač) had four holes. Not many men could
play it; P.D.W. thought one had to dream about
it to become really adept. Two Choinimni experts
at Kulušao were Kudu´ma and La'hai´yi.
Samson Dick (Ya´ki) is the only person living
[237] now who can play well.[12] The hawk shinbone
whistle (pu´sač) was held in the mouth while
the musician executed dance steps. This kind
of whistling is called wušinuha´o, the term
applied to ordinary (European) whistling with
pursed lips. The elderwood clapper (ta´wal)
was used for most ceremonial accompaniments,
the cocoon rattle (sa´nač) being reserved exclusively
for doctor's shamanistic dancing and
for the Bear Dance.

Beating upon a hollow log is reported by Mayfield.

[202] A short musical bow, twanged upon while
one end was held in the mouth, was heard by
[198] Mayfield. Whistling, he said, was used only
for signaling.[13]

533 The singers who accompanied dancing were
called ale´kɨč; the act of singing, or songs,
ɨ´lkaš.

Paint.--White paint (ho´sət) was a clay
302 "dug up in the swamps around here" (i.e., at
386 the edge of the foothills toward Centerville).
[439] Red paint (hu´'iyu) was got in trade from the
Eastern Mono. Black paint (wa´wən) was of unknown
source. All these paints were lumpy; in
preparation they were ground or rubbed down on
a rock, then mixed with grease and applied with
the fingers. P.D.W. insists that there were no
distinctive totemic paint patterns. White
paint, crudely smeared, was worn on a doctor's
arms and body when he was dancing.

Pipes.--A pipe of wood (elderwood) was
276 called a´tsi. P.D.W.'s pipe, the typical
Yokuts pipe, was about 3 inches long, about
5/16 of an inch in diameter at the base and
1/2 inch at the outer end. The hollowing for
the "bowl" was about 1/4 inch in diameter, and
held but a small pinch of tobacco. Only one or
two puffs were taken, perhaps twice a day. A
pipe of clay was called sə´kmai; these were not
common.[14] The other common form, comparable to
the wood pipe, was called si´kɨl (cane) from
the cane which was obtained for this and for
arrow-making from the Aiticha; no cane grew up
in the hills, said P.D.W. The cane pipe was
3-6 inches long and was often carried behind

---

[11] Ibid., 23, 40.

[578] [12] This man, who was at outs with most of his neighbors
at Dunlap in 1927, refused repeated requests to become an
informant. Other Indians apologized for his unwillingness,
although his refusals were made with the greatest tact.

[13] Latta, op. cit., 25.

[14] Mayfield claimed he had seen no clay or stone pipes
of the Choinimni (ibid., 21).

[P. 148 a] Choinimni

276 the ear; only men smoked, the tobacco being pulverized seed, not leaves.[15]

323 Pottery (ki´w·š).--Clay, red clay, and clay dishes were called by the single term kiw·š; the clay pipe was šəkmai. In the old days many old women made pottery. They went after the clay with a carrying net and digging stick. They "dug around until they got the right kind" [presumably with the correct admixture of sand], although they knew the best of the many places to go. The clay was laid on an old deerskin, put in the net, and taken home where it was given a thorough pounding on a bedrock mortar (pe´š·n, acorn pounding place). The details of building up and finishing a pot P.D.W. could not describe well: the process was coiling, as elsewhere among Yokuts. After the pots were dried, they were fired in a pit filled with coals. This "took all morning" [probably longer]. [I failed to ask about a "slip" of gruel or of any other material.]

372 Firemaking.--Striking a fire (šike´t·l) by means of rock or flint sparks in old times was never heard of by P.D.W. The "only way" to make fire was a buckeye board [hearth] called tu´pun (buckeye) and a pointed stick [drill] of white oak called š·´ktaš. The drill was twirled between the palms, the hearth held down with the left foot.

GAMES

526 [181] Mayfield, who found his Choinimni hosts a jolly, fun-loving lot, describes several of their games. There was a gaming court near the center of each village; this was smoothed, tamped (stamped?), and covered with sand, and here an exhilarated crowd of players and spectators was often gathered.

Boys amused themselves by tossing dummy ducks of bark on the river and shooting them with arrows or throwing spears at them.

Pierced hoop and pole.--The pole was 10 feet long, the disc about 1-1/2 feet in diameter with a center hole of 2-3 inches. This disc was made up of rolled bark wound with split willow. This game was played by all, sometimes as many as thirty players, in sides 20 to 30 feet apart. As the disc was rolled from one side to the other, all tossed their poles at it. If the hoop was pierced, it counted 2; if knocked over, 1. A scorekeeper [802] called out the tally. Incidentally, counting was in the decimal system as with other Yokuts.

Stone disc and arrow.--A perforated stone disc, 3 to 4 inches in diameter, also used for arrow-straightening, was rolled across the court, and arrows were shot at it by young men. Scoring was like that for hoop and pole.

Other diversions were rolling globular stones into a hole and casting flat stones at a line.

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[15] Ibid.

524 Women's dice game.--This was played as by the Wukchumni (see Pt. I). In scoring, two or seven face sides up counted 1.

Hand game.--The hiding game was played by shuffling two sticks, one of which was marked, behind the back; apparently no blanket or other covering was used. The marked stick was guessed for. This was a man's game.

526 Football.--A ball of polished stone was propelled off the tip of the foot toward goal posts some two hundred yards apart. This was a very rough game with much pushing and shoving, perhaps like that disapproved of by J.P. (Wukchumni-Patwisha informant).

Shinny.--This was played with a wooden ball and a stick with curved end. It was said to be played roughly, usually by youths fourteen to twenty years of age.[16]

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

Officials

622 The chief (di´ya) had powers similar to those of chiefs elsewhere; he sanctioned or rejected personal projects that affected the community, such as mourning ceremonies, building a sweat house, or moving out to campsites.[17] At Kulušao, the Tokelyuwich chief was Wato´ki, and the Nutuwich chief was A´hač. Following on Watoki came Gu´jam (John Hughes), and after Ahač, whose son had died, another Nutuwich named Toku´yan (Hammond Bill). After Gujam's death, his sister acted as chief in a casual way; and since Tokuyan's death there has been no Choinimni chief, although his son is alive and working at Bill Hancock's (1927). P.D.W. and others have asked him to function as chief, but he has refused to take on the expense and responsibility, which would consist largely in directing the aberrant funeral rites carried on in private.

624 Each chief had his own winatum (messenger). P.D.W. was Ahač's messenger (Ahačɨn wɨnatum); both his parents had been Nutuwich winatums. [611] The Choinimni "followed the father in everything" i.e., in moiety, totem, and official positions, but not necessarily in professions such as doctoring. The Tokelyuwich messenger for Watoki was named Kuču´’i. When traveling, a messenger carried a tall walking [211] stick, which was sometimes painted red. He did not carry any beaded or knotted cord, or other mnemonic device to show the number of days before an assembly. He built public fires, got wood, food, and water for ceremonial gatherings, and was paid for all his services.

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[16] Ibid., 18-20.

[17] Jeff Mayfield's description of the chief's responsibilities and of the manner in which chiefs were selected and retained their positions is in accordance with my data from the Choinimni and other Yokuts (ibid., 28).

624 An official speaker was called di´'e´le; magpie was his totem. This official is obviously identical with the Chunut pine´ti. He was a kind of "consulting attorney" or go-between; if persons had a proposition to lay before the chief, they would consult the di'ele, who would report to the chief. There was such an official at Kulušao when P.D.W. was a boy, but P.D.W. cannot remember his name.

Moieties

616 The moieties Tokelyuwich and Nutuwich divided the Choinimni into groups which functioned reciprocally at the mourning ceremony. All attempts to get information on the relation
[613] of the lineage to the moiety and to the nature of totems resulted in confused mutual misunderstanding. The following "animals" were readily assigned to one or the other moiety by P.D.W. He thought anybody could eat any of them so far
616 as moiety regulation was concerned. He did not
825 recognize a description of "first fruits" eating by either moiety.

Tokelyuwich, west

ṭo´hɨl: eagle
naho´'o: grizzly bear
iwe´yɨt: long tail cat[18]
hɔts: buzzard
ka´nkas: crow
o´i'o´i': roadrunner
hu´šu: coyote
hu´ñhət: weasel
lɨ'mɨk: falcon ["bullet hawk"]
di'kwi´lɨts: fisher [or martin]
ta´tčai: mudhen[19]
la´la: goose
oi´'ɨk: blackbird
ma´o: tree (grey?) squirrel
hoi: deer
ki´sɨn: "red-bell" seeds[20]

Nutuwich, east

wɨts: condor
tono´hɔp: black bear
wehu´šɨt: cougar
ho´toi: raven
upye´'i: dove
to´ñol: wildcat
so´hup: "chicken" hawk
te´pɨš: beaver
šo´'šo': kingfisher
wa´twat: duck
šɨ´čɨl: ground squirrel
soi´yal: antelope
o´čoč: magpie
ti´pɨn: acorns

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[18] Undoubtedly the large or mountain coyote called iweyɨt, colloquially known as wolf.

[19] P.D.W. recognized the "pun" on Tachi and said, "Those people lived in the water too" but the "words were not the same."

[20] Calendrinia.

BURIAL

763 If it were thought a man would die within
616 a day or two, the chief of his moiety would be
asked to send a messenger to notify and assemble
his relatives. Burial was made the
764 morning after death occurred. The deceased's
own family washed the corpse, put it in its
best clothing, adding ornaments of "money"
beads and personal talismans, such as those of
eagle-down string. Then the body was wrapped,
with flexed posture, in hides.

Meanwhile official buriers (tonoˊč·m) had
764 dug a grave, and they came to carry away the
767 corpse and bury it. P.D.W. thought that this
occupation "went from father to son," but he
was uncertain under questioning. He emphatically
denied that they were berdaches: "they
were just plain men and women." They performed
no dance, nor did they make a speech at the
grave.

The story of the man who followed his
765 wife to the afterworld was not known to P.D.W.,
773 and when told of this legendary trip, he
evinced great surprise. (This lack of information
was one of the many peculiarities of this
informant and his knowledge.)

765 Mayfield reports the usual shortening of
hair and the smearing of pitch and charcoal on
302 women's hair and face as evidences of mourning.[21]

SHAMANISM

756 This subject was a difficult one for
P.D.W. From others I had learned that he had
been a doctor's winatum and, like most of them,
had acquired considerable knowledge of doctors'
ways. With the disappearance of true doctors
among the Indians today, he had attempted to
practice himself. While not eminently successful,
he at least had the respect of neighboring
Indians, who often appealed to him for help.
It was also said that he had been put in jail
twice by white authorities because of this
practice, a punishment which the old man bore
with fortitude, stating that "they can put me
in jail, but they can't kill me." Consequently,
questions on his own methods of doctoring
had to be avoided, and he even hedged away from
queries about specific doctors of earlier
times. However, in a sudden excess of confi-
[778] dence he got out his martenskin talisman to
show me. This he stroked with a kind of loving
abstraction as we were talking, and he voluntarily
gave it to me to hold and stroke. In
[683] old times evil shamans were dispatched, with
public approval, as elsewhere in the San
Joaquin.

756 To be a doctor you had to have a dream
787 (anaˊtsiwal)[22] of an animal or bird, which was

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276 [21] Latta, op. cit., 39.

[22] To be sleepy is ənˊt·ə. The name of the tribe Entimbich was mentioned here, and P.D.W. denied any pun or meaning in this connection.

756 prayed to and dreamed about. Tobacco (šo´gən)
787 was eaten with lime and vomited to stimulate
dreaming. Anyone could do this who wanted to;
276 P.D.W. denied ever using tobacco this way, a
denial which seemed doubtful. Eagle down was
[237] scattered at sacred moments at certain springs,
probably when prayers were being made.[23]

756 Doctors cut and sucked when curing. If
the patient did not improve, the practitioner
danced, called on his dream helper (anatsiwal),
and dreamed for further power. Sickness was
[754] caused by intrusion; a bad shaman could send
something into one; this might be an insect,
or some small object, or the "airshot" (toi´yəs)
which they were said to manufacture.

753 Ghosts frequently caused sickness called
755 hoču´nač. The spirit of some dead man would
catch a victim after dark and insert a long
775 hair in his forehead. To cure this a doctor
cut at the end of the nose and sucked, with
long audible inhalations and rapid brief exhalations. The hair he extracted might be "as long as your arm."

A malicious ghost could even make one crazy (ale´ta), an ailment which doctors could not cure. P.D.W. said he "saw that tried once at Squaw Valley" but the attempt failed.

754 Poison (ta´wats, dead person ?) was differentiated from airshot, but P.D.W. was
"afraid of that and didn't want to talk about
it." As elsewhere, the source of poisoning
was attributed to southern doctors. "After
[668] that [the Ghost Dance] the Tule River doctors
got mad when they got home. They danced all
one night and made poison. People got sick
all around."

755 An anecdote of P.D.W.'s curing was related by J.A., the Chunut, who was herself
cured of headaches by another Choinimni doctor,
Səmti´wɨs.

> About 1927 a Choinimni woman suffered from an abdominal ailment; she dreamed she should be cut approximately over the uterus. She went home to have P.D.W. do it. When he cut and sucked, "he got out nothing but blood" [i.e., no intrusive object], and the woman has continued to grow worse. Some people, for this reason, doubt his abilities, others have faith in his power. J.A. implied, however, that P.D.W. himself claimed no special skill.

> The other Choinimni doctor, Səmtiwɨs (Bob of Bobtown), was visiting at Dunlap and could not be interviewed. In curing J.A. of headaches he sucked out a "little white pointed thing" from a cut at each eyebrow. His own daughter had a pneumonialike sickness attributed to her eating of raw, cold gooseberries shortly after giving birth to an infant.

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[23] Latta, op. cit., 38.

[P. 150 b] Choinimni

756 There was a doctor named Ho´datpa·na,[24]
791 who could dance and predict earthquakes. P.D.W. was living at Kulušao in 1872. He remembers the quake of that March, which preceded the Ghost Dance episode. The cause of earthquakes (pa´'an wokoi´aš, ground shake) he did not know, but thought "the old people" probably knew.

755 A peculiar method of curing is given by Mayfield. "They [the doctors] would twist together some wormwood leaves and set them afire. With the glowing end of this firebrand a strip was burned along each side of the spinal column of the patient."[25] The purpose of this treatment is not explained.

VARIOUS DANCES AND CEREMONIES

535 Pleasure dance.--A dance (hɨ´šɨš na´mɨt)
765 performed largely by Choinimni, Entimbich, and Wobonuch was described by J.B. He said "no one to the south had this; the Wukchumni paid them when they went down there as they had none of their own," i.e., hɨšɨš namɨt dancers. It was performed after the washing rite at a mourning ceremony and at no other time.

The dance group was composed of four to six youths and two singers. Often two or three girls would take part. Besides the usual dance regalia the men wore quivers on their right shoulders and held bows in their hands. The women held a short stick (či´wɨt) between their hands. They stood at each end of the group of men or in front of them and swayed back and forth while the men engaged in a continuous trembling. The singers used clapper accompaniment.

The participants whom J.B. recalls were all Choinimni, he thinks. The dancers were Wa´tun (P.D.W., Pony Dick Watun), Ko´lon, and Sɨ´nči; the singers were Modu´ča and Wo´kuč. J.B. did not know the totem or occupation of any of these save P.D.W., who "was a winatum and doctor."

796 Jimsonweed ritual.--Jimsonweed (ta´nai)
276 was taken about March. Both men and women used it, women particularly if they were ill from some unknown cause. Shamans took it but, like others, only in the spring. It could be taken each year if one wished.

The participant ate no meat for six days, and then ate nothing at all for two more. But
[787] P.D.W. said even so, the jimsonweed should be dreamed about and talked to before one dared to take it. The night before the drinking the participants went out alone and prayed saying, "Tanai, you're going to doctor me. I don't like to be this way."

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[24] A metathesis of Hopodno's name? Hopodno, in 1870, went as far north as Kings River on his weather-predicting tour (see Powers, Tribes of California, 372). The earthquake of 1872 may in some way be associated in P.D.W.'s early memories.

[25] Latta, op. cit., 40.

[P. 151 a] Choinimni

796 The following morning the old man who was
going to administer the drink brought out the
276 plants on a tray. Holding this he ran two or
787 three times around the village. Then he mashed
up the plants and left them to soak in water.
In midafternoon the participants drank, and by
the following morning their narcosis changed
into active behavior. Then "they saw everything
and it was all pretty." The causes of
illness could be seen: a man might see another
bleeding from his nose or he might see sickness
on himself. An animal would talk to him and
tell him about it. When he saw something
[supernatural] he would blow it away if he did
not want it. Sickness on others the "dreamer"
might brush off with hand feathers. He brushed
it onto a basket; it was removed and buried,
and the basket washed by a winatum. All that
was seen was told about afterward, as the
drinkers returned to their normal condition:
onlookers could ask them about it. This visionary
ability during the narcosis was called
tanai ṭɨ´pni (jimsonweed supernatural power).

The participants waited six days before
796 touching meat, then they had a little party
(wi´te luni´š̃a) with kam dancing at night.
This was probably given by the participants'
families, as it was the parents of young
drinkers who paid the administrant for his
services. If the drinker was an independent
[616] adult, he paid for himself. Persons of both
moieties engaged in the drinking and party
without differentiation.

Tanai was not taken by many Choinimni as "they were afraid of it; it was used more by the Wechihit." Two Choinimni men made the grave mistake of taking jimsonweed in the summer, and died as a result; these were Gujam, the chief, and Wokoi [his brother?]. The case is well known and is spoken of even by Lake and Southern Valley informants.

752 The plant was used medicinally, especially
for broken bones, when it was drunk as an
anaesthetic or wrapped on the injury in poultice
form. (No splints were used.)

The mythological source of jimsonweed was
773 not known to P.D.W.: he had never heard that
the plant was two brothers [a Wobonuch belief
of which I told him] or two girls [as believed
by the Chunut].

Mourning ceremony.--This ceremony (luni´š̃a)
769 lasted for a six-day week called ču´lipi laka´n.
The order of events, given as follows by P.D.W.,
535 differs considerably from the Central Foothill
Yokuts norm. The first day, as elsewhere, was
largely devoted to settling visitors in their
camps. On the second and third days the host
chief might ask to see the Bear Dance (as described
by P.D.W.), which might be performed
in the afternoon or evening. Then the Pleasure
Dance (kam) might be displayed by one or two
doctors. The fourth day the Shamans' Contest
was held. The "Cry Dance" took place on the
fifth night. Ceremonial washing was done on

[783] Ceremonial washing was done on
the morning of the sixth day,[1] the Huhuna Dance
769 in the afternoon, after which the usual games
535 and pleasure dances were indulged in. This
arrangement may be quite correct, for the
Huhuna Dance appears here to be without "mourning"
significance and is nothing more than a
display. While it is unusual to have display
dances such as the Bear Dance and kam on the
first days, the program for these days was
somewhat plastic, even in the Kaweah River
area.

619 Reciprocity at mourning ceremonies was
769 primarily intertribal; secondarily, by moiety
opposition. Most frequently it was the Michahai
616 and Chukaimina who served the Choinimni as
"washers," but often the Aiticha and Wechihit
were the reciprocants.

769 A special camp was made with brush shelters
and shades. The winatums of the host
tribe got wood and water for the visitors.
Every morning and evening just before sunrise
and sunset a group of singers went outside of
the camp and sang mourning songs and wailed.
The relatives of the deceased and any others
dolefully inclined joined in. When the singers
clapped their hands, the performance ceased.
Some of the visitors played games during the
day, but not the hosts, and sometimes "the old
people felt too bad and cried all day."

During the first two or three days, it seems, the Bear Dance might be given in the day or evening "if the chief wanted it."

In the daytime or evening the kam also might be danced. Usually two Wechihit dancers, whose names P.D.W. did not recall, were the men who did this. They wore the usual ceremonial regalia.

769 On the fourth day the Shamans' Contest
(hɪ´šwaš) was held. So far as P.D.W.'s incoherent
756 description can be followed, the contest
789 was essentially the same as elsewhere. It took
place in the early afternoon. There were four
doctors on each side, of whom Pušlɪlɪn and
Kaplɪlɪn are the only ones remembered. In
making their "airshot" (toiyəš) they used no
fire, it "was just grabbed from the sun," although
P.D.W. claimed no "talking to" [praying
to] the sun was involved. As they made their
seizing gestures from the sun toward their
basketry trays on which the shot appeared,
they exhaled heavily and jerkily, saying "h^x!
h^x! h^x!" The airshot "looked just like white
fish eggs; it could be shot about 50 feet."
The surviving doctor in the contest was always
[?] Kaplɪlɪn.

769 The fifth night brought the climax of
crying and image burning. The "Cry Dance" was
called aha´na. The mourning relatives, who had
been in retirement during the day, made two excursions
out to the central fire during the
night, carrying with them the images or "dolls"
(ta´wɪts nao´ša, dead made-like), which were
not raised on poles. P.D.W. expressed puzzlement
over the images and said he did not think

[1] [i.e., of the mourning ceremony. —Analyst]

[P. 152 a] Choinimni

—769 they were really aboriginal because he
"couldn't figure out what they were made of
before we got clothes -- the real old-timers
had nothing but skin." While the mourners
were parading about, the chief made a speech,
which P.D.W. would not attempt to paraphrase.
Then the images were burned or given away, but
the informant was unable to say to whom or why.

769 On the following morning, the sixth day,
the ritual washing (ʻpla´oʼiša) was performed.
783 The system of reciprocal washing was like that
of the Chunut: the reciprocant was another
tribe whose Tokelyuwich members washed the
Nutuwich of the mourning or host tribe, and the
visiting Nutuwich washed the local Tokelyuwich.
P.D.W. thought the actual washing was done only
by the chief of the "washing" moiety, assisted
by his male and female winatums, which again
is like valley practice. They dressed up the
cleansed mourners in new breechclouts, aprons,
ornaments. The old garments were burned. Payment
was made to the washers in money or articles
of use -- again, P.D.W. said, "because
there were no clothes in the old days." [Bolts
of calico, blue jeans, etc., are the usual return
gifts in modern times.] The chief made a
speech and told everybody to be happy, especially
those who had been mourning.

769 Then Huhuna danced. This was done by
Laʼhaiya, whose costume consisted of a feather
535 wreath (sema) on the head, and a "sack" covered
with feathers. The face and eyes were not
184 covered. He held a bone whistle (pusač) in his
mouth, but carried no cane. He danced with the
"shimmy" step, as did other Huhuna dancers,
and found hidden money. There were no singers
or any sort of accompanist with him. Nor was
he "killed" by a doctor. P.D.W. stoutly insisted
on this, and reverted to the Shamans'
Contest when I persisted with inquiries on the
point. It seems clear that this Huhuna performance
was aberrant in both costume and execution,
which probably explains its position
in the mourning ceremony as a pure display for
entertainment *after* the washing ritual.

Guksai.--This informant had never heard
the word gu´ksai, or any variation of it; nor
did he recognize any ceremonial figure which
might be identified as guksai: "Huhuna was
the only one."

796 *Bear Dance*.--As described by P.D.W. this
dance is like the form reported from the Lake
535 tribes, and does not resemble that of the Wukchumni
or Western Mono. A man named Ko´wo, a
Chukaimina at Squaw Valley, made this: people
went over there to see him, as did P.D.W., or
he visited around at Kings River villages and
gave a performance. He had Bear as a dream
helper; he danced "in the spring because Bear
796 was going to come out." Most positively,
P.D.W. asserted that the dance was never done
535 in the fall of the year and that, if requested,
424 it could be performed at a mourning ceremony.
He did not learn or inherit the dance from

796 anyone, "it was his own know" (i.e., learned
535 through dream power). It had no reference to
424 acorn eating.

Kowo wore the usual doctor's dance re-
796 galia -- feather skirt, feather bunch (ču')
skewered to a headnet, and feather crown (sema).
535 Singers with cocoon rattles accompanied him;
he danced "half the night."

P.D.W. said he had never seen any Aiticha or Wechihit make this dance.

796 Rattlesnake ritual.--This rite (le'a´la)
was held at Kulušao in the old days. Sometimes
a doctor who had Rattlesnake as a helper would
dream; the snake would tell him to hold the
rite, and he would do this immediately.

A Choinimni, Pušlɪ´lɪn, was a Rattlesnake
shaman. He would tell the chief that they
should have the dance in six days. Then he
[224] would get some other snake "doctors." In three
days they went after their rattlesnakes. They
brought them home in cagelike baskets which
they hung from a tree branch.

The ritual lasted three days. On the first two days the men danced with the snakes on their shoulders, displaying their imperviousness to snake bites. On the third day, the reptiles were put in a hollow in the ground, where they were symbolically "stepped on" and given "payment" in beads and eagle down. When the rite was over, the men returned the snakes to their dens.

P.D.W. said that Keya, the Wukchumni, J.P.'s grandfather, was the "best snake handler ever known" (see Wukchumni account, Pt. I). He and Pušlɪlɪn most frequently gave this cermony; Pušlɪlɪn was known and witnessed as far south as Tule River. The powerful shaman Kaplɪlɪn did not participate, "it was not his, know." The Wechihit did not have a snake handler among them.

Deer Dance.--No dance representing or referring to deer was known to P.D.W.

GHOST DANCE OF 1870

668 A man (not identified) went over to the
177 "Paiute" to visit; there he learned two songs.
Then he went up to Table Mountain and to "a
796 big rancheria behind Pine Ridge [both places in
Posgisa, Western Mono, territory. There, pre-
sumably, they were talking of or already hold-
ing Ghost Dances.] Then a man came down here
[to Kulušao] and told them about it; he went on
and got the Toihicha, Wechihit, and Tachi. A
lot of Choinimni went to Uplinao, a Wobonuch
village, to attend their first Ghost Dance.
[302] The people put black and white paint on their
faces."[26] The true purpose of the dance P.D.W.
apparently did not care to reveal; he insisted
"they made that dance just for fun."

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[26] Shown in Gayton, Ghost Dance of 1870, fig. 2, c.

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 NS29 Yokuts NS29

[P. 153 9] Dumna

DUMNA

TRIBES AND LOCALITIES

101 131 The informant B.W.'s notions of tribal locations were definite as to direction but hazy and conflicting with other information on specific locus. He located neighboring tribes as follows.

The center of Tu´mna (Dumna) territory was at Millerton where their largest village (A´tbu) was located. B.W. gives the word ho' as its name, and tci' as the Gashowu name: I interpret this not as a specific name but as the word for village, or possibly even tribe. The [622] chiefs at the Millerton rancheria were To´mkɨt (Tom Wilson, B.W.'s father), next We´sča, then Čokɨ´t. B.W. thinks there were as many as ten chiefs after his father, who died in B.W.'s boyhood.

Below the Dumna on the San Joaquin, and occupying both sides of the river, were the Hoi´yima (Hoyima), and beyond them the Tuko´yo (possibly Tokia, the Salinan or Chumash). Up the river from the Dumna were the Keče´yu (Kechayi). East of them, about a half-mile south of the San Joaquin River, were the Puški´ša (Posgisa), a Western Mono tribe. North of the Posgisa, on the North Fork of the San Joaquin were the Yaya´či (Yayanchi). Two contemporary chiefs there, in B.W.'s youth, were Ču´ču´i (Joijoi)[27] and Pine´wači. The Chukchansi were on Fresno River at Coarse Gold; two of their important chiefs were Kalo´masmɨn and Salo´knɨč. At the present town of Chowchilla were the Nu´tsču. And on the Fresno River at Madera were the Čauši´la (Chauchila) whose head man was Opa´mči. The Gaso´wu (Gashowu) were on the north side of Kings River, north of Centerville.

An additional comment was that "at Auberry the people were mixed 'Digger' [Yokuts] and Monachi [Mono]." Of people at Fresno Flat and Sycamore, B.W. could recall nothing. Any kind of people were collectively yoko´č, an individual man, no´no.

Localities

103 361 A long list of place names was given but only a few could be definitely located; consequently they have not been mapped.

1. ho': a Dumna village [a generic term, not a name ?]
2. tci': a Gashowu village [a generic term, not a name ?]
3. tewa´nčo: old village site 1/2 mile west from B.W.'s house at Friant
4. čai´čiyu: old village site about 1 mile east from B.W.'s house

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[27] The introducer of the Ghost Dance (Gayton, Ghost Dance of 1870).

[P. 153 b] Dumna

DUMNA

103 5. huku´ktuktu: 1/2 mile south of no.
6. ka´oso: village at Firebaugh where
361 "everyone" used to go for salmon fishing
7. če´yao: salmon camp above no. 6
8. če´šao: salmon camp above no. 7
9. a´tbu: main Dumna village at Millerton

The following were not located: 10, čo´ʼomtɨlao; 11, ya´pɨkʼnao; 12, yɨmšu; 13, ho´suniu; 14, če´pnao; 15, tɨne´lao; 16, kɔčo´yu; 17, tiʼče´niu; 18, hogo´nɨlao; 19, hutu´nɨlao; 20, ko´wačko´čo; 21, taka´tipao; 22, te·´ninao; 23, čamxɨʼnšiu; 24, paxɨ´kčiu; 25, šɔ´koiyu; 26, woto´tiu; 27, co´hono·no; 28, ča´tɨlao; 29, hotoi´yiu; 30, tubaudibao; 31, tiše´niu [no. 17?]; 32, nepɨnwa´šu; 33, šišɨ´lu [Table Mountain?].

The Northern Foothill Region in 1851

114 648 The tribes at the eastern edge of the northern San Joaquin Valley, along the San Joaquin and Fresno rivers where they debouch from the foothills, were dislocated drastically by the Mariposa Battalion in 1851. The formation of this battalion to subdue the Indians of the San Joaquin Valley foothills climaxed increasing hostilities between the native owners and encroaching white settlers. Lafayette H. Bunnell, a physician accompanying the group which first entered the Yosemite Valley, included in his interesting and sympathetic book on the Yosemite and Indian War of 1851 some references to the Northern Foothill Yokuts.

101 114 648 The Chowchilla were believed to be the ringleaders in resisting white domination, and their name at that time was used to cover native groups which lived on the Fresno and San Joaquin rivers, as a dialectic difference was recognized between their speech and that of the tribes to the south on the Kings and Kaweah rivers, who were called collectively Kaweah.[28] (Or so do I interpret Bunnell's usage of the names "Chowchilla" and "Kaweah.")

648 The outstanding figure in the conflict was one José Rey, a "Chowchilla" chief whose assistant was Tomkɨt, the father of our Dumna informant, B.W.[29] After José Rey's death, Tomkɨt and Frederico went down to the Kings River people for help; there the local chiefs advised them to meet the terms of the white soldiers.[30]

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[28] Bunnell, Discovery of the Yosemite.

[29] B.W. represented himself as Dumna (Tumna) to me, as "Chowchilla" to Dr. Stanley Newman. As I have no reason to doubt his statements and have no contradictions from his Kechayi step-relative, I have kept his material under the Dumna label.

[30] Bunnell, 140-141.

[P.154 a] Dumna

251 Of interest to our current ethnography is
Bunnell's estimate of stored foods encountered
175 at or near villages. I believe the quantities
he mentions can be taken as typical for the
entire east side of the San Joaquin Valley.
These were seen in March, 1851.

In the Yosemite Valley (Southern Sierra
251 Miwok) the caches in native granaries included
262 principally acorns, also nuts of bay (Cali-
fornia laurel), piñon pine, chinquapin, grass
175 seeds, parched wild rye or oats, dried worms,
scorched grasshoppers, and dried larvae of in-
sects gathered from the waters of lakes "in
and east of the Sierra Nevada." There were in-
dications that dogs were eaten at feasts. "The
acorns found were alone estimated at from four
hundred to six hundred bushels." This was at
one camp; numerous other caches were found.
When José Rey's "Chowchilla" village was found
on the upper San Joaquin River, nothing of
value was left but the stores of acorns near by.

In exploring the region north of the San Joaquin River toward Black Ridge they came upon more stores.

> There were in the country we passed over some beautiful mountain meadows and most luxuriant forests, and some of the sloping tablelands looked like ornamental parks of an extensive domain. These oak-clad tables and ridges were the harvest fields of the San Joaquin Indians, and in their vicinity we found an occasional group of deserted huts. These, with their adjacent supplies of acorns, were at once given to the flames. The acorns found and destroyed by the scouting parties here and on the South Fork were variously estimated at from eight hundred to one thousand bushels; beside the supply of Piñon pine nuts and other supplies hoarded for future use.
>
> From the total amount of acorns estimated to have been destroyed, their supplies were comparatively small, or the number of Indians on the San Joaquin had been, as in other localities, vastly overrated.[31]

701 A few remarks are made on numbers of men.
In the first engagement on a high peak up the
726 Fresno River in January, 1851, the tribes rep-
resented were "the Chow-chilla, Chook-chan-cie,
175 Noot-chu, Ho-nak-chee, Po-to-en-cie, Po-ho-no-
chee, Kaweah and Yosemite." The number of
fighting men or warriors was estimated at about
five hundred. Later on "a body of Indians,
numbering about two hundred" was seen on a
distant mountain about to join the previous
group.[32]

A participant in the same battle wrote:

"He [Major Savage] found it was a town of the Kee-chees [the village on Battle Mountain], but that there were about one hundred and fifty

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[31] Ibid., 134.

[32] Ibid., 21.

[P. 154 b] Dumna

175
701 of the Chow-chil-la warriors with them and
several of the Chuk-chan-cies...Never did I
726 hear before such an infernal howling, whooping,
and yelling, as saluted us then from the
throats of about six hundred savages..." This
group of Indians included a total of 400 warriors "as near as could be ascertained."[33]

726 War behavior and tactics are mentioned. Besides the yelling and howling, which may have been intended to terrify the enemy, the
175 native warriors indulged in derisive shouting, obscene gestures, and eructations, when they sighted their white pursuers.[34] In direct encounter between the Indians and American troops, the natives continued their traditional method of battle, in which a single warrior stood forth to fight another. This resulted disastrously, of course, as the whites neither understood the intention nor would have sent out a man to fight under such circumstances.

"To kill him [Major Savage], many of them sacrificed their own lives. They would come out one at a time and, standing in open ground, send arrows across at him until shot down; one old chief who used to cook for Savage, would ask him after every shot where he had hit him. They would talk to him to try to find out where he was, and as soon as he would answer, the balls and arrows would fly thick around his head."[35]

At this battle an old squaw who was wounded seized a bow and lodged three arrows in a
[722] soldier: normally, women and children were sent to hidden safety.

201 Signal fires were used, as well as other signs of communication.

726
175

> By a peculiar arrangement of these fires during the night, and by smoke from them during the day, they are able to telegraph a system of secret correspondence to those on the lookout. An arrow shot into the body of a tree at a camp ground, or along a trail; or the conspicuous arrangement of a bent bush or twigs, often shows the direction traveled. A bunch of grass tied to a stick and left at the fork of a stream or trail, or at a deserted camp performs the same service Upon the treeless deserts or plains, a mark upon the ground, by camp or trail, gave the required information; thus proving these people possess considerable intelligent forethought.[36]

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[33] Ibid., 31, 32.

[34] Ibid., 14-15, 127, 143. Garcés thought himself acclaimed when, on White River, natives there "gave themselves smart slaps with the palms on the thighs," and shouted "Ba! Ba! Ba! Ba!"; undoubtedly "Va!" (go!) as there was one who spoke Spanish among them(Coues, On the Trail, 287).

[35] Bunnell, 33. See the battle between Lemonda and Tabsa (Pt. I, pp.10-11), and also the running conversation in mythical battles (Gayton and Newman, Yokuts and Western Mono Myths, 3, 88, 89).

[36] Bunnell, 125.

131 The type of country in which the Northern
175 Foothill Yokuts dwelt was praised by Major
Savage. He described it as land of the "Chow-
chillas," but in recent times Western Mono have
occupied the area and may have them.

131 This belt of country [Sandhill Crane
Valley on North Fork of the San Joaquin] beats
136 the region of the Yosemite or the Po-ho-no
175 Meadows for game, if the Indians tell the
truth; and with the exception of the Kern River
Country, it is the best south of the Tuolumne
River. It abounds in grizzly and cinnamon
bears, and there are some black bears Deer
are very plenty, and a good variety of crane,
grouse, quail, pigeons, road-runners, squirrels
and rabbits -- besides, in their season, water
fowl. This territory of the Chow-chillas has
137 plenty of black acorns (their favorite acorn),
and besides this there are plenty of other
175 supplies of bulbous roots.[37]

SHELTER, FOOD, IMPLEMENTS

343 Structures.--There were six different
sweat houses (mos) at B.W.'s Dumna village;
they were of different ages and sizes, two of
them in disrepair.[38] When a new sweat house
was completed, a "fandango" was given by the
[574] chief. B.W. could not describe this, save that
there was "plenty to eat and everybody had a
good time. Then they could sweat."

342 The houses (sa´mɨs), large and spherical,
were covered with "brush" thatch, not tule.

Foods and beverages.--Pine nuts (pa´san)
222 were obtained on trips up to the mountains or
262 were brought down for trade by the Kechayi.
The pine cone and pine tree were called ton;
pasan also meant the split pine cone.

Manzanita cider (a´pču) was made of the
252 ripe berries which were mashed and freed of
272 their seeds. The pulp was put in water for
several hours, then the liquid was strained
through a basket sieve. A hot tealike drink
(či´tɨl) was made by pouring hot water on the
pulp; the pulp, with a little water, was eaten
as a "mush" and called ča´pi. A thickening
material called ča´nɨt was pounded up and added
sometimes [čanɨt not identified].

Implements.--The plain bow (miko´n) was
411 made of pine, but was gotten by trade from the
Kechayi or Posgisa, as was also the sinew-
backed bow (piki´l). All kinds [sic] of arrows
were called tuyo´s.

412 A knife for scraping was made from the rib
bones of a deer or any other large animal.

For fishing, a hook (mike´) was made of
227 "some piece of bone which was boiled to make it
soft and then it was bent." This was used on
a string for angling [European introduction ?].
[262] Small fish eaten were: polhu´i, (sucker),
wɨsča´ (lamprey eel), and lu´pɨč (brook trout).

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[37] Quoted, ibid., 116.

[38] "Too old to be any good, just like I am now," said B.W.

[P. 155b] DUMNA

227 Large fish, such as salmon, were speared
with a two-pronged harpoon. The whole instru-
ment was called piče´kamni, the handle, ti´mɨs,
the hooks or detachable points, mike´, and the
strings, ḥilu´s. Speared fish were: e´pɨs
[262] (lake trout), poi´yəm (whale [sic], pike?),
and gai´hɨt (salmon).

The carrying basket (a´ñaš) was "used by
482 every woman"; it was carried by means of a
tumpline (wi·čɨ´n).

The carrying net (wa´lak) was made and
used by men only.

252 Women pounded acorns (pai´yɨn) at bedrock
mortars (tinɨl), using a large pestle (če';
412 pa´lui, Gashowu). Acorn mush was called
ki´nɨm (ti´pɨn, Gashowu).

MISCELLANEOUS DATA

276 Tobacco.--Tobacco (pa´'om) grew plentifully in Dumna and adjacent foothill territory, according to B.W. About April it would be well grown and turning yellow; then old people, men or women, went out to pick it. They pulverized the dried leaves, added water, and formed the paste into a biscuitlike pat called šo´gən. When dried this tobacco was smoked (pa´mon, to smoke) in little pipes (su´ktao, pipe of elderwood [su´kut]; si´kɨlao, pipe of cane [sikɨl]). B.W. has seen stone pipes, but never any of clay.

[787] At night before going to bed, men or women who wanted good health or were seeking supernatural dreams would cause vomiting by eating tobacco and lime. The cake tobacco was pounded up in a special small mortar (koi´wɨš) with burned shells (ok), water added, and the mixture eaten or drunk in very small quantity.

Blankets and clothing.--The rabbitskin
281 blanket (xeu´či; cexɨ´na, Gashowu), made of the
skins cut in strips and rolled, was made by
women. B.W. could give no intelligible description of its manufacture. (Mexican or American blanket was called subo´n.) Women also "made clothes of deerskin."

481 Ferrying.--Everyone was a good swimmer,
but children, sick persons, and goods some-
501 times had to be taken across the San Joaquin
285 River, which is swift and deep. For this pur-
pose there were large flat-bottomed baskets
484 called te´wɨč (taskai´, Gashowu). These were
tightly coiled, but were not waterproofed. In-
fants and goods were placed in these and pushed
ahead with one hand by one or two swimmers. A
[758] sick person would be laid on a raft of two or
three logs; these too were used for goods, but
baskets were preferred. Rafts also were pushed
by swimmers; the river was too deep for poling.[39]

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[39] The Mayfield family were assisted across the San Joaquin River by a group of friendly bathers who, if not Dumna, at least were their close neighbors (Latta, op. cit., 11-12).

805 Calendar.--Each moon "had a name just like the months," but B.W. would not attempt to recall them.

192 Nature, stars, directions.--B.W. was interested in categories and liked to volunteer this information.[40]

821 He gave the following terms: soko´wa (wind); mɨ´mi'ač (thunder, ta´lak, Gashowu); wa´lma (lightning). Op (sun); hapi´l (heat of the sun); hai´li (day). Hača´mi'op (new moon, lit. young); pime´mat (full moon); toyonu´mni (dark of the moon, waning moon?). Se´yal (rain); čom (cloudy condition; fog?); ye´le'a´yɨla (big rain from the west). Wa´la (sky or firmament); če'a´tas (stars); tawa´nɨs (morning star); čomo´loalo´hi (evening star); yeše´yɨš (Pleiades); kačpe´la (a constellation, "husbands of the Pleiades"); hata´nhun (eclipse of sun or moon). Ho´lki (the ground or earth); ši´lɨl (rocks, embedded rocks); i´lɨk (water).

192 823 Directions were particularized as follows: ho´šim (north); homo´ti (south); ta´nɨn homoti (to go south); to´xɨl (west; toward the plains): toxɨl tu´nulao (westward downhill); notu´ (east; toward the mountains); notu tunulao (eastward up hill); toxɨl pa'a´su (the plains); tunulao (hill, hillwards); a´tɨl (directly down, also downhill); tanɨn atɨl (to go down); atɨl tunulao (down hillwards); ṭi´pɨn (up, directly above). Wakai´yao (downstream); ṭipɨn wakaiyao (upstream); hami´ni (near side of any stream); hada´miu (far side of any stream). Ho´ho (ocean, which B.W. had never seen). In connection with directions he added the following: hihi´mɨt (to run); witi´nɨt (to fall down); haswɨ´nɨt (to fall down dead or to be dead).

192 561 Life span.--The life span B.W. divided as follows: pai (baby); hača´mi (pre-pubertal boy or girl); muke´la (mature woman); no´no (mature man); moha´lo (aged man or woman, like himself, said B.W.). He added: hoi'i´lɨt (to be well after being ill, convalescent, again "like himself"); haswɨ´nɨt (dead person).

764 Burial.--When a man died, all his relatives, even his distant cousins, came and cried for one or two days. They would not keep the body longer than that. If it were buried, the grave was 3 to 4 feet deep. In the old days all bodies were cremated on a pile of brush and heavy wood; the pile was about 4 feet high. During the burning the relatives and others sat in a circle around the fire and wept. About one day later, when all was cool, the bones and ashes were gathered in a basket, and the receptacle and its contents were buried. B.W. could not say who officiated on these occasions. The Chowchilla tribe also cremated.[41]

4

[40] Later, when in recovered health, he became Dr. Stanley Newman's informant for linguistic material, an experience I feel sure the old man enjoyed to the utmost.

[41] Bunnell, 122.

[P. 156 b] Dumna

MOIETIES

616 The informant was quite unable to formulate the concept of the moiety or to describe its functions, although he recognized its presence in his culture. He claimed that he himself, his father, and his father's brother and sister were Nutuwich, and that his mother and his sister's son were Tokelyuwich, which is correct if moiety regulated marriage, as it probably did. He volunteered the following classification of animals, but claimed that vegetable foods and fish were not dichotomized, 616 825 which does not agree with more reliable information from the neighboring Kechayi.

Tokelyuwich, west

ṭo´hɨl: eagle
ẇəhe´šut: cougar
a´luwəts: crow [blackbird?]
ho´toi: raven
humi̱´x: jackrabbit
na´čəč: rattlesnake
ṭe´ʼɨl: rattlesnake, Gashowu
k̇o·lonki´: king snake
oi´uʼi: roadrunner
tono´l: a large, red, wildcat
ṭe´pək: beaver
u´ʼwək: osprey (?), a diving bird, white head, "catches fish all the time"
wa´hat: crane
ši´kəl: ground squirrel

Nutuwich, east

hihi̱´ʼina: horned owl
po´hiyon: Cooper's hawk
n̲aho´ʼo: bear
čai´čai: bluejay
hoi: deer
hope´l: gopher snake
koto´nɨč: gopher snake, Gashowu
o´čoč: magpie
upla·li´: dove
čawaču: wildcat, smaller than tonol
naha´ʼɨt: otter
šo´kšok: kingfisher
če´ha: dog
hɔts: condor

SHAMANISM

Curing

756 Persons who wanted supernatural power (ṭɨ´pni) acquired it by dreaming, swimming, and praying. When a significant dream (ana´ts) came, the person rose, went outdoors and prayed to that which had visited him in the dream. At dawn he went to swim, regardless of how cold it was. When B.W. was a small boy, his father carried him down to swim at the same time he did. Beyond this, B.W.'s description of the acquisition of power was quite incoherent. A doctor was called te´ʼis; B.W. claimed a´ntu was the Gashowu word.

756 Of doctors, he said that in earlier times
no doctor was bad because he feared "that the
754 people would get mad and kill him" [the statement itself indicates that there were evil doctors and that they were killed]. A bad doctor "had all kinds of poison; if he got mad he sent this at you." Such projection of poison could kill trees: a shaman would hit one and the following year it would be seared and dead.

A good doctor did not take money unless he was sure of curing his patient. If he was unsuccessful, he was expected to return the fee. [Naturally there must have been much difficulty in defining a cure in many types of sickness.]

796 A shaman's display dance was usually done
outside. If such a performance were scheduled,
756 and it rained, the shaman took one or two singers and went into a dwelling house (samɨs), not into the sweat house (mos). As many spectators as could crowded in to watch him. This dance was probably comparable to the kam: B.W. could neither name nor describe it.

There was a prophetic and curing dance called mi´yɨn wa´tiyɨ tɔ´se ("the to-tell dance") performed by several doctors. Sometimes as many as five doctors participated at once. People assembled at a big fire in the early evening. The doctors were there with their singers and winatums. Persons already ill were brought in and disposed near the fire. The doctors danced while the singers sang. Then they told who was going to be sick. They had a big basket of water [each had?] in which they dipped their hand feathers (wača´m), and brushed off the patients and the "patients-elect." "They blew the sickness away before it came." Onlookers would say, "Wɨhe´lɨt a´mam hača´ka'ɨč" ("doctoring-process him [does] good"). "A big doctor knew everything, especially about sickness that was far away. If we had those doctors now they could stop this flu [epidemic] we've been having."

755 The doctoring activities of the Choinimni, P.D.W., were witnessed and experienced by B.W. While doctoring B.W., P.D.W. sat in front of him. He could see the sickness. He sang:

oyo´wi ki·ka
ha´na·na·
ṭe´pi ni´hi ti (ṭɨpni)

(B.W. could not translate it; thought it meant he was asking ṭɨpni to help him.) P.D.W. sang this over continuously before and while he was
cutting at painful spots. "A doctor could do
[177] nothing without singing to his tɨpni." The in-
cisions were made with a piece of glass and the
"sickness" sucked out. P.D.W.'s curing outfit
[237] consisted of the glass, magpie and owl feathers, and a weasel [?] head ornamented with beads. The day following this treatment B.W. "got up and walked all around" [cured].

755 Another doctor, "Dr. Baldy," a Gashowu, cut and sucked the chest of a baby who had pneumonia: "the white doctor had given it up." The next morning the baby was improved and recovered.

Bear Shamans

756 789 [184] Bear shamans, according to B.W., did not have anything to do with the acorn crop, as in the Central Foothills, but were persons who had dream power from Bear and used it for display and intimidation of others.

His brother (Nipɨč), Te´wus (Sam Smith) was a bear man and doctor. "He danced any time for show and to get money." The two men would walk somewhere at dusk to visit people; on the way, when they reached a big log, Tewus would turn himself into a bear. This frightened B.W. very much. At the display dances which Tewus gave he would dance in the fire without being burned. Sometimes one or two bears appeared and danced with him.

Once when Tewus was walking up a very steep hill toward a mining shaft, a huge boulder from above came rolling down and injured him badly. He was ill from five to six months. During that time three bears came each night to visit and to cure him. Tewus talked to them prayerfully and asked their help. He got well "because of those bears." (See the Kechayi version of this from E.M., below.)

Rain-making

756 789 B.W. said his father was a rain shaman. He would predict the weather: if he said it would rain no more for the season, people would then pay him to make it rain. However, he could make it rain for as long as he wished -- one week to a month. Then people paid him to make it stop. Women could not pound acorns when it rained, as the holes in their bedrock mortars were filled with water. He deliberately made rain to discomfit others and be paid, said B.W.

To do this, he donned the usual shamanistic regalia -- crown of feathers and feather skirt. He carried a wačam (a bunch of magpie feathers) in his hand, which he dipped into a large basket of water, sprinkling the water about. (Informant did not know if there was sprinkling in certain directions.) He "danced for three or four days, or all night." Then it rained soon. While the sprinkling was going on, B.W.'s brother sang for his father:

si li ka´na·hạ· (water)
[repeated six times]

ṭe·pɨn i te'i (ṭɨpni)

[P. 158 a] DUMNA

756
789 ko´no·no·

si li ka´na˙ha·
[repeated twice]

This B.W. could not or would not translate. The first and second words are probably "song renderings" of rain (se'el) and water (i´lɨk) and supernatural power (tɨpni).

[821] When there was a big rain and one wanted to stop it, one would strike a dog. The cries of this animal would be heard by a celestial dog who caused thunder and controlled [?] the weather.

BELIEFS

775 B.W. said that his father told him the dead got up in three days and went above, where God is. B.W.'s dead brothers and sister were already there.

776
177 He conceived God as God (not tɨpni or Eagle), but Jesus Christ as the ya´yɨl hawk and son of Eagle.

773
821 Thunder is the result of noisy behavior by Roadrunner, Blackbird, Raven, and Dog, who are above in the sky. The big dog, whose name is Ya´olɨč, makes the most noise. "He can hit anything and smash it down. He is mean. He makes all the big rain[illegible] When he hears the cries of a dog on eart[illegible] is being beaten because of the rain, h[illegible] the rain cease. B.W. had never heard o[illegible]er being twins or associated with tule.[42]

An eclipse of the sun or moon is caused by an eagle spreading its wings over it. B.W. could remember no attempt being made to change this condition. (See Kechayi information.)

805 Three seasons, which are the natural moods of the climate, were distinguished: tiša´miu, spring, about February to April; hai'a´lu, summer, May to October; tomo´ksiu, winter, November through January.

CEREMONIALS AND RITUALS

796
276 Jimsonweed ritual.--Jimsonweed (ta´nai) was taken in the spring; "in the summer it was poison." Two Choinimni took it in the summertime and died. It was drunk by both sexes. This informant said he took it each spring with his father and uncle; yet, as in other matters, he was unable to bring his mind to bear on details. He claimed "people quit eating meat for one year before taking tanai."[43] During that year the person went out each night regardless of the weather and talked prayerfully

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[42] Wobonuch and Chunut beliefs, respectively.

[43] Perhaps this was only for the first taking. If it was taken each year, as B.W. claims he did, the drinker would have to become "vegetarian."

[P. 158 b] Dumna

796 to the jimsonweed. Three days before taking
the decoction they ceased eating and drinking
276 entirely. Then wher they drank, "one little
basketful was enough." Women relatives administered the drink and watched over the sleeping partakers during the narcosis; B.W.'s sister did this for him. There was "some kind of singing and dancing" first, but B.W. could not describe it. The drinkers sat in a row to receive the drink. The drink was consumed in the evening, and by morning was in full operation. Then the drinker "could see everything, far away, and everywhere." He could see sickness on other people and this he would blow (not brush) off them.

[752 B.W. did not know of the use of jimsonweed
189] as an anaesthetic or as a poultice for fractures. He could not recall any racing or hoop-jumping in connection with the jimsonweed ritual.

796 Snake ritual.--"No one up this way made it; Co'kon·k and Pušl·l·n are the only ones did it." (See Choinimni account.)

ANECDOTES

A Visit to Heaven

787 This elderly informant had just returned from a stay of four months in the Madera hospital. Soon after he was taken there he had a dream or vision which he regarded as an actual experience, a visit to heaven.

> A big dog came up to the side of his bed. It was very large, standing about 4 feet high.[44] It put its head close to B.W.'s and breathed a [heavily aspirated] "h-c-h!" sound into his face three times. A hospital attendant asked B.W. if it were his, but he said no.[45] They offered the animal some crackers to eat, which it refused. It was taken outside and there it lay down on the steps; by evening it had disappeared.
>
> Missionary X came to visit B.W. He stood beside the bed. B.W. said he was always thinking of God, and for this the missionary commended him. When Missionary X left he offered B.W. his hand, to shake hands, but he really only stuck out his little finger, so B.W. just grasped it as best he could. B.W. could not see plainly because the big dog was there and was licking his eyes; its tongue covered his eyes. It was God who was shaking hands and had given his little finger.
>
> B.W. could see into heaven. He saw every one of his dead relatives; he saw his father and his brothers and sister. They were all beautifully dressed and had flowers stuck all over their clothes. All the country was green.

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[44] There is a large celestial dog which lives in the sky and makes thunder; B.W. thought this was his visitor.

[45] B.W. had just bought a small dog at that time, which he still had at the time of my visit.

[P. 159 a] Dumna

787 He saw sloping hillsides with trees on them, and everywhere there were hundreds of people. He could see directly in front of him and well off toward the right, but to the left he saw nothing. On that side he just saw Missionary Y's back where he was walking off toward the left and disappeared.[46]

B.W.'s relatives came up to welcome him and they told him to stay with them now. But he refused, saying that it was not yet time for him to live in heaven. He did not see God anywhere in heaven, but he could hear him talking. Everything was green there.

When B.W. ended he added, in the prayerful manner in which the sun, water, morning star, etc., are addressed, "God is with me all the time and makes me well."

Beginning of White Occupation

773 After narrating the Dumna creation myth, B.W. added a coda of his own:

> Then God dropped acorns, manzanita, and all the seeds that were needed. In the spring the salmon came, were dried, and were taken home. On the Sacramento [River] it was just the same. The Indians moved around everywhere at this time, went anywhere to pick acorns. Everything was loose [free] The [Dumna] people camped along the river [San Joaquin] all the way down to Firebaugh.[47]

173 Then he continued his narrative:

> 648 Then white people came, about seven or eight miles up Madera Creek. They wanted to

[Text Continues Top of Page 159b, --- Analyst]

KECHAYI

INTERTRIBAL RELATIONS AND LOCALITIES

648 Tribal areas, localities, and sites were not obtained from E.M. Her information on tribal relations corroborates the statements of others that close contacts between Yokuts and Western Mono date only from about 1860 onward. Since her childhood, and particularly since the Ghost Dance of 1870, intercourse has been more facile between the Mono and Yokuts groups on the western slope of the Sierra [826] Nevada. When people gathered at Table Mountain for the Ghost Dance, the Eastern Mono would

[Text Continues bottom P. 159b]

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[797] [46] B.W. described Missionary Y as "a lover of the Indians' money." He was always asking for money which he took away to a near-by town. B.W. said he told his boy not to put money in the collection plate while Y was the missionary because "he loved the Indians, but he loved their money too much." In contrast, Missionary X, who superseded Y, was cited as a good man.

[47] Gayton and Newman, 28.

[P. 159 b] Dumna

173 catch an Indian. The people on the Creek had
648 never seen any white people or Mexicans before;
they were all scared and hid around in the
[609] hills. But some were caught, among them B.W.'s father, his brother, and himself A bullet had hit his brother. They went back into their village B.W.'s father was the headman and he asked the white men to leave their guns at home unless they wanted to have fights. The white men said they just wanted to make friends. Then his father called all his people together and told them to go down [where?] to the "white fandango." About twenty or thirty went and were given food, hats, and coats. Then others went down. They had been told to come once a month for presents.

A man [named Dover?] had one hundred and sixty acres of land where he wanted the Indians to be placed. All the headmen, Gashowu, Tachi, everybody, were sent for B.W. went with his father. The government wanted to make schools. Each morning two white men and [native] interpreters told them what was going to take place. Then a white man [Dover?] went over to Kings River to see the Indians there, but he got killed. The Indians called him Ca´wɨs. The government sent no money at this time. But this was the beginning of all bad things -- sickness and drunkenness -- and all the Indians went.

435 On another occasion B.W. declared that the high price of native basketry was due to the
648 fact that some white land owners charged Indian women for the privilege of coming on their property to get the grasses and roots needed. He said that "over on Kings River" some men charged $2.50 a day for the gathering of basketry materials on their land.

KECHAYI

648 feel the wrists of their partners in the dance. If they had hard wrists, the Mono knew they
826 were Mono also; if the wrists were soft, the dancers were Yokuts. The Eastern Mono conversed with the Yokuts through their linguistic and cultural kin, the Western Mono people
[192] (Yayanchi and Posgisa). When these said the Yokuts were friends, the Eastern Mono left them alone.

648 E.M. recounted the story of a war with Mono people which occurred before she was born.

462

222 Long ago [before E.M. was born] a number of Yokuts people from the Chukchansi, Kechayi, and Gashowu tribes were camping east of Friant. They had all gone there for acorn-gathering. It was the general practice that the men, immediately after the morning meal, went out to shake down the acorns. Leaving these to be collected by the women, they then went off for the day to hunt or fish. Toward sundown they returned and helped the women crack the nuts.

726 Now some Monachi [Eastern Mono] had come over the mountains: their chief had told them 648 to "go over and kill those people like birds." While the Yokuts men were away, the Monachi 252 surrounded the women's camp. One man came closer to spy. He saw the women cracking the acorns with their teeth and thought they were eating. He went back and reported this Several times he came close to spy and each time saw the women putting the nuts to their mouths: he "thought they just ate all day long."

726 Next morning the Yokuts men went out very early to knock down more acorns. They found a 648 series of stakes, with feather bunches (so´n·l) tied to their tops, which had been set up by the Monachi.[48] They knew the Monachi were near by, so they returned to camp and sent the women off. The women fled across the river [San Joaquin], leaving everything behind. The men went in pursuit of the Monachi. Their camp was located, and the Monachi were found asleep. Rushing in, the Yokuts killed all of them, save one man who smeared himself with his comrades' blood and pretended he was dead. Later on this man went back to his village and reported events to his chief. The chief was very angry; he determined on revenge.

Soon after that a Yokuts was working for a white man and was sent up into the mountains with some hogs. Some Monachi lurking about on this side of the ridge saw him; they came down to him and asked him who he was. When it was time for the Yokuts man to return to the valley, his employer warned him not to make the trip alone. But the man was anxious to get back home and went anyway. The Monachi were ambushed along the way and killed the man and his horse.

423 There was no mark of ownership on land or trees or seed-areas, but a woman would verbally designate certain trees or grass spots as hers and would "growl" if some other woman took the products therefrom ahead of her. Her complaints would be on the personal level, and [578] would not be taken to the chief under ordinary circumstances. Sometimes arguments between [624] women did grow into family feuds, which the chief attempted to control by counsel. There was a tacit, traditional ownership among families, and in the larger sense among tribes, of desirable land and its concomitant hunting, fishing, and seed-gathering assets. The family "ownership" operated to the extent that a young married woman continued to gather vegetable products with her own mother, rather than with her mother-in-law. This was regardless of [428] matrilocal or patrilocal residence, and surely led to inheritance of such plots, even though inheritance was not defined in set terms by any Yokuts people.

619 It is clear from the account given above, 222 that people from several tribes might be camped

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[48] The exact nature of these E.M. could not define: they may be such stakes as those the Tachi informant, M.G., had in mind when she described boundary markers (see Tachi, Pt. I).

619 222 together to gather acorns, just as the Wukchumni (J.B.) mentioned for the seed-gathering camps in the Central Foothill region.

648 439 In spite of the somewhat inimical relations with the Monachi, or Eastern Mono, a lively trade was carried on between Yokuts and Mono to exchange the products, natural and manufactured, of the valley and mountain regions. In this trade the Western Mono (Yayanchi, Posgisa, etc.) were the middlemen. The Monachi came over as far as Auberry, bringing rabbitskin blankets (ye´gɨs), moccasins, rock salt (obo´ko), red and blue paint, and pine nuts. In exchange they received acorns, willow-bark baskets, and bead money (šilɨ´mki). The bead money the middlemen had received in payment from the foothill Yokuts, who, in turn, got it from the valley Yokuts in exchange for deer meat, oak wood (ti´hɨn), and stone mortars and pestles, all of which were lacking in the lower lake and barren northern valley region.

The expeditions for trade were made by the Monachi: E.M. said "nobody from this side ever went over there." It is possible that the general direction of trade expeditions was westward -- Eastern to Western Mono, Western Mono to foothill Yokuts, foothill Yokuts to valley Yokuts,[49] and valley Yokuts to the Chumash and Salinan on the coast.

Localities

101 103 361 Few sites or localities could be named by E.M.; these have not been mapped.

aho´lu'i: a Kechayi village on the San Joaquin River not far from Auberry

owo´mniu: a Posgisa [?] village at the edge of Table Mountain

šu´mhun: a village at the junction of Fine Gold Creek and the San Joaquin River

šanwo´ganiu: Dumna village on the San Joaquin River [the Millerton Court House stood on the spot][50]

taka´tipao: Kechayi territory or pa´'an in general

ačo´po: unlocated

kumku´mɨč: "humming bird place"; not located, a saloon there where Hai'ai'ɨč: got liquor

koko´hɨp: Sycamore

STRUCTURES

342 Dwellings.--The houses of the Kechayi were of the hemispherical thatched type. The floor (wa´'ai) was circular, about 10 feet in diameter, and excavated for about 18 inches.

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[49] See the Choinimni trips to the Tachi in Latta, Uncle Jeff's Story, 29 ff.

[50] Although E.M. calls the village Šanwo´ganyu, the word is actually Penutianized "San Joaquin" and is applied to the river also.

[P. 161[illegible] Kechayi

342 Poles (lo´kot) of any pliable wood were set
within the edge of the depression, and were
held in position by horizontal bands of willow
withes (ka´pai). There would be three or four
of these bands, each one smaller than the preceding,
constricting the frame poles in a
globular (not conical) form. The last ring
(awa´nač), about 20 inches in diameter, had
the tips of the side poles tied to it; the
poles did not extend through it. The nearly
upright sides of the dwelling were lined on
the inside with vertical strips of cedar or
pine bark (šolo´piʼ). Thatching was of "any
kind of long weeds" [sic] (ko´ʼosnɨl).[51] This
E.M. thought was not twined, but was inserted
in bunches under the horizontal withes lashed
down over it. Mats were not used.

The doorway (palu´an) was covered with a
twined mat of "weeds" stiffened by lashing on
a frame. On each side of the door were two
extra poles, parallel with those of the door
frame, behind which the mat door was slipped
[354] to keep it from tipping over.

The fire was in the center.

An earth-covered house was known but evidently
little used by the Kechayi: "plains
people used them more." The frame was hemispherical,
like that of the thatched house,
and the structure had an excavated floor. After
the "weeds" were tied on "dirt was thrown all
over it." The entrance was in the side (not
through the smoke hole) and had a separate
mat-covered door. In short, it seems to have
been the usual Kechayi house with a covering
of earth, and similar to that of the Choinimni.
Like all Kechayi houses this was a one-family
dwelling.

Houses of the Northern Foothill district
never had more than one room. During the day
a position on either side of the door was considered
desirable, "because there was no smoke
[574] there." But at night a guest always had the
place at the center back, the warmest and
safest. In summer, fires were outdoors.

Husband and wife joined in the construction
of their house, the man looking after the
[481 framework, the woman after the thatch. Men
562] tied on the upper layers of thatch, as climbing
was not seemly for women. There was a sense of
[586] joint ownership and, upon divorce, the offending
party was expected to abandon the dwelling.

Houses of a village were set out in a row
386 if the site permitted; if it did not, any arrangement
622 was permissible. Regardless of his
moiety, a chief's house was always placed at
the west end. No other house had a special
location.

535 Dance house.--The Miwok "round house" was
known to the people on the San Joaquin River,
but it was not imitated. No dances or cere-

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[51] There was undoubtedly some preferred material, as suggested by the name E.M. offered, but she couldn't or wouldn't identify it.

535 monies took place indoors, save the inception
of a pleasure dance and a doctor's debut (see
below). If a rain spoiled an outdoor dance, the
dance would, if possible, be moved into a large
[792] dwelling. But this was only if it was purely
for entertainment. No ritual was ever held
indoors.

MISCELLANEOUS DATA

323 Pottery.--E.M. said pottery was "used by
people long ago." She had never seen but one
184 pot. This was owned by an old man (Old Dick)
near Auberry, who told her what it was. Auberry
is within range of the Western Mono groups who
[439] may have been the source of Old Dick's piece.
No one of the Kechayi used pottery, much less
made it, in E.M.'s time.

Tobacco.--There was no cultivation of
276 tobacco (po´'om), but its growth was watched;
it grew best on burned ground. When beginning
to turn yellow, about May, it was gathered by
[887] old people. The leaves were washed, tied in
bundles, and allowed to sour, then dried and
pounded. The leaves and stems of "a plant with
berries" (kai'a´sni) were added and pounded
with the tobacco. The resulting powder was
moistened, shaped into round cakes, and dried.
In this condition it was called šo´gən. The
[184] fine tobacco, pulči´na, was not made by the
Kechayi or Gashowu. E.M. knew what it was but
thought "only Choinimni doctors" used it.

The drinking of a tobacco and lime mixture
[787] was customary among people wanting to induce
supernatural dreams, or those who sought good
health "by keeping their stomach clean." The
tobacco and burned shells of freshwater oysters
(ke´wi) obtained from the river were pounded
together in a small mortar, moistened, and
licked off the pestle.

501 Ferrying.--Men and women were equally good
swimmers and usually crossed the San Joaquin
481 River (or other water) by swimming. Babies or
possessions were put in a large flat-bottomed
coiled basket (ta´okač) made for ferrying. A
swimmer pushed this ahead of him with his left
hand, while he used his right arm, elbow horizontal
and forearm swinging downward in an arc,
to propel himself. The feet were kicked behind,
but there was no splashing. In the same
way a man might hold a baby or small child on
[758] his left shoulder. One or two swimmers would
push a log ahead of them on which a sick or
infirm person would ride astride. A two-log
raft was made for an invalid or corpse. E.M.
[186] added with pride that the Kechayi were all good
swimmers, whereas the Chukchansi were poor
swimmers.

Posture.--Posture was not observed, as at
516 this small reservation all people sat on chairs.
E.M., however, frequently pointed with her lips,
[201] with a slight raise of the head as she did so.

[P. 162a] Kechayi

821 Star lore.--Terms used for stars, phases of sun and moon, etc., follow:

192

773 u´pɨš: sun
toiyu´nəm u´pɨš: moon (lit , night sun)
tawa´nɨš: morning star
tomo´lo'o´lohi: evening star
čaya´taš: star (general)
muxe´ma: Pleiades (lit., young girls).

E.M. disclaimed all knowledge of the tale of the girls' flight from their husbands.[52] When this constellation was on the eastern horizon at dawn, the river was deep, but when it was on the western horizon at dusk, it was time to go to the river for the spring salmon run.[53]

soiyo´lui yawačɨt: Milky Way (lit., antelope-place running). Antelope and deer ran a race across the sky from northeast to southwest. Deer won.

wate´lau: a shooting star. Doctors knew something about these, but "plain people wouldn't know."

wɛ´čɨn čano´'ɔnɨt: eclipse of sun or moon (lit., Condor eating). The Condor was thought to be eating the luminary; he hid it with his wings. At this time everyone went out and shouted. This shouting was led by the Nutuwich people: "the Nutuwich could holler best, the Tokelyuwich couldn't holler very good." Coyote was not involved in eclipses. When an eclipse of the sun occurred, a horse was killed, in addition to the shouting. The meat was eaten, the carcass being left to attract Condor away from the sun.

805 Calendar.--The year was divided into moon months (yɛt u´pɨš, a month, lit., one moon). These had special names which E.M. forgets. It contained five weeks, that is, four weeks of six days each, and the dark of the moon (gatai´ši) counted as six days. The week (šu´man, Sp. semana?) is now said to have seven days (nu´mčɨn, seven); the old week was called ču´lupai (čo´lɨpi, six).

823 Earthquake.--E.M. had never heard of an earthquake in this region. (This is curious since she had such a clear memory of the Ghost Dance in 1872, the year of a violent earthquake in the San Joaquin Valley.

825 Snake-charm.--In the spring men and women
301 wore abalone-shell gorgets, the glittering of which was thought to make rattlesnakes give a warning rattle (snake-charm, čune´ki).

302 Paint.--The colors and sources were as follows:

386

822

192 ho´suč: white. A clay which "the doctors got some place." They would give it to anybody

[831]

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[52] One suspects reticence: the story is regarded as somewhat obscene, at least to tell to a stranger.

[53] This is approximately the same time; May 1 the Pleiades are on the eastern horizon at 6 a.m., western horizon at 6 p.m. Allowing for actual circumstances (the wall of the Sierra Nevada, what constitutes "dusk," etc.) there may have been a two-week interlude between the "time of high water" and the "time for spring salmon."

[P. 162 b] Kechayi

302
192 who "wanted to fix up for dances." It was associated with the Tokelyuwich moiety.
386 hu´iyu: red. This doctors bought from the Western Mono; the Eastern Mono were the
822 ultimate source. It was the Nutuwich color.

ša´lu: black. Charcoal.

wa´wun: green (called blue by a Wobonuch informant). It is said to have been introduced by the Paiute who brought the Ghost Dance.

302
616 Face patterns E.M. could not describe beyond this statement: that the Tokelyuwich covered the face with white and added two vertical stripes of green [black in earlier times?], and that the Nutuwich merely used red horizontal stripes.[34] She added that the Tokelyuwich sometimes put white horizontal streaks across their upper arms (but see sweat house dance). Shamans were the usual owners and traders of paint.

436 Money.--Values for clamshell disc beads were: once around the hand without crossing the wrist, 25 cents; five times around the hand, $5.00. This is incongruous, of course (see fig. 14, c, Pt. I).

802
192 Numeral system.--The usual Yokuts numerical system, based on 10, was used by Kechayi, Gashowu, and Dumna. E.M. gave the following Kechayi count:

1. yɨt
2. po´noi
3. so´pɨn
4. hatpa´nai
5. yɨčɨ´nɨl
6. čo´lɨpi
7. nu´mčɨn
8. mɔ´noš
9. no´nɨp
10. ṭe´yao
11. yɨ´čam
12. bo´čtɔp
13. so´pi'ɔp
14. ha´čpam
15. yɨ´čam
16. čo´lpɔp
17. no´mčom
18 mu´nčum
19. no´mpɔm
20. ponoi ṭe´yiu
21. ponoi ṭeyao yɨt
22. ponoi ṭeyao ponoi
23. ponoi ṭeyao so´pɨn, etc.
100. yɨt pi´ča
1000. yɨt mi´la (Sp.)

GAMES

526
[616] Shinny.--This game (ko´nɨč) was played by both sexes. The sticks and ball were of "some hard wood." Usually there were three people on each side; moiety opposition functioned when the game was played at mourning ceremonies. The Kechayi played the game around the turning post, which was not struck or aimed at.

Tossed hoop and pole.--E.M. had not seen this game (ha´lao) played; she had "just heard the old people talk about it."

[237] Football.--For this game (i´wač) two posts were set up about one hundred feet apart. A ball of deerskin stuffed with grass was kicked and scuffed along the ground between two opponents. They pushed each other vigorously to maintain possession of the ball. They started from one post, went in a circuit around the

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[34] Cf. Gifford, Miwok Moieties, 146.

[P. 163a] Kechayi

526 other, and returned. Both sexes played. Pairs of men with two balls often played against each other.

524 Walnut dice game.--While this (hučuˊša) was primarily a woman's game, men occasionally played. It was tabu at night. As usual, the eight nutshell dice (hoˊwač) were tossed on a broad coiled tray (čaˊpɨt). The dice are nutshell halves, filled with pitch. In the old days a round root called kaˊuhai, which grew in the mountains, was cut in a hemispherical shape and painted.

The count as given by E.M. was: two face up or down, 1; three face up or down, 1; all up or all down, 4.

Twelve counters were used and were handled by a scorekeeper (wičeˊlɨtɨ).

Stick dice game.--This too was a woman's game (daˊlag) which men occasionally played. There was no limitation on the hour of play. There were eight stick dice of split elderwood (wiseˊta). The flat face was unornamented; the back was decorated with streaks of red paint. All the sticks were bunched in one hand and thrown down on a deerskin (in later years on a blanket). The motion was an under- or backhand one: the sticks were not dashed directly downward. The count was the same as in hučuša (above).

Hand game.--Both sexes played this game (we·helaˊoča), either apart or mixed. As many as wished played on each side. Each side had its own pair of bones. These were about two inches long. The one to be guessed for was wrapped at its center with a few strands of a black root (the one used for black pattern in basketry).

As the guessing progressed, singing was kept up constantly. Men hid the bones behind their backs, women under a skin or blanket on their knees. The bones were passed to one's neighbor only after continual losses on the hider's part (i.e., winning by the opposing guesser), but no accurate explanation of how this operated in practice could be made by E.M.

The counters, kept by a scorekeeper, numbered twenty.

String figures.--E.M. claimed she had never seen these, but a Chukchansi (Dolly) who was listening volunteered the statement that her people used them to predict the sex of an unborn child.[55] The trial was made by the sister of the prospective father. Dolly did not know how to make the figures.

Cup and ball.--E.M. had never heard of this game.

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[55] See the figures "baby girl" and "baby boy"(Barrett and Gifford, Miwok Material Culture, pl. LXIX, figs. 5-8), which probably are similar to those meant. It was not clear, however, in what the element of prediction consisted.

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

Officials

622 The chief (ti´ya) functioned as among the
[361] Central Foothill tribes. His house was always
on the west side of the village, regardless of
his moiety affiliations. It was the only house
622 given a special location. He "was the richest
man, every one had to pay him at a mourning
556 ceremony whether they wanted to or not." There
was no physical punishment or direct penalty
for a person who did not pay, but one who was
able to pay and did not would be in disfavor
with the chief and would lack the latter's
personal support when he might want it. The chief
622 did no hunting; "he told his winatum to tell
554 some men to go hunt for him." For this the
men were not paid. E.M. did not think that the
chief's wives could lay claim to seeds and
acorns in the same manner, but payments to the
chief or his wives might be made in these
products when occasion arose. The duties of
the wives, also called tiya as were their sons
and daughters, were primarily those of
hostesses. They often advised other women in their
private affairs and carried weight in the
community with prestige as well as personality.

Feasts or parties, like those given by
622 chiefs of the lake tribes, were given by
527 Kechayi and Gashowu chiefs. There was no set
time for them; they occurred two or three times
during a year, that is, between fall and spring
when village life was integrated. Announcement
of the feast was made in advance by the
winatums; everyone in the village was invited. The
chief, his immediate family, and relatives,
provided the food and cooked it. Such affairs
lasted about three days, alternating games,
dancing, shamanistic displays, and sweating
[616] with the feasting. No payment was made by
the guests. There was no moiety division at
these parties.

The position of chief passed from brother
622 to brother, then reverted to the eldest son of
the eldest brother. This, at least, was the
theory of its inheritance. The brothers "had
been working together," and the successor was
experienced and knew in personal detail the
duties and privileges which he was taking over.
A chief's son "stayed with his father all the
time" in order to hear and learn the functions
which he would later be called upon to perform.
Before he died, a chief would designate his
successor.

At Aholu´i, a Kechayi village on the San
Joaquin River not far from Auberry, E.M.'s
[551] father's brother, Gaida´na, was chief. After
him came Huhutu´tu,[56] for whom she could give
no genealogical placement, saying only that he
was "a relative" of Gaidana. A Dumna chief,

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[56] The name sounds like a Yokuts nickname and well may have been.

622 Čo´kɨt, Nutuwich, and his wife, Čɨnkɨ´lwɨt, Tokelyuwich, are the only other chiefly persons E.M. recalls.

624 Another official, who made announcements and managed festivities and ceremonies, was the yate´ʼɨč (talker or manager). He seems to have been a superwinatum, serving as a go-between for the chief and people; the chief addressed the people directly only when the yateʼɨč was absent. [782] At gatherings such as the chief's "party," the yateʼɨč "prayed" before each meal, saying, "Come close to the table [sic], we are going to have a good feast. When this supper is over, we will play and have a good time."

The only Kechayi manager whom E.M. remembers by name was Ko´čon, a Nutuwich; one of the Posgisa was Eʼuki´yi. The office was paternally inherited, but moiety affiliation did not affect its functions.

The winatum "ran errands for the chief," gathered wood for public fires, carried messages. He was paid for his services. The position was inherited in the male line, but not all sons of a winatum had to function as such. The family chose one or more of its sons to take up the work, but if a lad were incompetent or unwilling, he did not have to undertake it.

Moieties

616 The classification of animals, birds, and some vegetable foods as Tokelyuwich and Nutuwich is given below. The informant was certain that no natural phenomena such as thunder, rain, or even land, sky, and water, were classified in this way. These were asked about indirectly, and also more directly, along with animals 616 and plant names. Most of the items below were given voluntarily in response to a general 825 question.

Tokelyuwich	Nutuwich
to´xɨl: eagle	po´hiyon: Cooper's hawk
pu´nal: hawk (Swainson ?)[57]	ya´yɨl: falcon[58]
upla´li: dove	ho´its: buzzard
a´luwut: crow	hi·hi·´na: horned owl
ho´toi: raven[59]	so·´tɔt: white owl
u´iʼui: roadrunner	ʼo´čʼoč: magpie
wa´twat: duck	hu´mnul: quail
bučo´nhal: redwing blackbird	ṭai´ʼṭaiʼ: blue jay

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[57] Light, with black shoulders and head.

[58] Younger brother of Cooper's hawk.

[59] Larger than a´luwut.

616 ulu·´ju:	meadow lark
825 ča´pitɨ´tna:	kingbird
wihe´šɨt:	cougar
ki·´či:	raccoon
te´pɨš:	beaver
xu´mix:	jackrabbit
te´u:	cottontail rabbit
ši´txɨl:	ground squirrel
homu´ča:	wood rat
ṭe´'ɨl:	rattlesnake
ta·la´tai:	lizard
ta´nai'əwɨts:	grasshopper
pu´tus:	"round" acorns
e´šɨn:	a "mountain" acorn
te´pɨn:	acorn mush
li´mɨn:	acorn gruel
a´ptu:	manzanita berries or cider
taxa´ti:	sourberries
ča´nɨt:	seeds from a blue flower
xe´lɨs:	a seed
naho´'o:	bear
hoi:	deer
kawai´yu:	horse (Sp. caballo)
hu´'ušu:	coyote
a´oja:	fox
čo´i:	skunk (large)
če´ču:	California spotted skunk
ma´o:	grey squirrel
gai´hɨt:	salmon
ma´mɨl:	blackberries
kisi´'ɨn:	small black seed

616 The functioning of the moiety division is
not one of mere reciprocity, as it is with more
southerly or westerly Yokuts. Here, for the
Kechayi at least, it seems there is no lineage
totem which is recognized as a family symbol,
even for that of a chief: all moiety animals
are regarded as "totems."[60] The specific func-
tionings are given under headings dealing with
those situations in which they operate, such
as "Annual Mourning Ceremony," "First Fruit
Rites," "Marriage." A peculiar set of be-
havior patterns, which E.M. could not clearly
616 formulate nor I grasp, was associated with each
moiety. Thus, to partake of one's moiety
262 animal or vegetable food would make one ill,
hence the Nutuwich never ate deer or bear meat.[61]
Yet, after the First Fruit Rites, salmon and
blackberries, also classed as Nutuwich, were
eaten by members of that moiety. On the other
hand, a Tokelyuwich man, having been hunting,
could not partake of the first deer he had
killed but could eat the meat from some other
616 (see "First Fruit Rites"). E.M. said, "The

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[60] Kechayi social organization needs thorough analysis with other informants.

[61] This was an absolute statement.

616 Nutuwich come first in everything. That's why the Tokelyuwich call them 'coyote'. The Tokelyuwich are slow." Thus in a household like E.M.'s, where she herself was Nutuwich but her mother was Tokelyuwich, E.M. could go after the new seeds as they ripened, whereas her mother had to wait and, along with other Tokelyuwich women, take what was left. The Nutuwich [men] knocked down the acorns, but the Tokelyuwich [women] picked them up. When the Nutuwich danced, they used fast steps; the Tokelyuwich danced lethargically. [552] Dogs were given one of two names: tapa´liš, if they belonged to Nutuwich people, wu´isu, if owned by Tokelyuwich. Whether these modes of behavior are part of a generalized larger moiety pattern or whether they were special cultural idiosyncrasies, so to say, with no abstract motivation behind them, it was impossible for E.M. to convey.[62]

Redemption of totem animals.--When an
616 eagle was killed, all the Tokelyuwich people put in some money to pay for it. The feathers
825 were removed. A shaman kept the head, which
237 he ornamented with beads to keep as a supernatural talisman. The legs were made into whistles. The carcass was buried. (E.M. did not know the details of this, how the ritual actually operated.)

616
825 A Nutuwich man, Či´p·t, the paternal grandfather of E.M., raised a pair of eaglets until [231] they were able to fly. Then they were put in a willow cage and an assembly called. Tokelyuwich people came from other villages, even from Koko´h·p (Sycamore). They all contributed money, which Čip·t received, and took the birds. As the visitors returned homeward, the birds were passed to the more easterly travelers; when the most eastern had reached home, the birds were released.

When a Tokelyuwich person killed a bear (a Nutuwich, of course, would not), it was redeemed by the Nutuwich moiety. All the Nutuwich contributed a little money, but the bear-killer was the only Tokelyuwich who received it. E.M. was uncertain what became of the [301] bear hide and what was done with the carcass. Any Nutuwich person could wear a bear-claw necklace. It seems probable that a bear dancer would obtain one.

Pets

231 Eaglets were raised sometimes, and sold to Tokelyuwich people.

A falcon (ya´y·l) was kept, in a specific instance known to E.M. The bird was captured alive by He´čač [moiety?] who "gave it to an-

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[171] [62] Comparable attitudes and behaviors are recorded for some Southern Californian moieties (cf. Gifford, Clans and Moieties in Southern California, 178, 192).

231 other old man." Its new owner caught salmon and squirrels for it. He would put a piece of meat on the end of a stick, and the falcon would fly down, sit on the stick and eat the meat. The bird cried out when it was hungry.

E.M. recalls that her father (Nutuwich) kept a white owl for a pet. The children were amused because it appeared to be headless when it was asleep.

E.M. herself raised a flock of baby quail, but they were devoured by a snake.

So far as E.M. knows, no cubs were ever raised as pets.

An old Kechayi man, Hečač, who caught the falcon, had two fawns which he raised. They came when he called.

One man raised a pet coyote, but "it got too mean" so he took it to the hills and released it.

First Fruit Rites

796 These rites were all called nahala´oša, the term used for a girl's first menses ceremony. At least three were held, for acorns, seeds, and salmon, all having the same name and same essential procedure.

796 Acorns.--The Nutuwich men knocked down all
the acorns, which were gathered and stored,
222 as usual, by Tokelyuwich women; many of the
616 women were, of course, wives of the Nutuwich
men. When the correct month arrived,[63] the Nutuwich chief sent word to the Tokelyuwich chief that it was time for the ceremony. This the Tokelyuwich prepared for by grinding, leaching, and cooking acorns of the recent crop, and arranging the food to be served in front of their chief's house. Then the Nutuwich people came. The Tokelyuwich host-chief made a speech about the new food,[64] and his winatums and their wives served the food to the Nutuwich chief and the people with him. Thereafter the Nutuwich people could make use of the new crop, but the Tokelyuwich continued to use nuts from the old crop until the spring salmon ceremony.

There is no association of the Bear Dance with the gathering or first eating of acorns.

Seeds.--In the summer the winatum went about telling people that it was time to gather the seed crop. The Nutuwich people went first and took all they wanted; when they were through, the Tokelyuwich gathered what was still available. The Nutuwich "ate the seeds right away," but when the Tokelyuwich were free to do so is not clear.

226 Salmon.--When the Pleiades were on the
western horizon at dusk it was time to watch
616 for the first salmon. When the Nutuwich chief
796 learned that the run was approaching he sent

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[63] E.M. thinks this was November.

[64] On one occasion B.W's wife made the speech.

226 "all Nutuwich men out to catch salmon." Mean-
616 while the Tokelyuwich got out their "new"
796 acorns, of which they had not yet partaken. Members of each moiety cooked the foods which they were responsible for, and a general feast was held at the river's edge. Everyone dressed in his best.

The first salmon caught was laid on a basket tray. This the Nutuwich chief held in his hand while he made a prayerful speech to the salmon, asking it "not to hurt the Nutuwich who were going to eat it." He told the people to be happy because many more fish would be coming. The Tokelyuwich chief, holding a basket of acorn meal, made a comparable speech to the acorns on behalf of the Tokelyuwich people. Thereupon, the Tokelyuwich all ate salmon with the acorn mush. Immediately after them the Nutuwich partook of salmon a[illegible]

During the rest of the day games [illegible] played, and at night more games and dancing served as entertainment.

A salmon ritual held at Očo´po, a Gashowu village, was recalled by E.M. The village was not directly on the river but they all went there for the feasting and returned to the village for the games.

Deer.--Deer and bear meat were tabu to
262 the Nutuwich, which somewhat "balances" the
616 "new" acorn tabu which the Tokelyuwich suffered. It seems difficult to believe that a staple meat such as deer could be eschewed entirely, but E.M. was positive in her statements. The tabu included antelope. "They used rabbits instead," E.M. claimed.

When a man killed a deer (the hunter would necessarily be Tokelyuwich) the camp manager or spokesman (yate'₊č) went about "telling the women to get their acorns ready because there would be deer for supper." He said that "deer is the best meat and, if any one failed to come, a little piece would be saved and taken
[252] to him." The deer were then cut up, the head roasted in ashes, and the other parts broiled. The chief was given a ham, considered the best part.

The hunter who had brought in the game could not eat meat from the first deer he had killed on this occasion, but took meat from some other. This tabu held for all hunting occasions, according to this informant, and was not merely the "first kill" tabu for a young hunter on the occasion of his first hunt.

LIFE CYCLE

Birth and Infancy

843 Only women who had to did heavy work during the last three months of pregnancy. There were no definite food tabus before birth, although some women ate only soft food from
000 preference. After the birth occurred, the

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After the birth occurred, the
846 mother drank only warm acorn soup (li´mɨn) for
six days or until the umbilical stump fell off.
After that she ate only soups and seed food
(lu´kɨn) for two months.

The father was not under any tabus during
[843] pregnancy, E.M. believes, but after the birth
he ate nothing hard or greasy until the stump
came off. He also did no hard work for one
moon [month].

[841 There was no separate hut for birth or
343] menses.

At the time of birth a girl's own mother
844 or elder sister helped her. She lay on her
back during labor (E.M. was uncertain on this
[237] point). A bear claw was soaked in water and
the liquid was drunk to make hard labor easier.
[616] A woman of either moiety could use this. The
umbilicus was cut with a sharp bone or clam-
[823] shell; flint was tabu, and E.M. never saw a
cane knife used. The afterbirth was buried in
the ground. The mother lay on the hot bed of
ashes only if she were very ill or her back
ached.

854 When the baby was born its paternal grand-
[603] father brought the first cradle (bi´'ɨč), which
had been made by a paternal aunt. This cradle
was of soft willows and had a hoop awning.[65]
The baby remained on this for two months, at
[553] the end of which time it was named, removed to
its permanent cradle (ahɨ´lɨč), and the mother
was cleansed.

When the navel stump fell off it was put
846 in a piece of buckskin and hung with a few
strands of beads to the cradle hood for the
baby to play with. If the stump were lost, the
child would be subject to nausea. When the
child left the cradle, the stump was removed
[856 from it; for a boy it was placed in an oak tree
789] so he would become a good climber, but for a
girl it was put in an anthill to make her industrious.

854 At the end of two months the baby was put
on its second cradle, and received a name
553 selected by its paternal grandfather or grand-
mother. For a boy, the paternal grandfather's
name was chosen, for a girl, her oldest paternal
aunt's.[66] At the same time a "party" was given
for the mother by these paternal relatives --
her husband's family. She was washed, dressed
in new clothes, and partook of meat again.

844 The food and working tabus for both
parents were observed only for the first child.
846 But the use of the cradles, preservation of the
navel stump, and the naming "party" were
carried out for all offspring.

845 Twins were thought by some to be a mis-
fortune. This was because of the belief that
they were difficult to raise. Before visitors

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[65] The hoop awning, E.M. explained, is useful only when the infant is supine; cradles of small babies were not stood upright.

[611] [66] A rule more of theory than of practice, as the genealogies indicate. The important point is the emphasis on the male line.

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845 could see the newborn twins they had to give the parents a bit of money, to be kept for the infants, "to make them strong." If one twin died, the other was sure to die soon too. However, twins were ṭɨpni and had supernatural power if they lived to adult life. E.M. could give no idea of how this power was manifest.

Childhood

867 868 The training of children "just came natural." Girls and boys both played at activities which later became duties. Boys were given verbal instructions in the sweat house, but this was entirely informal: there was no puberty rite for boys. There was no defined "first entrance" into the sweat house; boys hung around it, played in it "until they got chased out" [by men going to sweat], and remained to sweat when they were "old enough to stand it" [fifteen to eighteen years]. The verbal instructions, given by older men, told them how to be good to their wives, to abjure intercourse during menstruation, to have a home of their own and not live with their parents-in-law, and how to respect and deal with the supernatural.

Puberty

881 A puberty ceremony (nahalaoša) was given for a girl at her first menses. There was no separate menstrual hut. The girl did no cooking, ate no meat, and used a scratching stick on her head as "her fingers were hot and her hair would fall out if she touched it." Otherwise her life was as usual. At the first menses these tabus held over a two-month period; thereafter they were observed each month for six days at the end of which the girl bathed and ate meat.

881 584 The actual puberty ceremony, which was looked upon as a betrothal ceremony, a declaration of intentions by both families concerned, was made by a boy's mother. The parents had previously reached an agreement in the matter.

On the first new moon following the two-month tabu period, the prospective mother-in-law brought a ceremonial washing basket, new clothes, and beads to the girl's home, where she washed and clothed the girl. Then the official spokesman (yate'ɨč) made a speech saying that this girl "had come out all right, she was going to be healthy." Everyone in the village came to call on the girl and eat a little meat with her. The food for this was supplied by the boy's parents.

Marriage

584 When parents of a boy and girl had agreed that they wanted to become coparents-in-law

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584 (ma´kši) and the boy's parents had made the betrothal ceremony for the girl, the girl's parents invited the boy in frequently for meals. The boy would then be twelve to fourteen years old. This continued for about a year, or until it was felt that the couple were ready to sleep together.

585 Then a marriage "party" (yewɨnu´ša) was made by the girl's family at her home. Two large ceremonial baskets were brought; from water in these the lad and girl were each completely washed by some female member of the spouse's family. They donned new and ornamental clothes. This took place in the morning. A feast, provided by the girl's family, followed. During the day games were played, and in the evening doctors entertained with dancing. Circular dancing (soi´wɨša) and the hand game (we·helaoča) lasted all night. The couple slept together in the girl's home.

582 Marriage was always extra-moiety,[67] but this rule did not permit cross cousins to marry even though they were necessarily of opposite moieties. Lineage relationships on both sides of the family were the prime consideration. [835] E.M. said sometimes cousins had intercourse if the boy had no respect for the girl, but this did not lead to marriage.

595 A man often married two sisters, and "nearly all" men had relations with women in different localities (thus the common parentage of E.M. and B.W.). There was no special term to distinguish wife from mistress, and these concepts were not socially defined in Yokuts culture. Some terms of the marriage relationship are: lo´wɨt (husband), yi´wɨn (wife or any woman one slept with), yawɨ´nɨš (to have intercourse), yewɨnuša (marriage party or ceremony).[68] During pregnancy a man addressed his [551] wife as ga´lwat. Under normal conditions neither spouse used a vocative term of address or personal names.

606 The relations between child and parent-in-law were restricted. A man never went close to or addressed his mother-in-law, and his father-in-law he spoke to only when absolutely necessary. When he did so he used, not the term for "father-in-law" nor the father-in-law's name, but the term ma'ak. The same restrictions and form of address were used by the young wife with respect to her parents-in-law, with the sexes reversed, of course. 607 A man "treated his brother-in-law like a real brother"; they went hunting and fishing together, sharing their catch. A man addressed his sister-in-law "only to make jokes or to tell little stories [or incidents]." The same, reversed, held true for the girl. The nature of these jokes was [831] undefined; E.M. denied that they were specifically obscene.

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[67] There is one exception in the genealogies.

[68] The term also is applied to the modern legal or church ceremony.

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586 Divorce was usually caused by sterility, though the usual practice was for the man to have a child by another woman; "he didn't bother to leave his wife unless he disliked her." When a man left his wife, he took only his personal belongings and not more than one horse, if he possessed any. When a couple separated, the parents-in-law usually remained good friends and did not return any gifts which had been exchanged at betrothal.

Death

763 [624] When a death was imminent, a winatum was sent to notify relatives on both sides of the person's family. Kin beyond the degree of first cousin were not usually notified, E.M. thinks, but this depended on how friendly a
764 relative had been with the deceased. A daughter washed and dressed the corpse; if there were no capable daughter, the mother would. This was regardless of the sex of the deceased. The corpse was laid on a pallet or deerskins on the floor, and the mourners all marched around it as doleful songs were sung by the professional corpse-handlers (čowe´'·č). This performance was kept up as continuously as possible for two days.

764 The corpse-handlers had prepared the cremation fire and carried the corpse to it. Every-
767 one came, the mourners sitting near by wailing, the onlookers joining in. After two days the corpse-handlers gathered up the bones in a basket and buried them. The basket was a
[285] special, well-made, "pretty" one of conical shape called pon·k. Who made or supplied this E.M. did not know. The corpse-handlers were paid for their services.

765 The period of mourning was indefinite. A widow cut off her hair, stayed quietly near her home until the large mourning ceremony was made, a period of one or two years.

767 The corpse-handlers were not transvestites, so far as E.M. knows. She stated that her paternal grandmother's sister, Woji´l·t, was a normal woman, but followed this profession. She thinks that these people "grew up that way," i.e., with a desire "to get rid of the dead." They had no special totemic or dream helper, and "worked" for either moiety.

775 After death the spirit of the deceased went north until it came to a river. If it crossed this successfully, it went up; if it failed, it went down.

766 An unusual burial.--To illustrate an exceptional burial E.M. told the following anecdote which was related to her by Šaha´ma, an old Posgisa man.

This old man had gone out to help the women with seed-gathering. They went toward Table Mountain. Two strange boys were around hunting and, high on the cliffs of the mountain,

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766 they saw a falcon's nest One of the boys was
determined to go up and take the young; the
other tried to dissuade him. The older boy
started up anyway; the younger climbed more
slowly, as he was afraid. Just then the parent
birds returned and attacked the older boy. He
was far up where there was no protection; the
younger crouched behind some bushes. The birds
beat at the boy until he lost his grip and fell
down the face of the precipice. "He was a rag
when he landed at the bottom." His companion
crawled down and went after the seed-gatherers.
They approached cautiously as they were all
afraid of the angry birds. There was nothing
could be done for the mangled lad, so the
women put his remains in a carrying basket, dug
a hole with their digging sticks, and buried
the whole thing on the spot.

SUPERNATURAL POWER AND SHAMANISM

Acquisition of Power and Curing

756 The doctoring profession ran in families:
E.M. claimed the profession was always inherited.
But this does not refer to an inheritance
of power, which was not transferable, but
to the mere fact that a doctor's son usually
became a doctor and that, in tangible terms,
he acquired the accumulated wealth in his
father's cache (pa´čki). A son did not invariably
become a shaman because his father
was one; among several sons one might become a
doctor. If no sons followed him, a shaman's
cache was "lost forever" as no one else could
touch it (see below).

776 The supernatural creatures helped only
members of the moiety with which they were associated.
616 For the Nutuwich moiety Horned Owl
756 and Bear were the "strongest" helpers; for
Tokelyuwich, Eagle was the "strongest." "Sometimes
Eagle would try to get a Nutuwich man and
he would die quick." [Apparently he would die
[823] whether he "accepted" or not.] Water was a
very powerful helper, and a large stream, like
the San Joaquin River, particularly so.

Women usually were not doctors. E.M. remembers
756 only one, Wojilit, who sang at funerals
[562] and with doctors in the sweat house dance.

At his death a shaman's outfit was burned,
756 or buried with him. If anyone else, even a
shaman's son, tried to use it, he would die.
764 Nothing was left to the son save the objects in
the pački which were pure wealth, not supernatural
talismans. It is not clear whether
these objects were those the father had secured
through his practice or whether they were
gifts bestowed by his animal helpers; probably
the former.

756 Doctor's cache.--It was thought that a
doctor's cache (pački) was always located in a
556 hill with a rock as a door. There was no mark
422 of ownership. After the shaman's son had received
his power, he could enter the pački at
will. He accomplished this by dancing outside

756 the door and calling on the name of his father
556 or grandfather, to whom the cave was supposed
to have belonged, and the door opened. Within
422 were baskets, money, feather ornaments, skins --
all valuable things. He could take anything he
wanted from the left side of the enclosure.
756 The right side was filled with articles that
belonged to his most ancient ancestors, and
556 these "had too much power." They served as
776 guardians of the place, for their power would
kill anyone who touched them. Thus, if a
778 stranger should succeed in entering the pački,
he would be afraid to take anything as he would
not know which ones he could safely touch [sic]
(see below, Čipit's death). After a doctor had
acquired much power, his helpers might tell him
to use some of the tabu things, "but if a doc-
tor did that he would get mean and care no more
for people or being a good doctor."

756 Procedure.--A man who wanted to become a
shaman would seek dreams from adolescence on.
787 When a supernatural helper visited him in a
dream, he rose and went out into the hills,
where he "lay down to dream some more." The
dream helper, usually a bird or animal, came to
him, gave him a song and instructions about
curing, and told him what talismans to use.
The man stayed out all day, fasting and talking
prayerfully to his assistant. As the man
dreamed more, his power increased; the "animals"
came more readily, so he was often away for
days at a time. It would be said of such a
man, "pana´nɨt a´mɨn časa´šti (coming his help-
er; če´saš, the supernatural helper, lit., dog).

756 When a man had dreamed sufficiently, all
the animals of his moiety gathered on a hill
787 near a [his father's ?] cache. The man was
there too, and the animals opened the pački,
825 telling him to enter. He stayed in there four
days. No one at home knew where he was, and
often people went out in search of him. While
he was in the pački the animals told him what
to do. They gave him more songs and danced
with him all night. They gave him his regalia:
"this just appeared on him, nobody knew where
it came from." Later on, when he needed more
things -- baskets, beads, or feathers -- he
would go back to the pački to get them. At the
end of four days the animals sent him out, but
instead of going home he remained in the hills
two more days [total, six]. The animals in-
structed him to do this as "he would die" if he
went home too soon.[69] When he did go home, he
made his first dance (Shaman's Debut), announc-
ing the beginning of his career. He did not
again dream of his helpers but called on them
when he needed their aid.

756 Shaman's debut.--When a man felt that his
power was sufficient (and usually he had tested

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[69] This is the pattern often found as a codicil to tales of supernatural experiences from the southern half of California. They must be told of at a certain time, usually not before six days have elapsed. (See Gayton and Newman, Myths, abstract 139, note 21.)

756 (it by making minor cures), he gave a public dance (a´nuṭun ti˜ša) at which he cured a patient. This formal announcement of his professional status began with dancing in the sweat house. He wore all the usual regalia, and had one or two singers to sing for his dancing. Any man who wished might go in to watch, but women never entered. As he danced, his power talked to him and told him when it was time for him to go outside to continue the dancing and make the cure. This is the source of the name for the ritual, literally, "doctor's going-out" or "doctor's emergence." After his emergence he told, as he sang, of his supernatural experience. Then he cured the patient who was already there.

If a doctor did not wish to start his ritual inside the sweat house, he could begin outdoors, but in that case he had to have some older and established shaman dance with him.

At his debut and on later occasions a wise young man would be discreet about his disclosures concerning his supernatural power. To give the impression of having much power would engender jealousy among the older shamans, who might injure his power or even kill him.

A distinction was made between the doctor
756 (a´ñṭu) who had to cut and suck in order to
789 cure, and the doctor with power (mɨts añṭu, true, actual, great doctor) who cured with rubbing or brushing. The latter, whose course of training is given above, cured by dipping a weasel skin (ču´duñ) in water and stroking it over the patient. The sickness was squeezed from the skin onto a tray, removed by the doctor's winatum, and burned.

756 There were no other special classes of doctors. Men with Bear power were regarded as
[535 dancers, not doctors, "though they had plenty
778] of ṭɨpni."

In this connection E.M. said the Choinimni P.D.W. was sufficiently trained to do curing by rubbing as well as by cutting and sucking. Two years ago (1927) he had come to the Friant rancheria and given the ceremony for general preventative curing. They were expecting him to come again soon for the same purpose.

Fees.--A doctor who failed to cure would return the fee itself or objects of equal value. If a patient were very sick and obviously unlikely to recover, the doctor might refuse to take the case. If he had come from far away, he would be paid -- and he would accept -- something as recompense for his futile trip.

Sometimes a doctor would be killed for losing a patient. If the doctor were from another tribe, he and his chief would meet the bereaved family and their chief for the purpose of making a financial adjustment. During the discussion the bereaved persons "might get so mad they would kill the doctor and his chief right on the spot." [E.M. could not substantiate this with a case; it was "just what she had heard."]

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754 Theoretically, there were no "bad" doctors in the San Joaquin River region. Those who made "poison" were said to be south of Kings River.

Cures.--The term for sickness in general
755 was toi´yoti·yaš he´ba (night into [?] blood). E.M. could not describe specific sicknesses and their cures. Usually the doctor cut and sucked, drawing out a pebble or "button," which was exhibited.

Once a Chukchansi woman, Sai´hu, went out to gather milkweed. Soon she got sick; her throat was sore. "That bush had made her sick." The shaman Čokonɨk sucked at her clavicle and produced a worm that had come from the bush.

753 Consumption, sane´naš, was due to "not
growing right from the start" or, if the symp-
755 tom of coughing blood was present, it was thought to be caused by a doctor. There was no cure for this "though the doctors always tried everything."

787 Dreams of the dead caused sickness.

753

769 Long ago E.M. dreamed constantly of her
dead mother and sister. A Kechayi doctor,
755 Wewu´ki (Old Dick) was sent for. He was Tokelyuwich, but he could cure people of either moiety. He told everyone in the village to assemble for an all-night ceremony for the dead. With a cocoon rattle he sang for a very long time. Then he asked everyone there to tell their dreams about dead people. When it was E.M.'s turn, she told hers. He put ashes on her head, as he had done for the others, and called out the names of the dead who were bothering her. He told them to go away and never come back to bother the living. Then he blew the ashes off her head. Never again did she dream of the dead.

756 This doctor did not do any other kind of curing: "he was ṭɨpni by dead people." Both his parents were Tokelyuwich.

Anecdotes of Supernatural Experience and Dreams

778 E.M.'s brother, Haiʼaiʼɨč, had power from
157 Bear; he was reckless and liked to make spectacular use of it.

273

Once he had been drinking quite a bit and thought it would be funny to scare some families who were camping by the river. He ran up and danced like a bear; he pretended to jump into the fire. He ran from camp to camp, jumping into the fire at each one. He grabbed handfuls of coals and scattered them about. Fire spouted from his mouth. The people all broke camp and ran away.

[P. 170 b] Kechayi

778 On another occasion he wanted to get something to drink, and went to kumku´m·č (hummingbird place) where there was a little saloon. He came back, drinking along the way, and finally fell by the roadside. While he was unconscious, two bears came. They said, "Let us pack this man to our den." They took him home and kept him all night. When he woke in the morning he was frightened. The bears were dancing; they told him to join, and all danced together for some time. At last they let him go, but told him to be sure to return in four days. As soon as the door opened "he ran out as fast as he could and never went back."

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756 When talking of the doctor's cache or pački E.M. was asked if she had ever seen any of the objects said to be in them. She told the following story.

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422

Long ago E.M. and her mother went blackberrying in the direction of Kings River. The old woman was taken with an acute diarrhea, and died about one week after her return home. At that time E.M.'s brother Hai'ai'·č was "just beginning to get his power." He had gone up to visit the Chukchansi, but he knew by supernatural means what was happening at home, so returned. But his mother died before his arrival. Then he went to his father's pački and brought back a large handsome basket. This he placed over his mother's head, and he talked, saying where he had got the basket and that it was to be buried with her. This was the only object that E.M. ever saw which she definitely knew [sic] was from a pački.

[764]

756 To illustrate the danger of a layman entering a pački she related the following.

556

422 E.M.'s paternal grandfather, Čip·t, and his wife went out to dig roots. The old man went toward his father's pački. Though he was not a shaman, he danced in front of it and called to his father. The door opened a wee bit. He squeezed in and saw the wealth: he put a koikoi belt around his waist and strings of humna around his neck; he took many baskets. He returned to his wife and hung beads on her. They took these things home. Immediately Čip·t fell ill. His face and eyes became swollen, a rash covered his body. He died in six days. He was a plain man and had tampered with power.

753

787 Another old man who was not a shaman but had a dream helper was Wu´’us, "another grandfather" [great uncle?] of E.M.

When E.M. was young, the children were very fond of this old man, they played around him frequently at his house. On one very foggy morning he told them to run outside because he was going to die. The fog cleared suddenly and Wu'us rose to walk around a bit. He fell down dead. Live oak was his power; it had told him he was going to die that day.

787 Plain people who did not seek to become
doctors were sometimes visited by dreams of a
756 supernatural helper. Often they did not know
what procedure to follow to accept the proffered power, or possibly, even knowing the procedure, they did not want to go through the period of apprenticeship to follow the shamanistic calling.

It was difficult and, strictly speaking,
787 impossible to define in native terms the distinction between a supernaturally significant dream and an ordinary one. Both types were called ana´tsawu. Even ordinary dreams were thought to have some prophetic value, which E.M. exemplified as follows.

A dream of winning at a game means winning in reality.

If one dreamed of dying he would rise exceptionally early, go to a creek or spring and say to the water, "Don't take me yet. Let me live a long life." Water had immortality and the power to bestow it.

Dreaming of quarreling with a friend would cause or permit one to chide the friend about it next day. Sometimes such dreams would lead to accusations of enmity between people who were in wholly peaceful relation. Dreams were usually told to the persons appearing in them under any circumstances.

Dreams of reversals, precipitous falling, or loss of teeth were unknown to E.M. (but see below).

It was not customary to seek dreams as
[777] omens with respect to some specific project; however, a fortuitous dream of ill luck would probably cause a person to change his plans.

E.M. could not define the nature of dream
828 experience. She knew of no word for soul, did
774 not recognize the concept. She willingly re-
787 lated the following dreams, which all date from her early life.

787

1. E.M.'s mother once went off for several days and left her alone. She was scared and nervous by herself. One night she dreamed that her mother returned, which made her very happy for she knew her mother was coming. She did return the next day. When she came, E.M. told her of the dream. [It was not necessary to tell; it was done for the emotional pleasure involved in recounting it.]

2. Once E.M. dreamed she was a dove. She was on a hilltop and tried to fly from there, for she felt just as if she had wings. Twice she succeeded in leaving the hilltop but both times fell down [with no sense of shock, however]. When she woke up she said to herself, "What did I want to do that for?" The next morning she told her mother of the dream, and was advised not to eat dove meat. But E.M. did not "believe" the dream [did not want to accept supernatural aid] and did not observe this or any other tabu, and no harm resulted.

[P. 171 b] Kechayi

787 3. The only dream of teeth which E.M. recalls was one which came to her when she was very sick and weak. At last she was able to sleep but "was bothered by dreams" when she did. She thought her teeth grew very large; they were all like tusks, they filled up her mouth and bulged out. While in this condition she noticed a buckeye tree before her. The tree "threw one of its nuts" at her, striking her between the shoulder blades. Then she woke up. Her mouth felt numb and stiff; she could hardly talk. But immediately she began to recover from her illness. She "watched for another dream but did not have any [significant ones] for a long time."

755 796 Group curing.--This ceremony (mai´'i kama, people dance) was usually held in the late fall (tomo´ksiu to´bxɨn, winter beginning) after all the vegetable foods had been gathered and stored. The doctor who was responsible consulted with the chief (or chiefs) of the village where it was to be given and, when a time was specified, the chief's winatums went out with messages. Everyone near by came, and many people from far off [not more than one day's journey, however].

778 The ceremony, like all others, was held outdoors: "all doctors danced outdoors so they could have more power." A fire was supplied by the chief's winatum, who assisted also in collecting payments. The doctor's winatum helped with the curing, handling of patients, and paraphernalia.[70] There was an attendant singer who used the clapper accompaniment. Persons already suffering an illness were laid near the fire, the other people sat around in a circular arrangement behind them.

The doctor did some preliminary dancing near the fire "to make his 'power' stronger." As he danced, his dream helpers spoke to him telling not only how to cure those now ill, but specifically which persons were going to be afflicted with sickness during the ensuing year.

When ready to cure, the doctor took off his vertical feather headdress (ču') and dipped it in a basket of water. He treated the sick people first. With the wet feathers he gently brushed them off, then he squeezed the "sickness" off the feathers onto a flat tray covered with sand. The doctor's winatum exhibited the "sickness," which looked like a viscous mixture of blood and albumen; then he buried it, put fresh sand on the tray, and returned. Most of the patients cured at this time were those already ill, but a patient-elect, designated by doctor's supernatural insight, was given preventive treatment in exactly the same manner. "In this way any kind of sickness could be cured except consumption."

The relatives of the afflicted persons paid the doctor for his services and the chief added a sum "for keeping his people well."

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[70] F.D.W., the Choinimni, was a doctor's winatum and had helped on such occasions.

[P. 172 a] Kechayi

BELIEFS

773 825 [756] Wainus.--This was a great serpent, large enough to wrap itself around a hill. It was extremely powerful with supernatural force [ṭ̣ɩpni]. The wainus inhabited almost any locality but would not appear "unless some doctor or some ṭ̣ɩpni person wanted to see them." Their appearance was accompanied by a severe windstorm; they were not man-eating or malicious.[71]

787 775 Ghost-wailer.--Long ago a "ghost-thing," an old woman, would wail in the evening. People went out to try to find her. She was visible, but they could never really get near her. Her wailing was taken as a sign that a Gashowu chief was going to die.

801 777 Ritual or lucky number.--E.M. was not conscious of any personal preference among numbers, nor did she recognize the concept in her culture; this in spite of the frequent recurrence of six in her various accounts.

773 Flood.--When E.M. was a little girl she heard old people talk of a great flood which inundated the Northern Foothill region. "There was water all over the earth." Many people were drowned. Those who lived saved themselves by building houses on high frames and going up to them with ladders. One can still see by the gulches the effects of this flood, i.e., the rushing waters made the gulches.[72]

VARIOUS CEREMONIES

Dances and Rituals

796 756 535 Pleasure dance.--This dance (hɩčɩ ´šna) was a favorite performance for evening entertainment. While the chief actually ordered the performance, anyone could suggest that it be given, and the suggestion in all likelihood would be sanctioned by the chief. It was done at any time of the year. The dancing usually "started after supper and lasted until midnight."

The performers were two shamans, two women, and six "plain" men. They were accompanied by two singers (hata´mɩš [?]) who used the clapper (ta´wats). Those whom E.M. recalls were: Čokonɩk and Ha´tɩš, the shamans, and Ke´mas and Ku´ba´ldɩč, the women. The "plain" men she does not recall by name. The two women were sisters and celebrated dancers, but E.M. does not think they had dream help with their accomplishment.

The doctors wore the usual ceremonial regalia -- feather headdresses, skirts, and ear plugs. The other men wore breechclouts, beaded belts, and ear plugs, and probably any other

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[71] Cf. Rogers and Gayton, Twenty-Seven Chukchansi Yokuts Myths, 206-207.

[72] There is no physical sign of flood to the layman's eye. This formation of land was also attributed to the primeval flood by the Dumna informant.

[P. 172b] Kechayi

796 ornaments they possessed. The women wore
eagle-down bands around their heads, necklaces
756 of humna beads, double deerskin aprons, and
carried hand feathers (sonɨl) (fig. 8, b, Pt.I).
535 All wore moiety face paint patterns, but these
[616] E.M. could not describe.
At first the shamans stood to one side
dancing, each with a woman directly behind him.
Then the six men filed in and danced around the
fire, the doctors and women remaining in one
place near it. The men used the "piston-rod"
step, the women a hop with feet placed close
[533] together. The songs for this dance were from
a special cycle which was not used on other occasions,
but what they were about E.M. could
not say.

535 Sweat house dance.--This dance (mosla'osaho)
[343] is called by the name because it starts in
the sweat house (mos) and is continued outside.
756 So far as E.M. knew there was no distinction in
the nature of the performance inside and out.
"The dance was started inside and then went
outside where everyone could see because Eagle
told the dancers they must dance indoors before
going out" (see "Shaman's debut"). This
dance was done at any time of the year.

The performers were shamans and two female
dancers who might be of either moiety. The
women were Ši'lat and Wojilɨt (the corpse-handler)
(E.M.'s aunt). Besides the usual
[237] breechclout and deerskin apron, the dancers
wore long strands of eagle-down rope wrapped
around their waists, arms, and heads. The head-
535 band was a very wide one. Tokelyuwich parti-
756 cipants were supposed to look like Eagle; their
faces were painted solid red with white dots
302 scattered over it and three horizontal white
616 stripes on their cheeks. The Nutuwich dancers
had red faces with black spots, and a black
area all around the mouth. Men and women were
painted alike.

The only women who saw the dancing start
in the sweat house were the women participants.
People crowded around, not all could get in,
and "the women were too bashful to push in."

535 Bear Dance.--This dance was called no''ɨn
ka'ma. Two Kechayi [Dumna?] brothers, Go'hɨl
796 and Te'e'wus, had power from Bear (nohoʼɨn
tɨpni). They were not regarded as doctors,
just men with a specific kind of supernatural
power. Their dance was obviously comparable
in its brevity, in its bearlike steps, and its
[184] winter (?) schedule, to that of the Wukchumni
Bear Dance, but unlike it in its fire-handling
display and in its lack of relation to the
acorn crop.

The dance was done in the winter. Bear
would tell the dancer to go far back in the
mountains. There two bears would come to him
during the night and hug him to protect him
from the severe cold. He stayed out two nights
and danced by himself. Then when he came in he
danced publicly at night. Later the informant

[P. 173 9] Kechayi

535 said this was danced at any ceremony if asked
796 for.

E.M. saw Goh·l and another Bear dancer named Jo´n·š do the dance. They wore the vertical feather ču on their heads, bear paws on
[237 their chests. The whole bear skin was not used. Brown paint covered their faces, and
302] black was put around or over the upper lip "to look like Bear," and covered their arms and bodies. The dance lasted two nights. On the first, they took turns: one sang while the other danced and vice versa. On the second, they both sang and danced together. There was no change in dress or dancing on the second night. The cocoon rattle (ša´nači) was used in accompaniment. The actual dance was very short, "like bears dance," with a sort of jumping step. It was done twice only by each performer. Then they pretended to dance into the fire and
796 frightened people. They turned into bears as
535 they danced, but Čokon·k's daughter, who some-
789 times danced with them, did not undergo transformation.

E.M. said Goh·l turned into a bear sometimes, and Tewus, his brother, was "much worse." He transformed himself and danced around the fire and "went around the country scaring people." (See anecdotes about Hai'hai'·č, another Bear dancer.)

796 Coyote dancing.--At some time during pleasure dances or entertainments, or after the
522 ritual washing at a mourning ceremony, a charac-
616 ter representing Coyote gave a clownish performance. E.M. did not remember the name of any man who did this, but said he must have been of the Nutuwich moiety. A coyote skin,
[302] cured with the fur on, was fastened on his back, with the head at his head, and tail at his buttocks. Paint was applied to his face and body
[786] "any way just to be funny." His antics included yowling like a coyote, jumping about, grabbing food, mimicking the spokesman, and making obscene advances toward young girls.

796 Beaver Dance.--E.M. had heard of a dance done "before her day" over at Owo´niu. The
789 doctors made fish with red heads appear; these, however, could be seen only by other doctors.
756 The shaman making this ceremony "danced half the night. When the power was coming it made
787 them suffer."[73]

Seed-crop prophesying.--This E.M. saw Čokon·k do at a Gashowu village. It was done day or night at any time of year. The doctor danced around the public fire and told what kind of seed, clover, and acorn crops would come. There was no demonstration of seed-growing or of plants: "he just told what his power showed him." This performance was supposed to benefit the crops for the coming season.

789 Rain-making.--A doctor from Kings River was able to make rain, but E.M. had "just heard

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[73] Cf. the woman participant who "groaned" in the Wukchumni Beaver Dance.

789 about it." She did not know of B.W.'s father
doing this. She thought the doctor dipped some
feathers in water and prayed; the wind came
first and then rain.

Snake ritual.--This was not performed
184 north of Kings River: "the best doctors were
796 always that way [south]." But in spring every-
751 one wore an abalone charm (čuneki) while seed-
gathering; this made the snakes rattle while
still at a safe distance.

Jimsonweed Ritual

796 The ritual (tañi ̆ša) of drinking jimson-
weed (ta ̆ñai) was held each spring by the
276 Kechayi. The informant had never taken jimson-
weed herself but had seen it administered at
Šanwoganiu (Millerton) by an old Chukchansi
man named Hoi ́yop (lupine). After consultation
with the village chief, the date for the ritual
was publicly announced. The announcement had
to be made at least twelve days in advance,
during which time prospective participants as-
sumed a liquid diet [seed or acorn soup]. The
drinkers were twenty to thirty years of age,
of both sexes. While the ritual was given in
the early spring of each year, only rarely did
a person participate annually. The ultimate
purpose was "to have good health," but it is
unfortunate that E.M. did not know of the im-
mediate aim, which we can only presume from
other information was to obtain a helping
spirit -- a dream helper.

A few days before the ceremony the parti-
cipants left home and were housed in the homes
[292] of relatives living some distance away. They
all wore "koikoi belts"[74] which they tightened
up to ease the pangs of hunger.

On the morning of the ceremony the drinkers assembled outside the village, where they were joined by the leader bearing a bundle of jimsonweed plants on his back. They all ran once around the village (they did not jump over a hoop). The leader then went to the usual assembling spot for the village; as he approached he sang and talked saying that "ṭ‧pni is coming." There he mashed up the plants in a large basket and poured water over them. The drinkers were
arriving also, each with a woman singer follow-
ing. The spokesman (yate'‧č) was present: he
[554] told them to come closer to the central basket;
when the drink was ready, he pointed out the
order in which it was to be administered, who
was to be first, next, and so on. Everyone present sat down. Then the leader filled small baskets with the decoction and gave one to each participant. He sang continuously. At his signal all drank: there was no "delayed offering" of the drink. Usually the effects were felt at once: the men and women began "dancing

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[74] A belt with koikoi beads woven into it, worn on dress occasions, as shown in fig. 13, g, Pt. I.

[P. 1749] Kechayi

796 around" before falling unconscious. Some persons
276 needed two or three basketfuls to achieve
narcosis. As each person fell he was carried
into the shade. Winatums watched them to see
that they did not injure themselves as they
grew active. Toward morning the drinkers began
[755] to mumble, they made grabbing motions with
their hands, they would not keep still. They
saw sickness on people and cured it by blowing.

The effects wore off in about one week,
[262] but all participants remained on an acorn soup
(limɨn) diet for twelve days.

[757] Jimsonweed as an anaesthetic was not known
to E.M.

Annual Mourning Ceremony

769 The chief set the date for this ceremony
(luni´ša) twelve days before it was to take
[624] place. His winatum went around to announce it,
particularly to notify the reciprocal tribe
(gi·ʼi) which, for the Kechayi, was always the
[616] Posgisa. E.M. recalls her father supervising
the ceremonies, although he was Nutuwich; the
moieties combined in this affair, which was
primarily tribal. The Choinimni were gi·ʼi for
the Gashowu (but see Choinimni account).

The ceremonial activities lasted for six days. Every morning and evening the mourners went outside the village to weep, accompanied by singers brought by the Posgisa. The mourners had with them the effigy dolls (ta´owɨč ano´ša) which had been made some time previously.

The order of rituals was as elsewhere in the San Joaquin Valley: Huhuna [guksai], Shamans' Contest, crying, washing, and celebration.

The Huhuna Dancer, who performed on the third day, is called Gugu´sia by the Kechayi. Huhuna E.M. "had heard of but never saw"; she obviously did not know they were identical.

Huhuna.--This character [Gugusia] was
[237] dressed in a long feather-covered garment. A
net covered his face and head, on which, over
his eyes, were fastened abalone-shell discs.
He carried a stick in each hand. By means of
his supernatural power he found hidden money.

He came into the dance space, circled
769 about. To one side a shaman was sitting. As
789 Gugusia approached him he "shot" with "airshot"
by banging a tray on the ground. His winatum
carried the unconscious Gugusia to one side.
Everyone wept, and the women present filed past
the prostrate form throwing money and seeds
over it. Then the shaman revived Gugusia.

E.M. thinks that both dancer and doctor in this performance were from the reciprocal tribe, but that the mourners paid them. She remembers one Gashowu man, Čuku´ya, a Tokelyuwich, who did this dance.

769 Shamans' Contest.--For some reason E.M.
could not or would not describe this coherently.
756 The reticence may have been due to the fact

[P. 174 b] Kechayi

769 that her maternal grandfather, Pe'biyu, was a
756 participant. There were usually "four or five
doctors on each side." The fires for their
"airshot" were made by their winatums. "Some
people cried while this was going on but they
didn't have to."

Crying ritual.--This rite (yuya'hixo) was
769 performed on the night of the fifth day. The
152 reciprocal tribe had their winatum build a
large fire. Four times during the night the
mourners filed in and around the fire. The
[532] chief mourners carried effigy dolls representing
their deceased relatives; these were distinguished
by sex, and a man carried a male
doll, a woman a female one. Other mourners
carried baskets, beads, and objects of value.
While they were marching around, the visiting
spokesman (yate'ıč) rose and said, "Cry! This
is the last time you will cry for a long time."
After the fourth circuit of the fire had been
made, the visitors' winatums took the effigies,
stripped them of their valuables [calico, beads,
feathers], which were distributed among the
visitors, and burned them.

Washing ritual.--This duty (ıpla'oša) was
769 reciprocal by moiety.[75] First a woman from the
783 visiting chief's family washed the face of the
mourning chief: these two persons were of opposite
moieties. Then the others were washed,
[616] each family by some other family of the opposite
moiety of the visiting tribe. The mourning
families had with them money or food which
they gave the washers, and in turn received
new clothes.

Celebration.--Thereafter all tabus were
769 lifted from the mourners and the rest of the
day and night was spent in feasting, games, and
dancing. At night a dance would be made by
some doctor dressed in a short feather skirt,
wearing vertical head feathers, feather bracelets,
carrying "hand feathers," and having
white paint on his body.

GHOST DANCE OF 1870

The account given by E.M. of the Kechayi
796 participation in the Ghost Dance has been published
668 in full elsewhere;[76] a summary statement
will suffice here.

The Ghost Dance (soiwiša kam, round dance;
[177] abbreviatedly called su'yu) was introduced to
the Northern Foothill Yokuts by a Paiute [sic]
named Čuičui (Joijoi), and a Western Mono
(Pajo''oj) companion. They urged everyone to
come because "the father" and all the dead
relatives would appear, and further, anyone who
did not join would die. The visiting Paiute

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[75] Here E.M. made a confused and contradictory statement, that if both T and N were mourning, the Choinimni came too, "because the Posgisa were gi''i only for the Kechayi Nutuwich."

[76] Gayton, Ghost Dance of 1870, 66, 72.

[P. 175a] Kechayi : Chuckchansi

796 carried a long painted cane so people would recognize him.[77]

668 With great effort, particularly in transporting infants and goods across the San Joaquin River, the Kechayi and others journeyed toward Table Mountain, to a site called Šu´kši, a small hill opposite Auberry where there was a spring (the place called Soganiu by Wobonuch informants). This was about May, 1872. Many people were there: there was much confusion in camping and in finding provisions.[78] Chiefs and winatums urged people not to quarrel or they would "die" and would not meet "the father."

The dancing took place in the evening, from about sundown to midnight, with intervals of rest. Sleeping, morning bathing, and daytime behavior were normal. Meat was not tabu.

[778] The dancers circled clockwise to the accompaniment of singing and elderwood clapper. In the center was a pole (wo´kon) on top of

[Text Continues Top of P. 175b, --- Analyst]

CHUCKCHANSI

TERRITORY AND INTERTRIBAL RELATIONS

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Concerning the range of Chukchansi territory, Kroeber states that they held Coarse Gold Creek and the head of Cottonwood Creek.[79] Their northern boundary, which marked the end of Yokuts and beginning of Miwok tribal holdings, was at the Fresno River. But their friendliness and intermarriage with Miwok made the boundary a lax one, with each tribe claiming settlements on both sides of the river. Aplau and Yiwisniu were Chukchansi settlements, and they also held Hapasau near Fresno Flats as well as Chukchanau up on Fresno River. Miss Thrall lists the following sites named by her informants N.W., J.R., and C.D.

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lulniu: Oakhurst, an old village site, the western boundary of the Chukchansi

gratniu: Picayune (N.W.), an old village site with only one sweat house

kat'an•u: Picayune (J.R.)

dalinao: a settlement where many Chukchansi had lived

dočimilpao: a settlement

baonaiu: a settlement

[Text Continues Middle P. 175b]

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[648] [77] Feelings on the west slope of the Sierra Nevada were hostile to the Paiute and Eastern Mono at that time.

[78] E.M. claimed dog meat was eaten there for the first time under pressure of starvation (see Gayton, Ghost Dance of 1870, 72); again her statement may have been a "prestige denial."

[79] Handbook, 481-482. Power's statement (Tribes of California, 370) that the Chukchansi were on the San Joaquin River between Whiskey Creek and Millerton does not agree with recent findings. Of course, it is quite possible that the Chukchansi have suffered some displacement and entirely probable that they had salmon-fishing privileges along the San Joaquin. -- A.H.G.

[P. 175b] Kechayi
Chuckchans.

796 which was a large bead-trimmed basket. This
668 basket "held the power" of the dancers, but had
[778] no curing power to revive persons who fell unconscious. The pole was not used at later [Kechayi] dances. This first dance was called ha´lo, but the term was not used thereafter.

[302 The dancers all used moiety paint patterns
616] on their faces.

The affair continued five nights, and on the sixth day they danced all day and night. At this time Joijoi, with two men and three women, dressed and danced in a peculiar manner in an attempt to convince the assemblage that they were the returning dead. The hoax, though quickly discovered, was not resented. Nor was the nonappearance of the dead resented, thinks E.M.

After their return home a few dances were held in various villages.

CHUCKCHANSI

101 wehil: Grub Gulch, a village with a captain was there

103 č'ič'ani: Quartz Mountain

131 t'oxolo: a place east of Raymond, at the foot of the hills, on the Fresno River

kasowu: Friant (the locality or the people, Gashowu?)

nipŋoaši: a Miwok site 3 or 4 miles north or east of Ahwahnee

101 The Chukchansi lived at Coarse Gold,
131 Picayune, and as far west as Oakhurst; beyond that was another tribe. Everybody at Lulníu (Oakhurst) is now dead, said M.W. The Chukchansi people went as far north as Yosemite, Southern Miwok territory, said J.R., although none lived permanently north of the Fresno River, unless married to Miwok. Southward they went no farther than Friant, Gashowu territory. If they went to a place, they came directly home again, did not go traveling around. "They don't travel very much, very far. When people go after something, when they get it they come
[152 straight home. They got home, here, this is
186] their home." [J.R. thus expressed the strong feeling for a home spot or locale manifest by other Yokuts. -- A.H.G.]

166 People would move around, perhaps two or
222 three miles for the summer and come back for the winter. They went up in the mountains to get berries or seeds, always going to the same place on which they had a traditional claim. "When white people came they got everything mixed up."

For pine nuts, hazel nuts, and a superior type of elderberry people went far up into the mountains. This trip was made about August and camps were established, as entire families went.

166 For acorns the Chukchansi went north to
Bass Lake, said N.W. While up there they always
222 feared the approach of bears.

For seed-gathering they went down toward Madera to what is now the Dobie [adobe?] Ranch.

Expeditions to get basketry materials --
roots which did not grow abundantly in the
hills -- were made to the lower Fresno River
near Madera. Only women who knew how to make
baskets would go, accompanied by their husbands
and families. They stayed away from home about
[484] a month, camping along as they went. Enough
food, such as acorn meal, cooked, uncooked, or
even unleached, was taken, while the men hunted
for meat food as they traveled. Both women and
[438] men dug the roots. Some of the materials
brought back were sold to others.[80]

J.R. claims that when he was a boy the
242 Indians throughout this region set fire to the
brush after the seeds had been gathered (about
351 July). The men started the fire and the women
watched to see that it did not approach the
houses. When it did, it was beaten out [with
what?]. "It burned the hills, all over, clean
through to the next one." The trees, which
were green, did not ignite easily: however,
"dead trees and logs were all cleaned up that
way".[81] The tree covering of this country,
J.R. says, was about as it is now, scattered
bull pine, oak, etc., and in about the same
quantity.

Communities

361 Related families usually built their
houses in an informal group. These groups, con-
184 sisting of perhaps three to five houses, would
be three to five hundred feet apart, yet in
toto the families regarded themselves as comprising a single village. [Such scattered house-groups were not unusual in the Northern Foothills, and "community" is perhaps a better term than "village," in distinction from the townlike villages of the Yokuts to the south.-- A.H.G.]

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[80] Today S.B. buys basketry materials from others, whereas L.W. said she would always prefer to get her own even when it is a hardship.

[174] [81] The aboriginality of this practice seems dubious. Getting firewood was sufficiently laborious for the Indians to discredit their deliberate destruction of "dead trees and logs." The practice is frequently attributed to early settlers, cattlemen, who wanted better forage for their stock, i.e., land free of underbrush, with improved grazing. On the other hand, there is evidence that shrub seeds, such as the Indians wanted, germinate better when subjected to scorching and it is possible the result was known to the natives and motivated the practice (vide Lester Rountree, Flowering Trees and Shrubs of California). Powers mentions aboriginal firing of the forest "all along the Sierra" (Tribes of California, 379). Dr. Kroeber informs me that firing of natural growth was practiced from Yosemite northward; perhaps this is about the southern limit of the custom. -- A.H.G.

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592 There were three to five persons in a house, J.R. continued, depending entirely on the number and condition of the family members. An average home consisted of a man and wife and their children. If there was an adult dependent, such as a sister or older relative, they would provide a separate little house for her close by. A widow and her children, or a widower and his, might also comprise a discrete household.

221 M. lived here at Picayune in a native-type house when she was a little girl. People moved around as the seed crops needed harvesting. They left their houses, light as they were, at home and made temporary shelters whenever necessary for camping. There were bedrock [412] mortars wherever they went, all around; most of these are filled in through disuse, now.

When a family permanently left a house, for no objectionable reason, another family [166] might move into it. People moved by families; whole villages did not move en masse.

Warfare

721 648 It was J.R.'s opinion that there was little intertribal warfare in the Fresno River region.

The Indians did not fight each other unless drunk. The only way they killed other Indians was if a witch doctor killed lots of people: then they would kill this doctor.

A big bunch of Chukchansi wouldn't go out and fight a bunch of Mono. Maybe they would kill one man at Northfork [Western Mono locality]. This man maybe had not done right by some [726] Indians there. Maybe some Indian from Coarse Gold [Chukchansi] wouldn't like him. They would lie in wait for him along his way and shoot him from ambush. That is the only way they killed one another up here. A Chukchansi would kill another Chukchansi this same way.

[847] 727 J.R. thought that an abnormal infant, a monster, might be killed, but he regarded this as hearsay. A person who was mortally wounded was not put out of his agony: his relatives took care of him as best they could until he died.

726 An account of an engagement and the ensuing negotiations between Indians of Fresno River and the encroaching whites refers to the same encounter described by the Dumna, Bill Wilson, that of the Mariposa Battalion in 1851. At the time, J.R. was a baby in his basket; later his mother told him about it.[68]

The last fight was down here about ten miles, on the Fresno River. It was a long way up from Raymond. The Indians from all around

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[68] J.R. probably had not yet been born.

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726 here [Chukchansi; Miwok and Mono too?] were fighting the white people. Some Indians were up on the mountainsides above the river. They got the whites down in the river canyon where they could roll rocks down on them. The whites could not see the Indians to shoot at them well, but they shot some anyway. The Indians got some whites who were running away. They
727 brought some home, made Indians of them. (There was at least one such.) This white man would fight with the Indians on their side. He was adult when they captured him; he was a soldier. He fought with the Indians after that, they said, and fought like the Indians.

That was about the end of the fighting.
728 These Indians didn't want to fight any more. The whites got pretty thick. A captain [Major
648 Savage?] came up from below with a group of white people. They gathered the Indians down this side of Fresno River and took them down to this [east] side of Madera where they gave them something to eat, flour, beef, etc., made them fight no more.

The chief that brought the whites up was Savage. He took the Indians down and gave them food. [J.R. doesn't know how long he kept them down there.] He promised them, before he died, he would give them land up here where they lived, what land they liked. They would stay there and keep the land. It would be the Indians' own home. He would give them maybe a wagon and two horses, and a plow and a harrow, and harness. They could work the horses, plow, etc. But he got sick and died. He was buried right there.[83]

He promised the Indians that, although maybe he would die, they would get these things after he died. He was going to give the Indians lots of money. But they didn't get it. Some white fellows found out. He [Savage] said to the Indians that all this land, California, belonged to the Indians. This was all written. A lot of judges have it written down that way now. But the Indians can't get it [the money] yet. They are giving the Indians a little pinch, out of the money belonging to the Indians

About twenty years ago a lawyer got information from some whites. He heard that the Indians had this money down there, and got them to contribute to pay for his going down and fighting to get it for them. But he hasn't got it yet.

SUBSISTENCE AND CLOTHING

Daily Round

512 People rose before sunrise summer and winter, said N.W. If there was no meat to eat -- sometimes there wasn't -- the men went out to catch a rabbit or whatever could be quickly
[252] got. On their return, the meat was cooked and eaten with acorn mush.

264 All informants said that all members of a family present ate simultaneously at meals.

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[83] Savage was killed by a white man in a personal quarrel (Bunnell, Discovery of the Yosemite, 285).

264 Between meals anyone who wanted to could eat;
512 cold acorn mush was always on hand. At meals,
meat was divided so that everyone got a piece,
however small it might be. Persons usually sat
close to or at their sleeping place when eating
inside the house, said J.R.

252 If the women of a household were off
getting seeds or at other work far from home,
593 the men would cook food so there would be a
meal for them when they came home. The women
512 did the same for the men when they were gone.
When both sexes were at home, the women did the
cooking. Men often cooked the meat dish, while
women were preparing the acorn food.

484 People seldom went so far from home that
they could not return by nightfall, said J.R.
512 Men always got back from hunting by sundown.
Neither would they go far to trade. "They go a
little ways, and if they don't see anyone [with
whom they can encamp for the night?] they come
back before night."

When men went out on a long hunt they re-
512 turned about midafternoon, said C.D. Then they
ate, rested in the shade, and then went to the
sweat house. After the sweat they swam, then
went to their homes. After the evening meal
they went to bed.

Old and young went to bed at the same
512 time, J.R. thought. The little children were
"wrapped in a little wildcat skin at night to
513 have a good sleep." In a well-supplied family,
352 each person had his own coverings, rabbitskin
blankets for adults, small skins for the
children. The fire was kept alive all night to
keep the sleepers warm.

Clothing and Ornament

291 Not much clothing was worn by the Chuk-
chansi or their neighbors toward the valley,
said J.R. Men made the breechclouts, prepared
[281] the skin with deer brains, cut them to fit the
individual, said C.D. He thought women's
breechclouts were cut exactly the same as men's.
M. said men wore an apron covering back and
front [possibly she means the breechclout ends].
She said that girls made fun of men who wore no
clothing or only a small covering over the
[302] penis. Men wore their hair shoulder length,
singed off even with a hot coal.

Tule grass skirts were worn by women, said J.R.; these were also made of shredded willow bark, said M. Skins were worn around the loins by women, or in a "diaper shape," said M. Kroeber states that the back part of a Chukchansi woman's skirt was of buckskin, the front of pounded strands of a long grass called chulochul.[84]

Both sexes used skins of deer, fox, wildcat, or rabbit around the shoulders, said J.R. They were tied on with strings, or some people

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[84] Handbook, 519.

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291 used a little sharp stick run through the overlapped front corners "just like a pin."

All informants said moccasins were little used; most people went barefoot (as do most children today). Moccasins were used only when walking a long distance. These were in two parts, a sole and upper, and were decorated with beads or bones which were tied on. Possibly a sandal type was known, for F.M.'s interpreter, said "Some who knew real how would make them like yours [Oxfords, i.e., a moccasin with solid upper], and some would just put straps like."

293 For dress occasions or dancing, eagle, bluejay, and woodpecker feathers were arranged around the head and neck, said J.R.

Tattooing was indulged in by Chukchansi 304 women, who so adorned the breast, abdomen, arms and legs, according to Kroeber.[85] [Inferentially, the chin was tattooed as usual.--A.H.G.]

Foods

252 Acorns.--Two accounts of the treatment of acorns were given, the first by Jack Roan with Polly Roan interpreting, the second by Nancy Wyatt, Marian and Lillian interpreting.

Acorns were picked when green; put on rocks to dry in the sun for about one week. Some were stored in sacks in the house, others in a granary covered with pine needles. At Picayune there were mostly white oak and water oak.

Black oak acorns were picked from the trees while green. Green acorns can be peeled, whereas ripe ones must be cracked. At the [481] proper time about September; men climbed the trees and cut off the limbs.[86] Acorns fell off easily, were picked from the ground and put in commercial sacks. A barley sack holds nearly two hundred pounds. Before they had white peoples' sacks they used baskets. If a woman had no man to climb trees for her, she would do so herself. Picking acorns was an all-day job for many days, a month perhaps.

[512] Toward sundown the people went home and had their evening meal. Immediately after, the acorns were brought in and everyone in the family sat around peeling them. They would finish all they had got that day, which might yield two basketfuls. Next morning, before setting out, the women spread out the peeled acorns to dry on rocks. This procedure continued for a week or ten days; by that time the acorns on the trees were growing too ripe for peeling. Hence they were taken directly to 251 the drying rocks. When all were dried they 252 were stored, the peeled ones in sacks in the

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[85] Ibid.

[412] [86] Undoubtedly a misunderstanding: they had no wood-cutting tools. -- A.H.G.

252 [851] house, the others in outdoor granaries. [At Thrall's suggestion J.R. opined the sacks were of milkweed fibre, which I doubt. -- A.H.G.]

Now some of the new peeled acorns were dry and ready to eat. The fine skins of these were scraped off and they were taken to the bedrock mortar. As the woman pounded up acorns in the holes, she took the flour out from time to time, piling it up beside the hole. When she had a sufficient quantity she took up a handful, put it on a circular, flat, winnowing tray. The meal on the tray was then shaken in such a way that the coarse particles came to the surface, rolled off onto a similar tray. The fine flour stuck to the basket surface. The finest flour was set aside, the coarser returned for further pounding. This routine was repeated about three times with the same batch of flour. Nearly a whole day was spent at this work, producing a quantity sufficient to last an average family two or three days: "pretty near a bucket full, a little more than half a [50 lb.?] flour sack." At the end, there should not be more than a handful of coarse meal remaining in the mortar hole; this was discarded. Leaching of the flour was done at another place [near water?] where the men had already prepared a fire of manzanita wood to heat water. Cooking [823] stones, usually of soapstone which did not crack, were piled on the fire. Meanwhile the flour had been put in a watertight basket about two feet deep and cold water stirred in to make a thin gruel. There might be two or three baskets like this. On the ground there had been made a shallow basin of earth formed both by slightly digging and by building up the sides. A half-inch layer of white sand was spread over it as a lining and packed down by pressing with a winnowing tray to prevent the flour from being carried through into the earth foundation. When this was ready, some acorn gruel was carefully poured in from a little basket. Over this were laid some small fir boughs to break the flow of water to be poured on. First some cold water was poured over the branches, then hot. The water was heated by putting in the hot stones, which first had been cleansed of ashes by dipping quickly in water. They were handled with sticks four or five feet long. Hot water was poured over the acorn gruel two or three times. The acorn food was tasted occasionally to see if the bitterness had disappeared. When cleared, the acorn flour was lifted off, the top layer (the finest which [262] came to the top) being kept separate, as was the next, and the third or last layer. The [562] first layer was choice, was the first cooked, was usually taken up for the men to eat at once. The rest was for general use.

The fine meal which was cooked first was put in a cooking basket and some hot water was poured over it and stirred up; the mixture was quite thin like milk. The water was boiling hot: it took three hot stones to boil a basket

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252 of water. Then hot cooking stones were put in this acorn gruel to cook it; they were stirred constantly to prevent burning the bottom of the basket. This process was continued for two to three minutes. Each time a cooking stone was lifted out the mush was scraped from it to prevent waste. The gruel became thicker in cooking. When done, it was poured into three mush baskets and taken up to the house where the men of the family were waiting for it. "Men don't come around while acorn is being cooked." [Never, or only when this first of the season was being cooked? -- A.H.G.] They [264] ate it while it was hot. The whole hand within about one inch of the wrist was dipped in. It did not burn: "it was just hot enough not to burn."

Then the women cooked the second layer of meal the same way. The gruel produced was a bit thicker than the first. This mush was poured into baskets to cool and kept for eating during the next few days. When cooled it was quite stiff like cold cornmeal mush.

The third, bottom or "dirty," layer of meal was then treated. It was thrown in a basket of water; the meal floated, whereas the sand it unavoidably contained sank to the bottom. The floating meal was poured off, but even when so cleansed the third grade of meal was darker than the others. The mush produced was cooked like the rest but was even thicker and when cool was quite hard, making a sort of tough dark bread. Sometimes this thick mush was made into individual loaves by placing little mounds of it in a cold spring of water. There might be ten to twelve such mounds which, when congealed, were taken home and put away.

262 This work took all day. Meanwhile some of the men had been hunting and had brought home 512 some game. "It is pretty near sundown now. 224 Perhaps some fellow got a squirrel maybe a rabbit, a bird, or something. Whatever the [252] meat, the men would cook it.[87] The women bring up the cooled acorn mush. Now it is supper time. They all eat together inside the little house."

When acorns were plentiful a family could 251 get ten to twenty sacks in two or three days, [222] said N.W. The entire family participated. White oak acorns were difficult to keep so were shelled immediately and soon used. When shelled, they were spread on flat rocks to dry, then stored in sacks which were placed on a layer of grass in the outer edge of the house. They must be kept dry. Black oak acorns were stored in their shells in granaries, but they too must remain dry.

Cakes of acorn meal dough were sometimes 252 made before cooking of the whole batch was started. These were shaped in the hand and baked on hot stones. Such a stone (seen by Thrall) was about 5-1/2 inches in diameter and

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[87] Men usually cooked meat, unless they were too busy; then the women did it.

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252 2-1/2 inches thick. On one side was the cook-
ing depression, about 3 inches in diameter. It
was customary to bake these cakes! and dis-
[855] tribute them to children before the mush-cook-
ing was undertaken.

251 Uncooked mush could be kept for some time,
then cooked as needed. (Thrall saw a basket-
ful on a porch at Picayune which "looked like
dried putty." A similar basketful seen by
Gayton looked like a mixture for an old-
fashioned linseed poultice.)

263 Much was often flavored by adding pulver-
ized seeds of various kinds.

Seeds.--Seeds were parched on circular
252 trays by adding hot coals and shaking the whole
lot vigorously. To separate the coals, the
seeds were then sifted through an openwork
[285 basket (xale). This, said N.W., was the same
shape as the basket on which the roasting was
415] done. The seeds were then taken to a mortar
rock and pounded in a deep hole. An oil which
exuded caused the seed flour to ball. The food
was eaten in these balls; it kept a long time.
These seeds were got in the valley.

Tarweed [seeds or leaves?] was pulverized
and eaten dry that way, or added to manzanita
[263] cider for flavoring. Never was it used to
flavor acorn mush. When eaten dry it tended to
blow about, causing one to choke. (All present
laughed at the informant's description of this.)
The tarweed preferred bloomed in July; it
"smelled good and was good food." Emma Pumpkin
gathered a sackful this summer (1938).

Wild oats grew abundantly in the Coarse
222 Gold region, said J.R. The women gather these
252 seeds in seedbeaters, throwing the grain over
their shoulders into burden baskets hung on
their backs. Old women worked every day at
this; it took about one day to fill the burden
basket. The seeds were laid out on rocks to
dry; when the husks were ready to drop off they
were winnowed. To prepare these seeds for
252 eating, they were roasted on a basket with hot
coals, the coals later being sifted out by
means of another basket. The parched seeds
were then pounded in a bedrock mortar into a
flour somewhat finer than cornmeal. The flour
was mixed with water, then shaped as small thin
biscuits. These were cooked in hot ashes,
closely watched to prevent burning. Such cakes
were eaten cold or hot, or laid away for the
next meal. They were a favorite accompaniment
to manzanita cider.

222 A "grass" grows down toward the valley
which "blooms red on the end" and produces fine
black seeds. These are ripe in late summer
(July-August).[88] The plants were pulled up,
roots and all, and laid out to dry. The seeds
dropped off; those that failed to were stripped
[251] off and the grass thrown away. The seeds were
brought home, stored in the storehouse.

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[88] Probably the "kasin" seeds prized by other Yokuts,
though this date is a little late for their ripening.

![i.e., of acorn meal dough. -Nurlyst]

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252 262 Greens.--Clover leaves, young and tender,
were eaten in the early spring, said J.R. They
were eaten alone or as an accompaniment to
acorn mush or manzanita cider. Clover was
never dried.

Roots.--Not many roots were eaten, said
J.R. Of this type of food the so-called "wild
potato" was most abundant and favored. In the
[222] spring, when the grass was just beginning to
turn yellow, women went out to dig these roots.
The season lasted about two weeks, for soon
after the roots ripen the ground becomes too
hard to break. They grow about three inches
underground, are a little larger than one's
thumb; the plants do not look like a potato
plant. [Probably the Eulophus. -- A.H.G.]
The roots were laid out on rocks to dry
[251] thoroughly, then stored for winter. They were
hung up in the storehouse in containers, as
they spoil if allowed to get damp. They were
boiled in water and mashed when eaten: "they
taste just like potatoes."

Berries and fruits.--Elderberries were
eaten, said J.R. A larger and sweeter type
was got up in the mountains when they went up
[222 for pine nuts. They were gathered, dried on
251] rocks up there, and brought home. They were
boiled and eaten about once a week during the
winter. They were never mashed. Dried berries
kept a long time.

Thimbleberries[89] were picked when ripe and
eaten at once, never dried. They were picked
into an ordinary seedbeater held in the left
hand.

Gooseberries which grow locally are very
thorny, but a better, less spiny kind grows up
in the mountain, larger and juicier. They turn
red when ripening, and when brownish but not
[251] yet black are ready to eat. They were consumed at once, never dried. They are J.R.'s
favorite berry.

Wild grapes were eaten, but never dried.
[272] Sometimes the fruit was crushed, producing a
red juice which was drunk at once.

Nuts.--Nuts of the sugar pine were got
around Coarse Gold, said J.R., but most came
[221 from higher up in the mountains. The nuts were
ready about August, and whole families went up
222] there to camp. Hazelnuts and a fine quality of
elderberry were got at the same time. Deer
meat was also enjoyed then.

[222 When the pine nuts were ripe, men climbed
481] the trees, knocked down the cones, while the
women below collected them in piles. Pine
needles were laid around the piles and ignited
to burn off the pitch. When cool, the cones
were split open by setting them butt down on a
rock and striking the tip with a heavy stone.
They split into about three sections and the

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[137] [89] A red berry a little larger than a man's thumbnail,
growing on a bush 3 to 4 feet high, the leaves the size of
one's hand, the stems finger thick. The berries are not
round [spherical?], are thinner than strawberries, grow in
clusters at the ends of the bush and are easily picked;
"something like a raspberry."

252 nuts fell out. The nuts were gathered up and
carried home in burden baskets. The nuts to be
262 eaten were first parched with coals on a basket
tray. Care was needed to prevent scorching.
Sometimes, after being cooked, they were pounded in a mortar hole, the greasy mass then being
rolled into balls and eaten as an accompaniment
to acorn mush.

[222 According to N.W., when pine nuts were
481] wanted men climbed the trees and twisted them
off; today they cut them off with a rock [sic].
Ripe cones, probably those left beyond reach,
shed their nuts on the ground. The whole cones
were set on the fire to burn off the pitch.
Then their "leaves" were knocked off to get out
the nuts. Good nuts are brown at one end;
[824 those black all over are "no good." The nuts
286] were kept in sacks made of milkweed string.
They were shelled as needed, eaten directly,
or pounded and mashed into balls to eat with
acorn mush.

[439] This year M.W. climbed trees and got pine
nuts. Sometimes these are sold to visitors at
the hotel in Coarse Gold.

Meat.--The meats commonly eaten were gray
262 squirrel, ground squirrel, gopher, jack- and
cottontail rabbits, fox, wildcat, and deer,
said J.R. Gopher snakes, but not rattlesnakes,
were eaten.

Bear meat was eaten by some, but others thought bear "too human." "He lies down just like a man when he is dead, has breath like a man." Moreover, bears sometimes killed and ate men; hence, a bear, having possibly done this, was not fit to eat. This was the Chukchansi attitude.

Meat definitely not eaten was that of
eagle, buzzard, chicken hawk, coyote, and dog.
[144] However, J.R. said that to the south the valley
Yokuts ate dog meat.[30] Elk was not eaten by
Chukchansi, since it was not available, nor was
buffalo (sic; antelope?).

Horse meat was eaten in the old days. Men would go to the valley. They made a gear of wood[31] which was put on a horse's nose. Then the captor would jump on its back, without saddle or blanket, and bring his prize up here. Some people kept horses to ride; others, after getting them here, shot them through the heart with an arrow to provide food.

252 Meat was roasted on coals; was never
cooked in a basket. Deer meat was cut in
pieces about twelve inches square. As it
swelled during cooking, it was punctured with
sharp sticks "to let the steam out so it won't
burst."

251 Meat cut in strips was hung over a pole to
dry into jerky. It was turned every two or

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[30] This bears out the statement of a neighboring Kechayi, that dog meat was not eaten, while an eyewitness saw it eaten farther south (cf. Gayton, Ghost Dance of 1870, 72, and Estudillo among the Yokuts, 75).

[31] Not identified. The shrub grows around Coarse Gold, "it won't break -- is just like leather."

251 three days. Fish was treated the same way.
Any kind of meat could be dried, said J.R., and
would keep for two or three months.

Grasshoppers, a wingless type, were got in
222 the plain of the valley. They were caught by
setting a fire in a circle, driving it inward.
When the grass was burned over, the grass-
hoppers, killed but not cooked, were collected.
[252] Taken home, they were roasted on a tray with
live coals.

Angleworms were got in winter and cooked
[252] in a soapstone dish. A little water was added,
"just enough to make a little gravy." Some
[251] people dried angleworms to keep for later use,
a practice which J.R. and P.R. both decried.

222 Grubs of a small black butterfly[52] were
also cooked in a soapstone dish with a little
252 hot water; they were not cooked long. These
were usually dried on trays in the sun and
[251] stored in sacks for later use.

Yellowjacket grubs were dug from the ground after the live insects had been smoked out. Dried weeds were stuffed in their holes, lighted, and blown upon. The holes were about two inches across, the nests some twelve inches below the surface. A number of holes indicated many nests. The grubs were cooked in ashes, then sifted from the ashes in an open-twined basket.

263 Salt.--Salt was not always available to
the Chukchansi. Their supply came from the
[439] Paiute (probably Eastern Mono) of Nevada who
came over about once a year to trade and even
then did not always bring it. J.R. did not
know where they obtained it. The salt was paid
263 for either by bead money or by baskets. If the
435 payment was a basket, this receptacle would be
slightly larger than the lump of salt for which
439 it was exchanged. The basket, however, was
thought to be the more valuable because of its
durability: "it holds water, lasts a long
time; it may look old but it will still hold
water a long time." For a piece of salt say
four by six inches, not many beads were paid;
roughly, it would be about 50 cents in American
money.

The salt so obtained was mixed with water,
263 "just enough to stick it together," and put on
ashes to heat, left overnight. When taken out
it was hard, "just like some kind of rock."
When struck, it broke in little pieces. The
flavor, however, was changed by the treatment:
"it was kind of weak, you know, not like it was
before the burning."

According to N.W., rock salt was got from
263 the Eastern Mono who lived "the other side of
439 Tuolumne, down Mono Lake way." They brought it
from "the other side of Seventy-Seven, Basalt
Meadow." They brought crystals about one-half

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[52] These are grubs of a small black butterfly which does not come every year; there were none this year (1938) but they were plentiful in 1936. They come very early in the spring on trees where new leaves are budding. [Possibly a moth? — A.H.G.]

263 to three-quarters of an inch in diameter,
439 carrying them in burden baskets. The salt was
paid for in baskets or shell money. A quantity
263 of salt about as large as a pine cone would be
435 worth 50 cents in American money, in native
terms, a basket about the same size (as a pine
[804] cone) or a kelan of beads (a strand the circum-
ference of the flat hand). The Mono came over
several times a year.

263 Rock salt was ground to varying degrees of fineness and eaten with meat, nuts, or seeds, but not with acorns. Rock salt to be eaten with acorns was "burned black" first. A layer of salt was covered with hot ashes, then pounded in an acorn hole and mixed with a certain "grass" that grows in or at the edges of the river. The grass and salt were mashed together then formed into balls about six inches thick. Water was added if needed to make it stick together. The grass was wrapped around the balls, making a thick covering. Several such balls were put in a hole filled with very hot ashes and left all night. In the morning the balls, from which the grass wrapping had burned, were dug out and brushed hard with a soaproot brush. A ball might be struck a blow and the pieces given to various people. Three to five balls would be made at a time, which would last an average family a whole year. [Just how this type of salt was used with acorns was not stated. -- A.H.G.]

The salt called 'alit' was derived from
258 salt grass which is covered with a white in-
263 crustation when growing. It was gathered by
hand, spread to dry on flat rocks, then pounded
in a mortar hole. Then it was winnowed from a
circular winnowing tray, the grass particles
wafting out and the salt grains remaining. The
salt was dampened and pressed into balls, but
these were not baked. The balls were broken as
needed for use. This salt was eaten with
clover and sour berries; if it was unobtainable,
then rock salt was used.

The Chukchansi "went to the plains to scrape a sort of alkali off the ground," says Kroeber.[93]

Beverages

272 When manzanita berries are nearly ripe,
women specify certain bushes as theirs, said
[423] J.R., and no one else can take the berries from
them.[94] When the berries were thoroughly ripe,
222 the ground under a bush was raked clean of all
leaves and twigs, until the ground was bare.
The woman took a long pole and, standing close
to the bush, knocked all the berries to the
ground. Then she took a flat short stick to

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[93] Handbook, 530.

[94] It is not clear whether a woman claimed the same bushes each year or specified them anew according to the crop promised by various bushes. -- A.H.G.

272 scrape the berries into piles; then, dust and
222 all, she put them in a basket.[95] The dust was
said to prevent stickiness and dripping while
the berries were being handled. The berries
were winnowed by being tossed on the same
272 basket, freed of leaves and twigs that fell
251 with them, and taken back to the temporary
camp in a burden basket. There they were again
picked over for further cleaning and spread on
rocks to dry.

When dried the berries were mashed on a special type of stone, thin, flat, and a bit wider than one's hand. The fruit was mashed, not pounded, to loosen the seeds from the skin and dried pulp. The mashing took all day. Then the mass was put on a sieve basket which permitted the seeds to fall through; they were discarded. The desirable part was sacked and taken back to the home village where it was stored in a dry spot. This activity continued for about one week up in the mountains.

272 When cider was wanted three or four handfuls of the berries were put in a watertight basket about one foot deep. After they had soaked a while they were squeezed with the hands to extract all the dried juices. A sieve basket was then set over the top of a larger watertight basket and the liquor and berries poured in. When the pulp was well drained, more clear cold water was poured over it very slowly. Then the liquid was ready to drink: there was a basket about one foot high, full of cider for the family.

Grapejuice, red in color, was made from crushed wild grapes and drunk at once, said J.R.

A tea was made of "peppermint," the regu-
[222 lar mint plant, said N.W., which grew wild.
The leaves were gathered, spread on a flat
251] basket to dry. The dried leaves were crushed
by hand and stored in a covered basket. Sometimes the plants were dried, then tied in bundles up in the house roof. When wanted, a piece was broken off and put in water. Mike Wyatt said he thought this tea was not a native beverage, although it was made when his people were still living in native-type houses.

A drink which J.R. called dowunnil was
[177] first used by the Indians when tortillas were
introduced, which was a long time ago (about 1840-1850). It was thought to be "good for something in the stomach." The plant was dried and hung up in an undisturbed spot as the leaves dropped off too readily. A few leaves were taken when wanted and put in water. [This sounds remarkably like the "peppermint tea" described by N.W. The cooling effect of the mint might have been desirable with the strange tortillas. -- A.H.G.]

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[285] [95] The basket was described as 3 feet long and 1 foot wide, but this does not fit any known Yokuts basket type. It may have been an extremely elongated twined basket of the seedbeater type. -- A.H.G.

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Medicines

278 824 757 Medicinal plants and materials were not stored but were gathered as needed. Ordinarily, when a person was hurt or slightly ill, people would tell him about medicines they knew, would get and prepare them, and either give instructions or apply them themselves. [177] American medicines are bought now: "it looks like they work better," said J.R. Several medicines were known to this informant.

A plant called pasal (Miwok?) which sprouts in spring, has leaves three to four inches long shaped like beech leaves; the leaves are always sticky. A leaf of this was placed in the mouth, but not chewed, and the saliva swallowed when one had a cough or cold. The same plant was used as a boiled decoction for rheumatic pains. About a handful of leaves would be cooked in a pint of water to make a strong dark liquor; this was washed, not rubbed hard, on the afflicted part at night.

Another bush, called lokot'i, was like pasal, but a bit larger with larger leaves. It was put to similar use. The bush grew along creeks and in rocky places in the mountains.

A plant called 'opkule, with yellow flowers and roots a foot long, was boiled to make a soothing medicine. Leaves and roots, but not the flowers, were cooked and the hot liquor was rubbed on painful spots. "It will stop pain pretty quick." All these decoctions were used on open wounds, but they were not potable.

A vine which climbed "just like a grapevine" was boiled and the liquor used to wash cuts, which were said to heal quicker and not to be painful when so treated.

[752] A medicine for rattlesnake bite was known but not considered as effective as a shaman's cure (see "Rattlesnake Shaman"). This was a plant "which grows with a little bunch on the end of it, called s'ono'." It was boiled and the liquor washed onto the wound. It "usually" cured the bite. When this method was used, the shaman's services were not.

[751] To prevent snake bite women who were going seed-gathering would rub the flower and leaves of the tea plant (dowunnil, peppermint?) over their feet, ankles, and legs. The smell alarmed the snake so it would not strike, or at least would rattle a warning.

Wormwood (mesini) was used for rheumatism, said N.W. It was rubbed between the hands to extract the juice which was then rubbed on the sufferer. Sometimes the plant was soaked in water and the solution used to lave with: "you took a bath in it." The same solution was used for ceremonial washing at the Mourning Ceremony.

Peppermint tree (?) was "good for rheumatism and for swelling up."

A drastic cure for rheumatism was the application of fire to the painful area. The

278 area was covered with dry wormweed which was
then fired. Mike Wyatt once had rheumatism in
824 his shoulder. His relatives made a bowl of
757 this medicine, applied it to his shoulder, and
lighted it. They did this several times, whenever the pain came; then it was cured.[96]

Hunting

224 Mice were trapped between flat stones by propping the upper stone on an upright stick resting on an acorn. Inferentially, these traps were set out at night. In the morning the owner went out, collected his quarry, then threw them on the coals to cook just as they were. A little mouse made just two mouthfuls, said J.R. Only mice were caught this way.

Tree squirrels were shot with arrows or captured by trained dogs.

Ground squirrels were drowned out of their holes in wintertime by digging drains to run water into their runways. When an animal emerged, it was struck on the head. J.R. many times helped his father at this, which was a common resort in winter when food was scarce.

To obtain deer, drives were organized by several men in a community. At a deer drive each man knew his position and the territory he had to cover. The usual method was to drive "around a mountain" [probably a large hill] in circular formation. As the men were closing in they shot any deer that came within range. Of those encircled, they killed all they could, although some invariably escaped. "What they shoot, never gets away. They die pretty quick. I have seen them shoot with the bow and arrow, you know. They die quicker than with the bullet. When they shoot the deer, you know, he gets sick and dies, just a little way off." So said J.R.

Up at Wowo·na (Miwok territory) the deer-drivers deployed around a mountain which had a flat rock on top and one precipitous side. They pressed the deer up the mountain until they were forced to huddle or jump off. Those that did not destroy themselves by leaping were shot.

In the evening as much of the game as possible was packed home. Often this method netted more meat than could conveniently be carried. Hence some carcasses were left overnight, hung head down by the hind legs, in trees. In the morning the hunters would return to skin them.

224 A man could carry one deer by means of a
tumpline. The animal was skinned, all save the
482 legs from foot to knee [and the entrails removed?]. The legs were tied together and the carcass packed on the back. The blood was

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[96] An elderly white man told me of his own experience. He propped his rheumatic leg near a hot stove; he fell asleep and woke to find his leg painfully burned and blistered. However, the rheumatism was not felt thereafter.--A.H.G.

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224 saved, being carried in the stomach and the
stomach carried in the skin [by the same man?].
482 At home the deer was hung up, perhaps for one
night, the next day [it is butchered?] it is cooked in the ashes. A single deer would be consumed in two days by the average family. Everyone helped skin the animals, and everyone in camp [every household?] was given a piece of meat about "as big as your hand and wrist."

224 Men hunted all the year round; even in winter they would go out all day with their dogs.

231 A few Indians had dogs trained to hunt
foxes. These followed the fox whenever they
224 smelled one, and treed it. The master followed
with his bow and arrow and shot the beast as it watched the dogs below. The dogs jumped the fox the instant it fell but were immediately beaten off, otherwise the skin would have been torn and the meat bruised. Wildcats were got by the same method. For fox and wildcat but one or two dogs were used at a time.

A small breed of dog, about twelve inches high, was used for hunting rabbits. They were trained to track rabbits to burrows or rock shelters. The owner had a slender stick, three or four feet long, which he ran into the hole until he felt the hiding animal. Then he poked and twisted the stick in its fur, pulling it out. It was killed with a blow on the head. "A man would be gone all day hunting like that," said J.R.

Gray squirrels were abundant. The dogs would pursue these, perhaps catch them, before they got up a tree. The owner was immediately behind to secure the quarry for himself.

These hunting dogs somewhat resembled coyotes: they had long tails, some had long, slightly woolly fur, "coyote color, pretty near yellow." There were also black, white, and spotted dogs. Some had short fur. Some were as high as a man's knee: the rabbit dog was smaller than a fox dog. A hunter would possess both kinds. These pets were fed acorn soup, bones, feet of squirrels, rabbits, and the like, also entrails. They also were permitted to hunt for themselves and ate whatever they caught.

"When a man takes his dog out, the dog knows what he is going to do. He hunts. He watches the animal, but he would hunt whatever he saw first. He would jump anything. The dog knows what he is hunting. They run after anything, these dogs, after they learn what to do, you know. But they can't catch the coyote. They get away every time. Nobody ever ate them." (This, and all hunting information is from J.R.)

Horse Stealing

579 A man named xo'čin (M.N.'s father-in-law,
674 said the narrator, M.W.) was the ringleader of

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579 a group of Chukchansi who went over to the Coast Range to steal horses from the "Mexicans."
674 About seven or more men would go, walking all the way, and be gone for as much as six or seven months.

[262 492] They would first steal clothing and horses to ride on. Then they would be ready to secure a herd of horses to bring back for food. On the return, when they safely reached the crest of the Coast Range, they would pause to divide their spoils.

Once when they were just about to make a halt for this purpose, Xoisin looked back and saw Mexicans [Spaniards] with guns on their trail. They dropped the clothing, left the horses, and ran for cover. Xoisin and a companion were trapped in a bad place. The Mexicans shot and wounded them both, but the pair of Indians had arrows with which they hit several of the attackers. They took turns shooting. This continued all day until the Mexicans ran out of bullets; they then asked the Indians "what they were, that they couldn't kill them or anything." Meanwhile other
[152] Indians were above on the hill, weeping because they thought their two companions had been killed. After the Mexicans left, Xoisin and his friend came out and joined the others on the hill.

Then they came home. Later they went to steal horses from another but nearer locality.
[262] Stolen horses were used for food: both C.D. and M.W. have eaten horse meat.

The following account from J.R. is not dated, but it might have occurred sometime between 1819 and 1860: as early as 1819 Estudillo[97] referred to the devastating effects of native horse-raiders on the Spanish herds in the northern San Joaquin Valley; after 1860 white encroachment was probably too advanced to permit of such extensive forays.

People went over west, across the San Joaquin Valley to steal horses. They almost
[484] traveled day and night. They took a little something in the belt to eat, maybe.[98] They would be gone a week or a month, when they went stealing horses. When they got hungry they would make a little fire, kill a horse. They would go down by Madera, across the valley, cross the water [the sloughs and main stream of the San Joaquin River], then the mountains [the Coast Range]. They might not have been there before. But they got there: found a way across the water, across the mountain, found some horses to steal, or something. People over there owned lots of horses. They stayed there till sundown, after they had seen the horses, seen how many there were. After night came and people were in bed, they caught a

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[97] Gayton, Estudillo, 81 ff.

[98] Presumably in a small leather pouch slung through the belt, as was the custom with other Yokuts travelers.

579 horse, got on it, drove a bunch of horses this
674 way, back across the water at the same ford,
and so on across the valley and back up here.
Maybe at Picayune they would kill two horses
for the Indians there. Brought the rest up
[492] here. Maybe some people wanted a horse, so
they didn't kill that one, but kept it to ride.
When those horses were all eaten up, some time,
they would go down again.

When they had horses here, they would go
224 down below Raymond to the valley for elk. There
492 they would separate into two parties and go
around in a circle. Maybe they would see the elk going ahead of them. The elk would go faster than the horses. So they didn't run after the elk, but went sideways to head them off; drove them, thus, in the direction they wanted. They could see a long way, for this was on the plain. They never chased the elk directly, but at an angle; made them go in the direction they wanted. Then they closed in on them. The riders had no saddles, only a little rope [a jáquima, presumably]. But they had guns. When they had caught up with the elk, they couldn't get away. When one tried to break through, a man would shoot it through the heart. Then they let it go. They would find it later. They had to attend to the others that weren't yet shot. Later, when all had been caught or had got away, they went back to find those that had been shot and left to fall. They left none of that meat there; it was all brought up here.

579 Such raids were made occasionally in the
674 summer, possibly in the spring, but J.R. thinks
only in the summer season.

Fishing

226 Chukchansi people used to go down to
227 Gashowu and Kechayi territory [near Friant] to
spear salmon on the San Joaquin River. They
had their own fish camp, as had other tribes,
right at the river. Salmon were always speared
[177] with a harpoon. J.R. did not know what was
used for a point before nails were introduced;
sharply filed nails are now used. In the harpoon, the point is loose in the shaft head but fastened to the pole with a string five or six feet long. When a fish is speared the point comes off the shaft head and the pole, remains in the fisher's hand. The pole (spear shaft or handle) was about six feet long. When the fish was pulled in, it was knocked on the head with a stone; then the forefinger was inserted in the wound and the toggle-point extricated.

226 When several men fished together they
divided their catch at the riverbank; there
might be about two fish to a man. The fish
were run through the gills by a withe, which
[482] was then twisted onto itself and slung over the
shoulder. At the camp a good coal fire was
[252] ready, and one salmon would be slit open and
roasted for immediate eating: this would serve
four or five men.

226 four or five men. [No mention was made of a
first salmon ceremony, but this may be what the
informant, J.R., had in mind. -- A.H.G.]

252 The fish were dried at the camp. The im-
plication is that men did all the work con-
251 nected with salmon fishing, but it was not so
stated. The fish were cleaned by slitting full
length down to the backbone. For better drying,
the flesh would be slit again so the sections
would be thinner. As a supporting rack,
slender sticks were laid across the lower limbs
of trees or sturdy bushes. The fish were hung
horizontally on these, the flesh hanging down
each side. They were frequently turned around
[482] so the sun got at all parts. They were put in
a sack [skin?] and packed home with a tumpline.
A man carried about two hundred pounds of fish.
At home, the fish were taken out and hung on
sticks across the roof of the storehouse, so
they would not spoil. Such dried salmon were
eaten before they got too dry: "they don't
keep all winter," said J.R.

226 Creek fish, trout, were stupefied with the
leaves of a plant called s'ikahi that grows in
278 the lower foothills. The bush is six to eight
feet tall, has leaves round and a bit larger
than elderberry leaves. These were pounded,
mixed with mud, and tossed on the water of
pools. "It makes the fish sick. It kills
them." But it did not affect the quality or
flavor of the food: "it doesn't get into the
meat." When the fish come to the surface,
"everybody" came out with baskets and dipped
them up. "You get the basket right under them,
throw them out." Sometimes men and women
caught them with their hand [presumably when
the fish were stupefied, not by underwater
diving as described for more southerly Yokuts].

These fish were small, three to four
inches. They were cooked in hot ashes (not
[251 coals), which cooks but does not burn them.
Some fish were eaten at once, for supper, but
252] the majority were dried for later use.

251 In preparation for drying they might be
cooked first or not [perhaps depending on
weather conditions], though usually they were
not. When drying, they were laid out [cleaned?]
on flat rocks and took two or three days to dry.
"They are dry just like a cracker." As much as
half a sack of these would be put away by a
252 family for winter consumption. Enough for a
meal was taken out, cooked in ashes, and then
251 pounded up to be eaten with acorn mush. "They
are a little bitter, not much, when you eat
them." said J.R. [There was a suggestion, not
clearly stated, that fish meat was dried,
pounded, and put away like pemmican.]

226 In Chukchansi territory Powers saw fish
weirs with inserted traps into which the fish
were driven from upstream by means of a brush
sweep like that of the Wobonuch (see below).
The Chukchansi also speared fish from a booth

226 over the water such as Mayfield described for the Choinimni (see above).[59]

Firewood, Firemaking

313 Pine, oak, manzanita, chaparral, live oak,
"any kind" of wood, was used for making fire,
said N.W. To fell a tree, it was burned around
its base. Baskets of water were kept at hand
to control and eventually to quench the flames.
No stone ax was used. Both sexes carried wood,
which was bundled up with string and then
313 ported by tumpline. A piece of flat bark was
482 laid on the back and held in place by the load,
to protect against bruising. A person could
carry about five logs, four feet and eight
inches in diameter, or more if the logs were
smaller, N.W. thought.

313 Dead trees were felled by putting live coals at the base. When a tree burned through and fell, the fire was extinguished with earth. Logs were severed by burning through, leaving lengths suitable for transport. House, assembly, and sweat house fires were banked, so coals were readily available for relighting, said J.R.

372 Buckeye wood, for fire-drill hearths, was collected and stored. The fire drill [wood?] was worked in a hole at the edge of the hearth; the drill was rotated until smoke issued. [Continuing, or another method;] A piece of oak gall was set on the hearth and the drill rotated in it until it ignited. This was picked up and sparks from it were blown on dried grass or leaves. The process took two to five minutes. J.R. saw his father make fire this way; he himself never did it.

There is a growth on an oak tree "something soft and thick, maybe like rubber," which is essential in preparing fire, said N.W. This is laid on top of a buckeye board hearth, which in turn is laid over some plant material (mesini, wormwood) which has been dried and rubbed into powder. A buckeye (sic) drill is twirled between the hands on the hearth; both the oak growth and mesini catch fire. "It takes both to make the fire, neither one will ignite by itself." It took about thirty minutes to start a fire; it ignites suddenly "just like gas going off." Then the burning material was moved onto a rotten log, or whatever firewood was to be started. People who had no fire got it from this, took it to their own home. Ordinarily fire was got from neighbors, and it was only on rare occasions, when all fires had gone out, that firemaking operations were necessary.

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[59] Powers, 376.

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STRUCTURES

343 **Sweat house**.--The Chukchansi sweat house was circular, some 18 to 20 feet in diameter. The floor was excavated about 3 feet, and the earth packed down hard. The supporting frame was of pine trunks about 5 inches thick [number not mentioned]. The door was 4 or 5 feet high, 2 feet wide, with no door covering. A smoke hole was left in the center of the roof, which was about 8 feet high at that point.[100] The roof beams were of green live oak saplings, and on these was piled a thick layer of chaparral brush, leaves, and lastly earth. The fire was just within the door so that one had to jump over it in entering.

The usual sweat house held ten to twelve
343 men sitting or lying close together. Very old
515 and very young men did not use it. Some men
517 slept there. For sweating they went there
about 10 a.m. and about 3 to 4 p.m. After sweating they went to swim in a pool especially dug or enlarged for that purpose. At Gratniu (Picayune) there were two sweat houses in use: "you went to either one you wanted to." At Aplau, another Chukchansi village, there was but one sweat house.

[533] There was no special ceremony on the completion of a sweat house. Men would gather there as soon as it was ready and just sing for pleasure, as an expression of happiness. The informant M.N. said that sometimes the hand
game was played inside and often men amused
[524] themselves by having a sweating contest; more and more wood was added to the fire until the last man was forced out by the intense heat.

No ceremony was held in the sweat house; no dancing, "just singing" (J.R.). As an ex-
ample of songs men sang in the sweat house,
[533] C.D. gave the following:

Go see
You too
I'm going up north
Go out
You too

Only men used the sweat house, according to most informants, but M.N. said, after the men got through and went out, women went in.

342 **Dwellings**.--The Chukchansi dwelling was a conical thatched house (fig. 5, c, d, Pt. I). When the circumference was laid out, usually about 12 to 14 feet in diameter, postholes about 18 inches apart were dug all around it. The space between the door poles, however, was about 8 inches wider than the rest. All in-
[184] formants stated that the frame poles were
bunched together at the top [the characteristic Yokuts hoop being absent], "so water couldn't come through."[101] About four horizontal withes
[171]

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[100] This sounds like the Miwok 4-post type. -- A.H.G.

[101] Kroeber, however, credits the Chukchansi conical house with a ring at the apex (Handbook, 522).

342 were lashed around the frame poles, ending, of
course, each side of the doorway. To these
were lashed bunches of tarweed (a'mas, N.W.;
tot, M.N.); pine needles (maya, N.W.) and another
pine growing at a higher altitude (inil,
N.W.; cedar?) was also used for thatching. An
additional bark covering was mentioned, but not
described, by N.W.; nothing was put over the
tarweed, said M.N. Milkweed string was used
[284] for all the lashings. M.N. said the tarweed
was "woven," not lashed, to the frame and horizontal
withes [a dubious statement, -- A.H.G.].
Marking the top of the doorway was a horizontal
stick lashed to the doorway pole; this served
to support a small obliquely jutting roof, also
thatched, over the main roof. The door was
just high enough for the average Chukchansi to
walk through; tall people stooped. A door
covering of "grass" [doubtless the twined mat
door of the more southerly Yokuts, -- A.H.G.]
was leaned, not tied, against the door. It
seldom blew away, and if it did, was recovered
and set up again.

Directly above the door roof or "porch"
was an open space which served as a smoke vent.
Then the final or apex section of the space between
the door poles was covered with thatch
resting on a short horizontal stick.

The fire was placed about two feet inside
354 the door so the smoke went up through the opening
above it. The fire itself was small, mostly
coals, and was fed mainly by a long log
which extended out through the door, its tip in
the fire, its butt outside. It was pushed up
as the tip burned away. About five feet back
from the fire were laid pine logs, in a square
or, really a three-sided rectangular form.
352 These served to keep the pine-needle floor
covering away from the fire, and also as sitting
places. People sat on the logs, their
[513] feet toward the fire. People also slept with
their feet toward the fire, lying back on the
pine needles. An elderly person, usually "the
grandfather," sat either side of the door to
keep up the fire. Children slept in the rear
center. Dogs were allowed in the house.
Around the extreme back and sides were stored
sacks of acorns, other foodstuffs, and possessions.
[Nothing is said of hanging up objects
as in other Yokuts houses. -- A.H.G.]

342 Outside the house was dug a ditch at least
six to eight inches deep to drain off rain
water. The illustrations are based on drawings
and descriptions of the informant N.W.

The same type of house was used throughout
the year, although the ramada was the popular
gathering-place in summer. Ramadas were used
at summer campsites.

361 People placed their houses where they
pleased; there was no village arrangement (M.N.).
When a house stood alone, it faced whatever way
the owner wished. But sometimes two houses
were needed to accommodate a large family and

361 these were built with the doors facing each
other.

The whole family was concerned with con-
342 struction of a new house. The men secured the
poles, dug the holes for them with digging
[462] sticks and set them up, while the women got the
tarweed, string, and bark [sic], and did the
thatching.

The ramada or shade as an adjunct to indi-
343 vidual village houses was not described by any
informants, though it was mentioned in passing.
Presumably it was used by the Chukchansi as by
other Yokuts tribes.

344 On the meadow near J.R.'s present (1938)
home there was at one time a large communal
shade of the type constructed to enclose a
dance space and shelter the audience. This
J.R. said was "just like a corral," which would
imply that it had a back wall as well as a roof.
One of the Ghost Dances was held at that place.
People played games there, made cider, and
cooked. This enclosure would accommodate four
to five hundred persons, said J.R. When so
many people were assembled and eating, "the
women would be doing something, preparing food
all the time."[102]

Storehouses and granaries.--A special
343 storehouse, structurally like a dwelling house,
251 was built near the family home. One such store-
house might serve two or three adjacent houses
occupied by related families. These store-
houses had a conical frame, up to 6 feet in di-
ameter at the base, and 7 or 8 feet high at the
peak. [The walls were not described, but pre-
sumably they were of a thatch with bark over-
laid: a dry interior was essential.] A bark
door covered the entrance "to keep the wind and
rain out, so things will keep dry all winter."
The floor was covered with a thick layer of
dessicated grass, weeds, or boughs, and on this
the stuffed storage sacks were laid. "The
heavy sacks were laid down, and the light
things hung up." Salmon was hung on cross-
poles, but jerked deer meat was stored in [skin]
sacks. The meat and fish were taken out and
examined from time to time for worms, bugs, or
decay; contaminated portions were discarded.

It was not considered good practice to
251 pile up too much stored food as it was awkward
to handle and encouraged decay. Only enough
food for one meal was removed at a time from
the storehouse.

The supply of food in such a storehouse
was expected to serve at least one family
throughout the winter. A large family with
251 many children would be tided over lean periods
by their neighbors, should their food become
222 exhausted. Even in winter men went out to hunt
224 every day, and women found late seeds, or some

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[102] Neither the number nor the activity is exaggerated if we are to judge by accounts of other Yokuts assemblages (Gayton, Estudillo, 74); Powers (p. 385) estimated "about 300" at the Chukchansi ceremony he witnessed.

251
222 which had been overlooked, to add to the stored
224 supply.

Some years the seed and berry crop was
261 scarce. Under famine conditions, when food was
actually all gone, people warmed water and
731 drank it. [J.R. did not state when or how
often famines occurred; presumably very seldom.
-- A.H.G.]

Each family had an acorn granary. These
343 were constructed by sinking four posts about 2
feet into the earth, allowing them to extend
8 to 10 feet above. On the ground, and up to
about 2 feet, was piled and packed brush or
grass to form a nestlike base for the acorns.
The walls were of "worm wood" (mesini) stalks
of finger thickness. The butts of the stalks
were embedded in the fibrous base mass and then
twined with cord (s'atip) in paired horizontal
bands with space between, thus forming a circular
wall. As the granary was built, it was
filled. This stretched the walls, which were
3 to 4 feet in diameter. Since the wall stalks
were not as long as the frame posts, upper
sections of the twined wall were added as
needed. When the granary was full, pine [or
cedar?] bark was laid on top and weighted down
with a couple of heavy stones. To protect the
sides from rain, strips of old bark were tied
around it. Normally a granary was built in a
sunny dry place, as near the owner's house as
possible, as the one thing feared for acorns
[789] was dampness. To prevent moulding, three buckeye
balls were always laid in with the acorns.
It was said by the informant N.W. that squirrels,
rats, and other rodents never entered.

251 The average granary held ten to twenty
sacks [native or modern?] of acorns; N.W. had
343 one once which held twenty sacks. To reach the
acorns at first, three people were needed: one
who climbed on top, one clinging to the sides,
and one on the ground. No ladder was used; the
[417] woman owner climbed up the sides by means of
the woven walls. As the supply diminished, the
upper wall sections were removed. The contents
of such a granary might last two years.

Each family had its own granary, which was
used and repaired indefinitely. If it got wet
within during the winter, a new one was built,
the acorns dried and restored. The damp granary
would be repaired or not, after summer drying,
just as the owner might wish. [N.W. did
[462] not state whether men or women built granaries;
perhaps men sank the frame posts, women did the
twined side wall. Once built, it is evident
that it was a woman's responsibility, if not
personal possession. -- A.H.G.] Acorns of
251 black oak were stored without shelling, and
dried in the open airy granary before bark was
tied round it. White oak acorns were shelled,
dried, and put away in sacks in the dwelling or
storehouse to protect them from moisture. N.W.
still gathers acorns (1938), and has about six
sacks in her attic which she had kept three
years.

343 J.R. described a granary covered with pine
needles which shed water; the top was covered.
251 The contents remained dry all winter. To get
at the acorns a little hole was poked at the
bottom which allowed them to drop into a sack
[171] or basket. This type of granary was used here
(Chukchansi) and at Awa´ni· (Miwok).

MANUFACTURES AND UTENSILS

285 Baskets.--The following basket types were described and named by the informants N.W. and J.R. Cooking baskets (soiyun) were from 1 to 2 feet deep. Gift and washing baskets ('tewis) for the Mourning Ceremony were about 2 feet in diameter at the bottom, 3 feet in diameter at the top, about 3 feet deep. Small basket for pouring washing water (k'olis 'tewis) was said to be the same shape as the big basket. Winnowing trays (po'o^{1}yi) were flat, circular. Burden baskets were 3 to 4 feet deep, of conical shape; carried by means of a tumpline 2 inches wide. Seedbeaters were about 10 inches across at widest part of their oval, four inches deep, and had a little handle.

Several Chukchansi objects appear in
plate 1, Part I, which shows a Yokuts ethhographic collection at the Peabody Museum of
Harvard University. These are the bowl-shaped
coiled basket with feather and red wool ornamentation (toward upper right, second from top);
[272] the open boldly striped twine basket (left
center) which was a strainer used when making
manzanita cider.

525 Also Chukchansi are the six gambling sticks (bottom center) and the two pairs of hand-game bones lying at the tips of the Chukchansi arrows (bottom horizontal).

Cradles.--In N.W.'s house there is a grand-
352 son, Kenneth, about eight months old (1938).
854 All the following information was derived from
that situation, N.W. speaking, Lillian, the
infant's mother, interpreting.

A baby's first cradle was not made until it was born "so they would know how big to make it." The work was done by the paternal grandmother. It took N.W. three days to make K.W.'s cradle, which is described below.

The first cradle was about 20 to 26 inches
long, the back being a stiff twined frame, just
as for the later cradles. The foundation was
a single layer of sourberry-bush roots, twined
with strips of roots of a water plant.[103] The
horizontal twining was in groups of three rows.
The foot end was left unfinished or covered
[324 with a piece of soft hide. The whole cradle
was edged with a chaparral brush (Ceanothus?)
284] binding, bound on with monoxil.[104]

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[103] Roots of a river plant with sharp edges like grass, but no flower [carex?].

[104] A plant with purple flowers which "grows north some place" [redbud?].

352 The top was bound with the water plant
531 root. About four inches from the top was a
854 horizontal band, woven with monoxil, indicating
the sex of the child: a boy had a zigzag or
831 arrowhead design, a girl contiguous diamonds.[105]
Sometimes red or black roots were woven into
designs across the bottom; these, too, showed
the sex of the occupant.

The first cradle had a band hoop extend-
352 ing forward over the infant's head. There were
854 no fastenings for a tumpline, because a new
baby was not carried on the back, but in the
arms. "They were afraid to carry a new baby on
the back because its eyes might fall out," said
N.W., laughing. Also it would have flabby
hanging cheeks.

The baby was held in place on the cradle
by means of a milkweed string band about two
inches wide which passed through loops along
the cradle sides. For a young baby lying on
its back, the band was not drawn very tight;
for an older one carried upright, the lashing
[237] prevented movement of any kind. Under the lash-
ing the baby lay wrapped in a rabbitskin
blanket. Today a little pillow, mattress, or a
cloth baby blanket are used on the cradle under
the infant. A child was kept on a cradle until
it could walk and talk. Confinement in the
cradle is not continued as long as formerly:
Lillian thought children remain babyish if kept
in the cradle too long.[106]

As the baby grew it was transferred to
second and third cradles, the last being some
thirty-five inches long. All were of the same
construction as the first save that the hood
was fan-shaped, not a mere hoop. On a Chuk-
chansi cradle seen by Thrall, the head was
woven as an integral part of the supporting
hoop. The upper or back edge of the fan had
corners which were merely tied to the top edge
of the frame with milkweed string. Large
[482] cradles had a tumpline attached for carriage
on the mother's back.

The larger cradles were kept after the child had outgrown them and, as long as they were in good repair, were used for younger infants of the proper sex. An infant girl would not be put on an older brother's former cradle, or vice versa.

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[105] Parallel diagonal lines signified a boy's cradle, zigzag a girl's, says Kroeber (Handbook, 536). Miss Thrall's information is in line with that from other Yokuts.--A.H.G.

[106] Miss Thrall has notes on the treatment of K.W. "He was teething and fretful, consequently he woke frequently, when he would be taken up in the cradle, bounced on the knee, and a general attempt made to soothe him. Lillian usually held him when not otherwise occupied. Sometimes Nancy (his grandmother), or Emma, or other older girls take over when Lillian must go elsewhere. Whenever the baby shows he is unhappy, he gets all the attention the older people can think of to give him, apparently. On the other hand, one attempt to quiet him is to put him back on the cradle soon after taking him up, or when he cries in arms. This seemed to have no effect, and frequently he was taken off again at once."

Cordage and nets.--Milkweed plants were
283 gathered when dry and the bark on the stem stripped off, said J.R. This is easily accomplished when the plants are dessicated. To spin this into string, two strands of the inner fibre were held between the thumb and forefinger of the left hand, while the loose ends were held on the left (sic) thigh under the palm of the right hand. As the right hand rolled the fibres forward, the left or gripping fingers twisted it along [in which direction?].

This string "never breaks"; long strings were made by tying short ones together.

286 The carrying net was made of milkweed twine. J.R. described it as "with strings at the four corners, by which it could be gathered together, to carry on the back by means of a tumpline." The net was made "by tying two strings to two sticks equal distances apart (to make a fabric 18 in. to 2 ft. wide) and tying other strings to these first two about 2 inches apart." (The recorder doubted that J.R. had seen a net made in many years.) [J.R. may have been describing the fine mesh bag of Miwok type, which may have been used by the Chukchansi rather than the coarser Yokuts type of carrying net.[107]]

283 According to N.W. a string called s'atip was made of the bark of "trees with yellow flowers, just like those apple trees, I think they are, straight, tall, with bunchy branches like almond trees." The flowers grow up the stem "just like hollyhocks, that size, but yellow." The bark was taken in two-inch strips off straight trees selected for the purpose. -- [Fremontia? -- A.H.G.]

283 286 Woven sacks were made in which pine nuts were stored, said N.W. These were made of milkweed string cloth, woven by the same technique "as the string that holds the baby in the cradle," and sewed up the sides. No dimensions were given; a big wide piece was woven (sic).[108]

281 Rabbitskin blankets.--Rabbitskins were torn into strips and woven into blankets almost as large as modern bed blankets. The feet and tails were fastened around the edge, said N.W. No informant could describe their manufacture. Such blankets were expensive and owners did not want to sell them. In sleeping, one lay under them, did not roll up. Not many rabbits were [136] available at Coarse Gold; most were obtained in the foothills at the valley's edge, said J.R.

412 Woman's equipment.--The digging stick (č'opu^1) was 3 to 6 feet long and 1 to 2 inches

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[171] [107] Barrett and Gifford state that a netted bag was used by the Central Miwok, and imply that a carrying net for large burdens was not employed (Miwok Material Culture, 247, 196).

[171] [108] The technique for making tumplines was not described. Presumably it was like that of the Wukchumni (see fig. 13, Pt. I) particularly as the Miwok method is identical (ibid., pl. LXXVI). It would be possible to make a cloth in this manner, but further evidence is needed before N.W.'s statement can be credited. -- A.H.G.

[P. 189 b] Chuckchansi

412 in diameter, said N.W. (3 to 4 ft., 1 in., said J.R.). The wood, yellow and hard, was [824] from a long straight limb of a tree growing more abundantly at North Fork than at Coarse Gold. (It was mountain mahogany, grew around Coarse Gold but not at higher altitudes, said J.R.) The limbs were straight, grew close to the ground. The point seldom became dull. The stick was operated with a paddling motion, the digger bending over; "sometimes one stood up but that was too tiring" (N.W.). All types of digging were accomplished with this instrument: for all root materials, postholes, graves.

[824 222] Long poles for shaking down acorns were made of "peppermint wood." They were crooked at the end by heating and bending while pliable, said N.W.

412 322 Soaproot brushes were used for all brush requirements: hair brushes, sweeping up acorn meal at mortar holes, washing and scrubbing baskets, sweeping the house floor, etc. They were made in several sizes, from one foot wide down to little ones of one or two inches. About midsummer, July, women went out with digging sticks and obtained sackfuls of the soaproot plants. These were made up into brushes at once as they do not need to be dried. First the fibrous exterior was removed; then the bulbous interior was put on a bed of coals, buried, and left to roast at least half a day. When removed, the bulb is "like potatoes"; the skin will rub off. Actually the bulb is layered, onionlike, and the inside of each layer contains a soapy substance. Layer by layer the material was scraped off with the teeth (today a knife is used) and chewed. It turned white; it was then deposited in a basket to be used later as the platic handle of the brush.

The fibrous exterior was then taken. The bottom, coarser ends, which served as bristles, were pinched together firmly and bound between two sticks.[109] The upper end, which became the interior of the handle, was twisted tight, squeezed, and bound up. Two or three layers of root fibre were needed for an average-sized brush. All were bound firmly together, through and through. The binding cord was not specified; presumably it was milkweed string. Finally, the handle was wrapped round and round. Then the soapy plastic was smeared on; its gluey quality allowed it to be perfectly smoothed. The two sticks on the bristle end were still in place and by these the brush was hung up to dry, either in the sun or in the house. One week was needed for the complete hardening process.

Sometimes brushes were made from fibres of uncooked roots which were used for washing purposes; they have light-colored bristles. The bristles are said to turn dark in cooking. [But, above, they were also said to have been removed before cooking; an irreconcilable state-

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[109] Barrett and Gifford illustrate soaproot brushes at this and other stages of manufacture (ibid., pl. XXXVI).

412 ment. -- A.H.G.] The plastic material for the
322 handle was taken from another uncooked root.

Soaproot was used to wash the hair, head,
515 baskets, etc., said J.R. (Since skin clothing
hardened when wet, it was not washed.) The
root, when pounded, exuded a soapy juice which
was then mixed with water as a washing fluid
which lathered. The fibres were saved for
brushes. J.R. added that, when the bulb was
[262 roasted, it was "just like roasting potatoes."
252] [The inference is that some varieties of soap-
171 root were pit-cooked and eaten as by other
Yokuts, Miwok, Pomo, etc. -- A.H.G.]

415 Mushstirrers were made of green chaparral
[Ceanothus?], heated and bent into shape, tied
322 with milkweed string at the neck of the loop
and at the ends of the handle. Total length,
as seen by Thrall, a bit over two feet. A pair
of straight sticks some four feet long were
used like tongs on hot cooking stones.

415 Cooking stones were made of soapstone,
said N.W.; she called these pako'yun or halix.
324 They were heated and dropped in acorn mush to
cook it. Plain stones broke when so used and
"spoiled the food."

Soapstone dishes (approximately 6 in. in diameter, 2 in. deep, with walls 1 in. thick) were made by the Chukchansi. They were used
[412 for cooking larvae and worms.[110]
322] Wooden mortars were known to the Chukchansi, says Kroeber.[111]

323 The absence of pottery agrees with previous findings of Kroeber and Gayton.[112]

Weapons.--Plain and sinew-backed bows were
411 made by Chukchansi (and Miwok). The sinew-
backed bow was of cedar, about three feet long.
Deer sinew from each side of the backbone,
about 18 inches long, was glued on the back of
the bow. The sinews had been kept dried for
[237] this purpose. Once on the bow, it was never
permitted to get wet. The bowstring was always sinew. Nevertheless, the bow was kept outside the house, according to J.R., but always unstrung when not in use. This type of bow was for hunting large game -- deer, bear, cougar, coyote, wildcat -- and for warfare.

A plain bow of mountain willow, four feet long and strung with a milkweed string, was used for everyday shooting of squirrels, gophers, rabbits, and birds. The informant J.R. maintained that the same type of arrow was used with either bow. [Doubtless the same arrow could be used, but it is unlikely that only one arrow type was used. Moreover, the flat bird arrow is mentioned in a Chukchansi myth. -- A.H.G.]

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[110] Cf. Kroeber, Handbook, 527.

[111] Ibid., 528.

[112] Ibid., 537; Gayton, Yokuts and Western Mono Pottery-Making.

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411 Arrows were of an unidentified wood.[113] For the sinew-backed bow they were about two feet, six inches in length. Three split feathers were fastened on with wet sinew; these were slightly spiraled to make the flight straight.

The same type of bow and arrow was used for fighting as for hunting, said J.R. "You can't shoot very far with an arrow; it doesn't go straight. You have to shoot high, let it come down on the target. They can shoot farther but can't kill anything if it is very far off."

[324] The recorder saw four arrowheads at the Wyatt's place. These were called flint, but Thrall thinks they were of obsidian.

Four Chukchansi arrows in the Peabody Museum (specs. 76475) are of cane with inserted foreshafts. Their dimensions are: (1) shaft, 26-1/2 in. plus 5-in. foreshaft; (2) shaft, 29-1/2 in. plus 7-in. foreshaft; (3) shaft, 30 in. plus 7-in. foreshaft; (4) shaft, 30-1/2 in. plus 7-in. foreshaft. Sinew wrappings on forward ends where foreshafts are inserted measured: (1) 1-1/4 in., (2) 1-1/4 in., (3) 1-1/2 in., (4) 1-1/2 in. Three vanes of feathers, not spiraled, on each arrow are trimmed straight off at the butt ends. They ride free from the arrowshaft except for the binding at each end; their free lengths are: (1) 2-1/2 in., (2) 2-1/2 in., (3) 3 in., (4) 3 in. All the shafts are 3/8 in. in diameter.

MISCELLANEOUS DATA

501 Boats and weirs.--There were no boats or rafts for crossing rivers. Only in play would boys sometimes get logs, roll them in the water, and ride downstream on them.

227 In Chukchansi territory Powers saw fish weirs with inserted traps into which fish were driven from upstream by means of a brush sweep similar to that of the Wobonuch (fig. 3, b); see below. They also speared fish from a booth over the water like that described by Mayfield for the Choinimni.[114]

436 321 Money.--Several kinds of beads were shown Miss Thrall by N.W. and C.D. who said they were "grave beads" and named them as follows. The descriptions are Miss Thrall's.

šupna: cylindrical white bead, 1/4-in. long, same diameter, small hole through center. Said to be cut from a larger bead about an inch long. One bead (long or short?) was worth a

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[824] [113] From a bush which grows beside creeks, is something like willow, but has a nearly round serrated leaf. The wood is straight and tough. It is not common, just a few bushes grow near J.R.'s place. It grows about 8 feet tall "like an elderberry."

[114] Powers, Tribes of California, 376.

436 dollar:[115] The informants were uncertain about
the material, merely saying that the beads were
321 made far off at the ocean. Later N.W. said a
string of these beads, which would encircle the
[804] flat hand, was worth 50 cents. This standard
measurement of beads, the circumference of the
flat hand, was called kelan or k'ečan.

hakemesha: darkish red, white center, 1/4-in. long, 1/8 in. in diameter, though Emma Pumpkin said they "used to be about 3 inches long". These were said to be of "a bone naturally white inside and red outside." Thrall thought they looked like china.

lišaniu: blue, looked like glass with cut facets. Informants claimed they were "some kind of bone that lives in the ocean" and that the facets were made by being cut with obsidian.

Unnamed: black inside, brownish red out-
[323] side. Thrall thought these looked like baked
clay. One was pinkish inside and speckled red outside, which the informant said happened when the bead was burned [fired clay or in cremation?]. These beads were pointed out as especially old.

A dark green bead which came from the sea was described by J.R. He said these were strung with long white beads in between "to make it pretty and hold the beads together." He said this cylindrical bead was a certain rabbit bone, long, straight, hollow, and white [possibly the clamshell hinge; possibly a local substitute. -- A.H.G.]. A length of bead money
which was measured from the center of the wrist
[804] around the edge of the extended hand was worth
a fixed sum. Such money, in definite units, was used to pay for baskets and for any object, services, etc. While goods were used for payments or for trade, money was the preferred tender.

436 Soapstone beads 1/2 to 3/8 in. in diameter
and 1/8 in. or less long, with a 1/16-in. per-
324 foration, were "made in a belt" and traded for
a basket, said M. M. had ten such beads she had found on the ground around Picayune. She did not know how they were made, but claimed they were native. [Perhaps these beads were worked into belts like those of Yokuts to the south; perhaps however, M. really meant strings of bead money. -- A.H.G.]

276 Tobacco.--Old people watched for the tobacco plants to ripen. When full grown but still green, the leaves were gathered, dried out somewhat; it remained a greenish color. The leaves were stored in a dry place, a little being taken out to smoke as wanted. "It smelled pretty near like white [man's] tobacco," said J.R. A tobacco of sweeter variety than that at Coarse Gold was said to grow farther north.

Cakes of tobacco were made from the dried leaves, pulverized and mixed with water. These little biscuits were two or three inches across,

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[115] An exorbitant sum, perhaps named in the hope that
Thrall was going to buy. The impression is made that none
[487] of these informants knew anything about bead money. Their
439 statement that the obviously Spanish beads came from the
ocean is entirely reasonable since that was the aboriginal
source for all bead money, and Spanish beads came via the
same trade route in native hands. -- A.H.G.

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276 took about one week to dry out on rocks. This type of tobacco was eaten with powdered oyster-shell lime. The shells came from Friant (Dumna, Gashowu territory) where they grew abundantly along the river.

276 Old people made a practice of eating tobacco and lime frequently. They would gather
887 at various houses. The host had the tobacco
[574] and shells. The shells he put on hot coals
where they "softened" and "burned black." The shells were crushed in a small mortar, and an equal amount of cake tobacco was added, the whole pulverized together and enough water added to make a thin soup. The pestle, which was about six inches long and one inch thick, remained in the mortar as it was passed around. Each guest took a lick off the pestle, the host receiving it last. As the old people [illegible] around, one might say to the person partaking, "How's that? Sleep well tonight!" The partaker might commence to hiccough. He'd say, "One more." The mortar was at once passed to him; he might want three or four more mouthfuls. When he had enough to make him vomit he went out, went off a little way, vomited, and continued home where he "slept all night."[116] It was done about every three days.

Old men and women used tobacco this way. A young man might try it, as did J.R. in his youth. But a young woman, up to middle age, would not take it. N.W., too, had tried it and like it: "it tasted good, it tasted like pine nuts."

Elderly men and women indulged in smoking more than young ones, usually just before retiring. However, one could smoke any time if he wanted to. A man would carry a small buckskin pouch "a little bigger than a store Durham tobacco sack" which contained crushed leaf tobacco and his little pipe. J.R. said an inveterate smoker, like his father, would carry a small firemaking set with him consisting of hearth, drill, and oak gall. One smoked by taking two or three puffs and then laying the pipe aside: "they don't smoke like this white, smoke it all out," said J.R. Clay pipes were not made, just wooden ones, of manzanita "which has the same hardness all the way through." A stem about an inch in diameter was cut to the desired length (2 to 2-1/2 in.) and scraped down, tapering toward the mouth end. This was slow work, took two or three days. The larger end for the bowl was scraped out and finally a hole punched through to the bowl from the mouth end. J.R. knew only of using a piece of hot iron, like a nail, for punching the hole. [Presumably, in old times an obsidian drill point was used. -- A.H.G.]

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[787] [116] Neither informant mentioned the inducement of dreams as the motive for this practice, the usual motive of Yokuts farther south. Wizards could be detected by a tobacco-eater,
[171] Kroeber states (Handbook, 538). The Miwok used the tobacco and lime emetic, apparently without religious connotations (Barrett and Gifford, 195).

Chuckchansi

276 A short-lived pipe of elderwood could be
quickly made by removing the pith, work of a
few moments. There are no wooden pipes about
[764] today, said N.W., because a man's possessions
were always burned at his death.

N.W. has a pipe, which Thrall could not
276 positively identify as of clay or of soapstone.
Its weight was in favor of clay, as was its
323 form and appearance: N.W. contended that it
324 was soapstone, which in the past was used for
pipes more than wood. N.W. found the pipe in
the garden of her present home at Picayune; it
lay under an apple tree; at first glance she
"thought it was a big acorn."

Thrall concluded it was pottery, saying: "The pipe looks as if made of clay, by the process described in Gayton's pottery-making paper. It is brown-gray in color -- dark gray with a brownish tinge on smooth parts of the surface, slightly reddish brown on one side." Claiming that it was of soft stone like the cooking stones, N.W. said Lillian's great-grandmother, who was a Chukchansi and lived in this neighborhood, used to make stone pipes. She said the stone became hard after being fired: that it was allowed to "cook" a long time. N.W. called tobacco ba´'om, the pipe šokut.

276 Cigarettes were in common evidence by the early 1870's, at least on important occasions.[117]

262 Gum.--Green milkweed plants were pulled up and the leaves stripped off, said J.R. This caused the milklike fluid to run down the stalk. The stripper held a lump of mud in his hand and, rubbing this, up and down the stalk, collected the gummy juice. When enough had been accumulated, the lump was immersed in a spring or creek, where the sticky juice clung together and the mud dissolved and washed away. The lump of gum was chewed for pleasure, like modern chewing gum.

LIFE CYCLE

Birth and Infancy

842 "Some people would have children right away after marrying and some would wait longer. Some people would wait for years," said N.W.[118]

One abortive, so-called, was known. A
847 woman who did not want an offspring would drink
278 a decoction of boiled mistletoe. It was bitter.
This killed the embryo, or perhaps was thought
to cause sterility, for the informant claimed
"nothing came out" as a result of drinking the

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[117] Powers, 309.

[834] [118] If this means that some couples voluntarily denied
themselves sexual relations, it is significant as being
171 similar to a practice of the Yumans and Eastern Mono (Forde,
Ethnography of the Yuma Indians, 156; Steward, Panatübiji,
187); there is no hint of unnatural sex abstention from
Yokuts to the south. -- A.H.G.

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847
278 medicine. A shaman's help was never sought for
abortion.

844 Some women had a child every year. Of
twelve or thirteen births only "one, maybe six,
163 maybe nine" would live to become adults. Some
165 died in infancy, a disaster blamed on evil
shamans.

842 There were few cases of sterility: "most
people who married had children; some didn't."

Birth took place in the dwelling, not in
844 a special structure, said N.W. Normally, the
woman's mother and sister or an aunt helped
her; her mother-in-law might also do so. No
men nor childless women were allowed in a house
where a birth was taking place. [The birth
procedure was not described.]

845 If parturition was difficult, scrapings
from a bear's claw were put in water for the
278 woman to drink, and the decoction was also
237 rubbed on her head and hands. N.W. said this
was "better than a doctor." It was a common
practice; the scrapings might be got at any
time from someone who had killed a bear and
would then be kept on hand for use as needed.
J.R. said that when a bear was killed some man,
not a shaman, would get a claw. He would keep
it, hang it up to dry, until it was needed to
help some woman in childbirth. If labor was
unduly delayed, the claw would be got, scraped
into a basket of water. The parturient drank
this decoction, and immediately the baby came.
It was thought that the bear-claw drink so
frightened the infant that it came out at once.
This medicine was never used for any other
purpose.

Another method to help difficult labor was
to hold scorched whippoorwill feathers (wul´wul,
whippoorwill) under the woman's nose.[119]

844 The baby was bathed at once in wormwood
278 water. The first cradle was not ready, but was
started as soon as the paternal grandmother got
the baby's size. The cradle-making took about
three days. The umbilical cord was buried.[120]

Naming.--"It was one year or so, sometimes
842 longer, before a young couple had their first
163 baby. There were more children then [in old
times] than now," said N.W. Neither sex was
preferred.

553 The infant was named shortly after birth,
according to N.W., and kept that name
852 throughout life. The paternal grandmother usually
selected the name, which would be one from the
father's side of the family. If the person for

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[824] [119] The bird, later identified as whippoorwill, was described as follows. "It is a brown bird a little smaller than a pigeon, but with a big mouth. The color is like dirt; you don't see it. It swallowed a deer once. It is speckled white, just a little. It has short legs. When it flies it makes a noise like wal-willi (♩♩♩). It doesn't make a whirring noise with its wings when it starts to fly but is silent like other birds. It flies in the evening, not much in the day. It has black legs and beak. It stands 5 inches or so tall."

[120] Kroeber, Handbook, 499.

553 whom the baby was named was dead -- and names
of dead relatives were often given -- a large
852 feast was supplied by the paternal family. When
the name was announced, everyone present cried;
then they feasted and rejoiced. If the mother
had died in childbirth, the grandmother might
name the baby, if a girl, for her; everyone
would cry at this. If the person whose name
was chosen was alive, no feast was held, nor,
of course, was there weeping.

Children were named [by whom?] at about
553 the age of one year, said J.R. The name endured
for life. Sometimes an aunt or another
relative would bestow her own name on the infant.
In such circumstances the name was not
tabu after the death of this relative; normally
the name of a dead person was not mentioned.
Also, usually, names were individual, so the
name tabu caused no awkwardness.

A certain woman was nicknamed "skunk" be-
551 cause she quarrelled all the time. The name
177 had no totemic or dream reference. [Is this
use of "skunk" possibly white?]

Mother's cleansing ceremony.--About one
846 month after the birth of the first child (but
not after subsequent births) a celebration was
852 held for the mother by both parental families,
783 said N.W. A special three-pole structure had
been built and covered with blankets (*sic*; mats?)
within which the woman's mother-in-law made a
round hole about two feet deep and the same in
diameter. Hot rocks, about three, were put in
the bottom and over this a filling of wormwood.
Then the young mother was placed on this to
"steam"; the steam filled the little hut "and
made the woman well." Inside with her were her
mother and her sister or, if these were lacking,
an aunt or cousin: whoever was the girl's
closest female relative. The girl's mother was
continuously cooking acorn meal. The other
woman assisted the young mother. They all remained
in there about an hour.

Outside the shelter relatives and friends
were assembling. Two fires were lighted, at
431 which the paternal and maternal families were
preparing food for feasting. Gifts of food,
846 baskets, and other treasures had been assembled
852 by both parties. The girl's mother, relatives,
783 and friends "covered the tent (shelter) with
cooking baskets (soyun) and blankets for the
husband's mother." Her father called the
husband's parents to come get those things.
After taking off these objects, the husband's
mother replaced them with washing baskets,
blankets, money, meat (one sack of dried rabbit).
Then the wife's father took these things away.
846 When he returned, he got his daughter who was
still within the shelter, picked her up and set
852 her on her feet. A large washing basket
('tewis) full of boiled wormwood liquid was
783 brought, and with a smaller basket (k'olis
'tewis) the husband's mother poured the liquid
over her daughter-in-law to cleanse her: "so
she wouldn't be ashamed, bashful." Other

846 women relatives of the man's family did the
same for the wife's attendants (mother and
852 sister) who had been in the shelter with her.
Then the man's mother gave the washing baskets
783 to the wife's mother, who poured out the liquid
and took them home. At the same time the man's
mother was presented with a large gift basket
filled with the acorn mush which the wife's
mother had prepared in the steaming shelter.
This the man's mother took away to eat with her
visitors.

After the bath the young mother was
arrayed in all her finery. She wore a deer-
[292] skin apron, and strings of beads around her
waist, neck, and forehead. On her wrists she
had bracelets of rabbitskin [sic; probably a
[825 more valued fur, possibly even weasel or otter
237] skin to prevent magic intrusion of sickness. --
A.H.G.]. The two women relatives of the girl
were also dressed in their best. It is not
stated that the girl's mother-in-law provided
the girl's attire, though such was normally
Yokuts custom.

Then the paternal grandmother bathed the baby with wormwood liquid. The maternal grandmother received the washing basket. Like his mother, the infant was dressed in ornaments. He was shown to all the visitors.

A further exchange of gifts took place.
431 The young mother's family had assembled quanti-
846 ties of acorn meal, seeds, manzanita berries,
etc., while the young father's family had pro-
852 vided meat and baskets. The paternal and ma-
783 ternal grandmothers then told each other that
they had these gifts, and to go get them and
take them home.[121]

Then feasting commenced around the two families' fires, which were not far apart. The young mother's family entertained all her relatives and friends who had come to celebrate with her, while her husband's family did the same for him. The young man's family feasted on the acorn meal provided by his wife's family, while the girl's family enjoyed the meat provided by her husband's father. However, both groups had acorn meal, seeds, meat, manzanita cider, etc., to compose a full menu for feasting.

Today gifts are given at a child's birth,
[178] e.g., money, bead belts. But, inferentially,
the cleansing ceremony for the mother is omit-
ted. The interpreter L.W., herself a young
mother, said, "I guess that's why we all get
skinny now when they don't do that to us," at
which N.W. and L.W. both laughed.[122]

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[121] It is not meant, of course, that recipients trotted home with each set of gifts exchanged. It can be assumed that, if the man's parents came from another village, they did not go home until after the affair was over. "Home" in such a case merely means their quarters or camp in the village they were visiting.

[122] The meat tabu for a new mother is not mentioned, but
[262] it is implied in the subsequent feasting and in L.W.'s re-
mark: some form of ill-health was thought to result from
carelessness in such matters (cf. Wukchumni).

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Childhood

Newborn infants were fed acorn gruel if
853 for some reason they could not be nursed, said
846 N.W. The mother herself took acorn gruel
(warm?) for the first two weeks after the birth,
as it was thought to aid the production of milk.
She did not resume a full normal diet until
about two months had passed. She could, how-
ever, have quail soup, which was also a special
infant's preparation.

Quail soup might be given an infant two or
853 three weeks or a month old, "if he would eat it,"
though usually it was not given until the child
had reached the age of at least two months. The
[856 purpose of this dish was to hasten his growth
825] and capacities: the quail is quick, hence the
child will walk early. A bird was pounded up
and boiled in a soapstone dish, and the warm
broth given the baby.

Children nursed several years. Though
853 nursing was supplemental to the basic diet
after the age of three to five years, they
862 might continue to take the breast, evidently as
a natural pleasure, up to the age of ten years.
Boys old enough to handle a bow and arrows, who
had been out hunting, would come home and go to
the mother's breast, as would girls of equal
age, said N.W. From two years on, children
were permitted to have any type of food they
cared for and could manage. From a month on a
baby would be given acorn gruel in increasing
amounts. To start the child on solid food the
mother would chew a piece of meat, then give it
to the young one. "They look at the mother,
then open their mouths, just like little birds."
After the meat the child would have acorn gruel,
the mother holding the basket bowl to its lips.
By the age of five the child could hold its own
basket when drinking from it. Sometimes children
were given ground rabbit meat, but it was
thought to make them lazy.

When children were old enough to talk,
863 they were trained to go outside to urinate
[they were in the cradle a good part of the
time up to two years of age, of course]. If
they did not learn readily, a medicine was
prepared and rubbed on them [their genitals?].
This was evidently a powder, formed by rubbing
two buckeye sticks together. Some sort of
verbal formula accompanied the whole procedure
[informant could not elucidate]. A child would
be about five or six when this was done;
"accidents" occurred as late as the age of
thirteen or fourteen, said N.W.

856 When a child was too slow learning to
789 walk, the mother or someone of the family would
868 hold a soaproot brush to the fire. When the
fibres blazed the child's legs were brushed
with it. If the little one looked back and
showed fear, it was done again. "Then he looks
away. After that he keeps right on walking
[sic]." N.W. does this even today [to her
grandchildren?].

Small children went naked, but those of
854 good family, i.e., not lazy, might have skins
fixed as clothing. By the age of fourteen
[both sexes?] clothing was worn. It was about
[177] 1890 that European clothing was put on children.

Up to the age of eight or nine children
857 played around, in and out of the house, with
some, but not entire, irresponsibility. Both
sexes played together in the family, even when
older, but large numbers of village children
tended to play in groups aligned by sex. Apparently
it was the effect of numbers and the
differing interests of boys and girls, rather
than formality, which determined this separation.
[551, tion. N.W. did not know of any special, e.g.,
601] plural, form of address between the sexes.

Little boys of six to ten would stay at
868 home, would help carry wood and do odd jobs for
their mothers or other people at home. Little
girls of that age helped care for the tiny
children. Children of both sexes at about this
age (six to ten) would be taken out by older
boys who were hunting to pack home the load.
Sometimes the woodrats, squirrels, and birds
would be tied around their wrists and waists,
the loads would be too heavy, the rodents'
[602] fleas would bite them, and they would all cry.
[593] The little ones were always relatives of the
bigger ones they were helping. When a father
was late getting home with food, the children
would be hungry and cry.

From about ten or eleven on boys and girls
were taught the useful pursuits of their
fathers and mothers. A man took his son out to
hunt, provided him with better weapons as he
became more skillful, showed him how to care
for the game they killed, make bows and arrows,
and collect pine nuts. A woman showed her
daughter how to pound acorns, gather seeds,
berries, and dig roots. She instructed her in
their uses and treatment after gathering. A
girl did not learn to sift meal, a more skillful
task, or to cook until she was about fourteen.
The art of basketmaking was begun from
about ten years on.

Parents made their children learn whether
they wanted to or not [by what means?]. The
[861] constant admonition was, that if they failed to
learn they would go hungry in later life.

Old or childless persons also taught their
867 young relatives how to do things. Particularly,
887 old people taught songs and stories.

Some children had dreams of supernatural
787 significance, but normally a person did not
commence shamanistic efforts until fully adult.

During these years of learning, say ten
584 to fifteen, arrangements for marriage would be
made by the parents. A girl's "bride price"
would be accepted by her mother, a young man's
future wife paid for by his father, and both
young persons were then told of and entreated
to accept the union. Actual marriage did not
[582] take place until the girl was nearly twenty,
however.

862 After a girl had reached adolescence, she stayed close to home or companions. Undesired sexual intercourse was feared, and the independent attentions of young men were discouraged, apparently. A girl was expected to remain in the heart of her family "until her mother-in-law came after her."

864 "The mother would tell the girl about having babies when she was small," said N.W. [Presumably the lore, so to say; there was no concealment of sex in this intimately housed society. -- A.H.G.]

Marriage

584 Arrangements for matrimony were normally made by a young man's parents. Sometimes a man could buy a baby girl for a future wife; when she matured, she would have to marry him. Shamans frequently secured women merely by threatening them with sickness or death.

A boy's family would decide upon a girl for their future daughter-in-law -- the mother's choice, usually. The girl would be the same age as the youth or a bit younger; she might be thirteen or fourteen years old. These young persons had to marry whether they wanted to or not, said N.W. (Yet her own experience makes it clear there were exceptions. Perhaps if her parents had been living, she would have had to marry the man she refused.) 583 Money and other gifts were bestowed on the girl's family by the boy's parents. By accepting or even touching these the girl bound herself to marry the young man. The average amount of money paid for a girl, whether by parents or a man acting for himself, was 20 strings of the long cylindrical beads called humna; these totaled about 120 individual beads, each string being the length of the circumference of a hand. If the girl's family wished to withdraw from the agreement before the wedding, they were expected to return the money and other gifts. However, sometimes it happened that the money could not be returned "even if they did ask, because it was already spent."

In N.W.'s case, a man had given clothes, beads, rings, and baskets for her, which her elder sister, in lieu of parents, had accepted. These N.W. refused to touch. She knew what kind of a man he was: "he had been married before and all." She would have to marry him if she had taken any of those things. The man's mother then tried to take back the things, but N.W.'s sister declined to return them claiming "it was the man's and mother's own fault, because the man had given them to Nancy, but she wouldn't take them, wouldn't touch them." Meanwhile N.W. married another man named Mike. Then the rejected man's mother came and tried

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583 to take N.W. away. N.W. said "she was scared but didn't-go."[183]

585 Something of a wedding ceremony took place in the form of the usual Yokuts feast. The groom's father [and presumably his male relatives] went hunting until they had a large quantity of meat. The bride's mother [and relatives ?] pounded acorn meal, cooked this and other seed foods. On the day of the celebration the groom's father brought the meat already cooked, and other gifts of beads and baskets, and in return received from the bride's mother the cooked meal and baskets. Then they all feasted, but each family ate in its own group. "Then the man would take the
[591] girl to live with his mother." (J.R. said residence was matrilocal for the first year or two after marriage.)

592 When a girl married, she went to live in her husband's home: her mother-in-law came
[591] after her. Thereafter the daughter-in-law was, so to say, the housekeeper in that family. Her mother-in-law devoted more time to making baskets and only occasionally assisted at pounding acorns or with other labors. The bride, if properly trained for her domestic tasks at home, was competent to assume her duties in her husband's household without directions from his mother. It was she, for example, who said when acorns were to be pounded, food gathered, and so on. When there were several daughters-in-law in one family they shared the work, but it was the young woman who had priority in marrying into the family who directed the others. The mother-in-law was always helpful, advised her daughter-in-law: "she was just like her own mother."

591 Concerning residence after marriage, there
[184] was a difference of opinion; J.R. claimed that it was matrilocal. Perhaps this is a reflection of his Miwok background; perhaps both customs were followed by the Chukchansi as by other Yokuts. His information on marriage follows.

A girl lived with her mother, father, and
583 old people, i.e., in the normal family group.
584 She would begin talking about how she would like a certain young man to come live with them. The youth's father then would bring gifts of baskets, beads, etc., [The intervening events, inferentially an understanding between the two young people, was not explained.] He would talk to the girl's mother, saying that they would like their son to live with her daughter. "That is all. They just offered some good baskets and got the girl."

591 The young man came to live with the girl in her home; they stayed there "a long time." Then perhaps they would move to live with the

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[183] The situation is not entirely clear. Evidently the suitor presented the gifts but did not reclaim them, or claim Nancy, until after she had married Mike. Yet it had been apparent from the outset that she would not accept his gifts or him.

591 young man's family. Even after children were born, they would still live in a family home, not their own.

585 When people married there was no ceremony, said J.R., but qualified it with the amendment that sometimes they [which family, both ?] gave a little feast for which deer meat was especially obtained.

Some people married within the tribe, some
582 outside, N.W. said. No couple who considered themselves related would marry. Bonds of relationship were equally strong on paternal and maternal sides of a family; the father knew who his relatives were, the mother hers, and prevented their offspring from making mistaken alliances. N.W. categorically stated that relatives never eloped, nor did a girl ever get married "by herself," i.e., without the ramifications of family consent and gifts from the suitor's family.

178 Today the young people have marriage connections with relatives that would not have
582 been countenanced in the past [first, second, and third cousin marriage, probably. -- A.H.G.], and often a girl gets married "by herself" without the consent of her family.

582 Moieties, Eagle and Coyote, regulated
[616] marriage for the Chukchansi and for the tribes at Friant, said J.R. The levirate was not
[587] practiced, he thought; he never knew any man who married his dead brother's wife: "they didn't do that."

586 The informant N.W. stated that there was no divorce, but instantly contradicted herself saying, "If a man is good, and stays with his wife, they stay together always. If they are bad, and want to go away, they don't live together. They can both marry someone else. That was all right." Stepchildren were thought to belong to the second union, not to the first; the spouse who runs away leaves the children behind. If a parent of a stepchild returned and claimed him, the child might recognize the legitimate parent as such and go with him. (This appears to be on the volition of the child rather than on that of either of its biological parents.) When a deserted woman remarried, her children by her first husband behaved toward their stepfather as they would to their actual father.

428 A widow did not inherit her husband's possessions: his things were divided among his children.

606 Parent-in-law tabu.--A man never speaks to his mother-in-law, said J.R., or a girl to her father-in-law. If it is absolutely necessary that they converse, a plural form is used. With a parent-in-law of the same sex, speech is permissible but restrained, i.e., conversation is confined to only such speech as is necessary.

Death

763 When a person was about to die and nothing
further could be done to save him, his attendants
764 raised him up a little bit, said J.R. Then
when he expired they said, "Now, that's the
last breath. Lay him down." Many people were
around watching. Immediately these spectators
[152] burst into tears and their crying was continued
for two days. "A big bunch of people comes,
looks at the corpse's face, then cries three or
four minutes. Then a relative tells them to go
sit down -- take a rest. No one sings at this
time."

764 According to N.W., at a death the whole
tribe assembled. The corpse was not dressed,
but wrapped in a rabbitskin blanket and adorned
with a bead belt and necklaces. All the people
who came sang, wailed, and danced continuously
for three days and nights.[124] Alternate periods
of rest and activity lasted about thirty
[152] minutes. There were four official singers who
sang the same songs over and over. The dancers
[481] moved, sexes mixed but not holding hands, in a
single file with high stamping step around the
corpse, crying as they moved.

In earlier times cremation was done; by
[177] the time N.W. was a little girl burial was the
established practice [probably about 1860,
178] after white influx. -- A.H.G.] Only those
dying of snake-bite or by violence were cremated,
[766] according to Powers.[125] The old cremation
place was g'o'wo'neu (on Coarse Gold Creek
near the present power house). It was said
the ashes were not buried, "just left there for
the wind to blow away."

Since burial became the practice, the graves have always been made in the present cemetery. These were never far from the village to which the dead had belonged. The grave was about two feet deep; with digging sticks it took at least one day to excavate. The cavity was not lined.

After the body was put in the grave, its
[431] clothes and possessions were added. Gifts from
relatives and friends, usually baskets, were
added, the baskets being placed one over the
head, another over the feet, and little ones
along the body. These were always deliberately
despoiled by cutting. Then loose beads were
scattered over all. There was no special song
for burial; the same as that of mourning was
sung while the mourners cried and "danced"
around the grave. The grave was then filled
with earth.

Cremation was the normal disposal of the dead in old times, according to J.R. Nevertheless he continued his discussion with references to interment, perhaps unconscious that he

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[124] The corpse was kept but one night, then carried to its pyre on a litter handled by 4 men, according to Kroeber (Handbook, 499).

[125] P. 383.

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764 was moving from a description of old to more recent practice.

A long time ago they didn't bury people, for there was nothing to dig graves with [sic]. They piled up wood and laid the body on the pile and burned it. Later on they picked up the bones and put them in a good basket. Then they dug a hole in the graveyard, close to the burning place, and buried the whole therein. No mark was put on the grave. The burying ground was just an open ordinary field.

When they are ready to bury, they pack the body over to the cemetery, put it right in. No one made a speech or special comment, although many people would come for a burial -- from Picayune, Roundhouse, and all around. Then, afterward, all those visitors went home; but the local people remained living where they were.

768 Sometimes the dwelling of a man was burned at his death, as well as all his possessions. "They don't leave anything he had." Then the family would build another home. A widowed woman's new home would be built by one of her male relatives who "would come right away and fix her a little house to live in." Some male friend would do this if she had no masculine relatives. It was fixed so she could live as she had before. No pay was given for this work. A widow would be given meat by her father: "in the evening when he came home he would give her some of what he got." [Presumably this refers to a woman who had no sons to provide meat for her. -- A.H.G.] She remained close to her house.

587 The levirate was not practiced, said J.R. At least he knew of no instance. After a year a widow was free to marry anyone as she wished.

Many people feared to approach a graveyard,
769 especially at night, for they said they could
753 see people moving around there, although they did not know who. "Something from over there
775 [in the cemetery] would get out from the graveyard, make some of them sick, scare them. Then they got sick forever [incurably], maybe die, some of them. They used to die that way."[126] These frightening emanations did not touch a victim, but remained aloof. "People got sick just because they got scared. The spirit doesn't give them anything. People just think they see it," said J.R.

765 Mourners singed off their hair, its shortness indicating the intensity of grief, said
302 N.W. A daughter mourning her father cut her hair halfway up her back, but a widow mourning her husband would crop hers short. All close female relatives of the dead indicated their mourning by some shortening of hair. This was accomplished like all hair "cutting" by means

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[171]

[126] Compare the fatal malady, a psychic trauma, brought on a Pomo by ghost-fright. (Loeb, Pomo Folkways, 323).

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765 of a hot coal stick.[127] They also put pine
pitch on their cheeks:[128] a little near the
302 nose for temporary grief, larger amounts for
greater mourning, and a deeply devoted woman
kept a bit in front of each ear for the rest of
her life. A mixture of charcoal and water was
put on the face about every two weeks during
the year of mourning by those excessively
grieved. These indulgences were by women; men
did not observe mourning with these symbols.
[534] They evidenced grief by playing the musical
bow, says Kroeber.[129] Neither sex had any
765 special mourning garb, nor were clothes torn or
bodies mutilated.

During the period of mourning, between the time of death and the next annual mourning ceremony, the bereaved relatives did not participate in any ceremonies or festivities. If they attended at all, they came as unobtrusive onlookers.

768 Inheritance of such possessions as were
428 not deposited with the dead was from parent to
child: a wife did not inherit her husband's possessions. They were divided equally among his children without regard to age or status.

Omens of death.--Several items which may
761 be classed as omens were mentioned in course by
787 the informants N.W. and J.R. as follows.

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When a dog chokes on something and wheezes, someone in the family, probably the dog's owner, is dying.

If a fox howls at dusk, just before sundown, a woman is dying. This omen is still regarded as true. J.R. had a more elaborate rendering of this belief. He said news of a distant death was portended by the barking of a fox at sundown. Perhaps in a certain village, it would be known that someone in another village five or six miles away was very ill. When the fox barked, it was realized that the person was dead or would be dead before morning. Probably the very next day a messenger would come announcing the death, and people would dress up and go over to mourn. These foxes, which are not uncommon in the locality, are shy and never seen in the daytime. Just how they learned the esoteric news which they signaled, J.R. could not explain.

When the "billy-owl" (brown owl) hoots at night, it is telling that someone is dying and even says who it is.

A coyote will howl whenever someone dies, but this omen is not infallible at night, "because at night they usually howl anyway."

A pestle should not be left in a mortar hole. If a woman leaves one there, her brother, or even her son, will be killed: "some enemy might cut them up or something."

A modern belief is that if a rooster crows at midnight "someone is being cut up." This omen is so disliked that the offending fowl is

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[127] Kroeber states that the singeing was controlled "with a natural comb of tumu, which has close-set parallel branches" (Handbook, 519).

[128] Mentioned also by Kroeber (ibid., 500).

[129] Ibid., 542.

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761 immediately killed. If a hen crows (sic), a
787 woman is dying.

A man who was bitten by a rattlesnake and
825 recovered was able to stop excessive thunder
and lightning by merely going out and shouting
[824] at it to cease. [This was, apparently, a
specific incident known to J.R., but the
familiar yet elusive connection between rattlesnakes
and lightning, known from other Yokuts,
persists. -- A.H.G.]

775 *Afterworld*.--The dead stayed in the grave
three nights, said C.D. Then its soul or shade
went west (hoxim) and never returned (*sic*).

[753] Spirits of the dead caused sickness, sometimes
merely a nose bleed, other times fatal
illness. It was necessary to get a shaman to
cure ghost-sickness.

775 L.W.'s mother [tribe?] said her people
thought the dead turned into birds and animals.
825 [Perhaps a misunderstanding of the transformation
of the people of the prehuman era into
birds and animals ? -- A.H.G.]

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

Officials

622 There was but one captain (chief) to a village, said both J.R. and M. "Whenever there is a big time he calls people around." The captain, said M., decided when the Mourning Ceremony was to be held, or any other feast or ceremony, but he had no other function. She maintained that the captain himself went about from one village to another to tell them his plans: he would come down here, then go up to Ahwanee, and so on. No one else went for him. However, this statement seems in doubt, particularly as J.R. accurately described the usual Yokuts official messenger and his duties.

The following chiefs were named by J.R. Sloknič was the Chukchansi chief at Aplau. His younger brother was his assistant chief. Sloknič was already an old man when J.R. was about fifteen years of age. Dawil was the Chukchansi chief at Picayune. Pinto Joe, whose Indian name was not known, was another Chukchansi captain. J.R. thinks he may have been "some relation" to Sloknič. Sloknič had a son, but he was not mentioned as a subsequent chief.

Each captain had an official messenger,
624 called wina'tum. This man was selected by the
captain and retained his office for life. [Not
a totemic, family-inherited position, apparently.
-- A.H.G.] This informant, J.R., stressed
the messenger's functions at the time of the
Mourning Ceremony.

He would take news down there to Picayune and tell the people how many days it would be till the fandango, or something. When they came up here, everything would be ready for the big time. All that man does is "taking news from here down there, give them orders to be

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624 here that [specified] day. Maybe in two or three days." The messenger did not stay down there; he came back the same day. He could not say that the event was to be a mourning ceremony (or whatever it was to be) but just told the people to be there at the proper time. The captain told them what it was to be when they got there, maybe that night.[130] Nevertheless, people usually found out before they came what it was they were going to. "Everybody finds out some way, some place. Then they commence talking about it all over."

Moiety and Totemic Animals

616 The Chukchansi were divided into two groups, Eagle and Coyote, said J.R.: they are not the same kind, but two kinds, like the French and the Dutch. Later he said, "It is just like white man's parties, Democrat and Republican, just two names of it. That's all." Some Chukchansi were of one moiety, some of the other. So were the people at Friant (Gashowu). This division regulated marriage: an Eagle man had to marry a Coyote woman, and vice versa. Today this regulation is not always followed. (N.W. alone maintained that persons with the same totem could marry.) Children belonged to their father's moiety, although matrilocal residence prevailed the first years of marriage. If a woman had more than one husband, the children followed their biological father's moiety.

616 825 The two moieties had the usual Yokuts names, Nutuwus and Toxilewis, each with its symbolic or totemic animals. These animals were limited to four: coyote, bluejay, eagle, and bear. ("There is one woman called 'Skunk'", said N.W., "but that is a nickname because she quarrels all the time. It is not like a person having Bear or Eagle.") Two animals were assigned to each division and both were paternally inherited by a member of that division. Said N.W., "It is like children having the father's name the white way." These animals are not the ones people dream about; they could dream about any others [including these?--A.H.G.]

[552] The moiety name Nutuwus meant mountainward, uphill, or upstream; Toxilewis meant valleyward, downhill, or downstream. There was disagreement between informants as to the animals assigned to each division, thus:

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[130] It is possible that there was some misunderstanding between the informant, interpreter, and recorder. That is, just possibly J.R. meant that the people in the invited tribe did not get the details of the information from the messenger but from their own captain, who would announce it that evening, an interpretation in accord with Yokuts practice. Also in accord with Yokuts practice would be the repetitious announcement by the host captain at the time the guests arrived. -- A.H.G.

Chukchansi

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Informant	Nutuwus	Toxilewis
N.W.	coyote, "because he lives up in the mountains" eagle bear	bluejay, "he lives down in the valley"
S.B	eagle coyote	bluejay bear
J.R.	coyote deer	eagle bear bluejay

There was disagreement about personal affiliations with the moieties, too. In all information on this subject Miss Thrall felt that S.B.'s knowledge was more reliable than N.W.'s. The informants assigned people to moieties thus:

Informant	Nutuwus	Toxilewis
N.W.	Nancy Wyatt Mike Wyatt Nancy's father	Nancy Wyatt Susie Brown Chicago Dick
S.B.	Mike Wyatt	
J.R.	Jack Roan	

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616 524 Although J.R. said moiety division was not followed in playing games, N.W. spoke of a game in which a child must tell his family's totemic animal [to choose sides ?]. In this connection, she said their father would tell them what their animals are: Coyote, Bear, or some other. The animal is referred to as one's "dog." See also the spear-throwing game described by M.N.

616 786 For the Eagle moiety, at least, there was a weeping ceremony at which the totemic bird was redeemed.

616 552 The terms Nutuwus and Toxilewis were also freely applied to persons with reference to their geographical location, i.e., a person from the valley on coming up into the hills was called toxilewis by the Chukchansi and would be so called even if he went on up beyond them into territory which was directionally nutuwis. In the same way, a native from the north or mountainward from the Chukchansi was called nutuwus. When the terms were applied to the Chukchansi themselves, however, the reference was always to the inherited moiety.

"Long ago," said N.W., "when people started, those names came to be used. The people kept on growing in numbers. Nowadays, young people have mostly forgotten about their names, won't ask what they are, don't know them."

616 825 Redemption of totem animal.--When a man of the Eagle moiety gets a young eagle he "packs it on his back like a baby," said J.R. He takes it to another place, "where they are crying for the eagle." These people pay well for the young bird with beads, acorns, sourberries, and manzanita berries.

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231 **Pets**.--Bear cubs were not raised by anyone, said J.R. Young eagles were captured in their nests before they could fly. The birds were fed and reared, and were eventually used in the redemption or weeping ceremony.

A man who had a bear for a pet [a living animal or a tutelary "pet" ?] was heard of by M.W., but he had never seen him. He was told that, "if you said 'Bear' to that man, he would always holler." M.W. thought this was due to dreaming.

MOURNING CEREMONY

769 184 The accounts of the three informants differ so much that it does not seem wise to combine them to make a single picture of the Mourning Ceremony. Summarizing comments will be made at the end of this section.

769 A terminal mourning ceremony was held a year after a person's death, said M.W. This rite was sponsored by the deceased's relatives. Should there be no actual relatives, probably a very rare situation, there would be no ceremony. On the other hand, a person who dwelled with or had been cared for by an unrelated family would be mourned by that family. If the deceased were an extremely old person, and none of his age mates or parents (sic) were living, the burning of gifts, and even the fire, would be omitted.

The ceremony lasted six days. On the morning of the sixth day, about 2 to 4 a.m., offerings [of baskets and other valuables] were

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769 burned. Then the active mourners, but not others, had the charcoal washed off their faces with a solution of wormwood. Thereafter they did not think of the dead or cry again. Games and dancing were enjoyed that day; everyone was happy.

[767] Only people whose relatives had died a year or more ago, attended a mourning ceremony, said M.N., herself a professional mourner. A death was not so noticed until a full year had passed; moreover, each death was individually celebrated even when several deaths occurred within the same family. Deaths occurring even within a week of each other were individually recognized. Hence the mourning ceremonies took
[184] place at various times throughout the year, as opposed to the annual group ceremony made by Yokuts to the south.

At the ceremony, only the relatives of the deceased participated in the marching "dance," although everyone present wept. Two men would sing. The mourners, carrying baskets aloft, marched twice around a central fire, then cast them in. "This is like giving them to that dead person."

[622] The chief of the mourning family's community decided the time for this ceremony "whether they wanted it or not." About one year after a death the chief would say that it was time to have the Mourning Ceremony, said J.R. Everyone came to see the affair, but a widow had to stay close to her own house until the final crying was over. When the people came, they cried for perhaps one night. After that, everyone was permitted to have a good time. This normal freedom was enjoyed until there was another death in the community. When this occurred, all citizens were expected to maintain a decorous mien, to refrain from participation in singing and dancing until the chief declared it time -- several months later -- to hold the Mourning Ceremony. [Such a
[184] general proscription was not enforced or, apparently, expected in any Yokuts or Mono group to the south. The Chukchansi communities were
[621] small and closely knit by blood, which may explain this general tabu. -- A.H.G.]

The captains (chiefs) would plan the big time, supply the food, and have their people cook it. They had three chiefs here, at one time; two were brothers. Sloknič and his brother, and Dawil, of Picayune, apparently. These three would discuss the coming affair: "They planned that it should be well done, what people outside the tribe to invite. They would send a man down to Picayune to invite them to come."

When a large assemblage was to be fed, as at the Mourning Ceremony, it was necessary to plan for and provide in advance great quantities of food. To do this the host chief would call a meeting to discuss it: he would have a big supper at that time. After the supper the chief addressed the assembled people. He would

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769 say, "You people right here now, you want to listen to what I am going to do. I am going to talk tonight, so that you will know when this ceremony is to be. All of you right here now, listen to what I say."

Then he told them, talked a little while,
[787] not very long. Then he explained about the
deer hunter, a man who had dreamed about Deer. "Here's a man. He can get all the deer we want. I am going to have him go up in the mountains, not very far. He can get all the meat we want. He will." Then he told the man how many days he would have in which to get enough meat for two or three hundred people, possibly even more.

The man went off, and after he had been gone two or three days another man [an official messenger ?] would go up to see how much meat was on hand. He would stay up there overnight with the hunter. He would say; "My captain sent me here to see how many deer you've got already?" The hunter would reply, "Well, you can see that, all those hanging up there. About ten maybe." "Well, I came up here to tell you you have two more days to hunt. After you have hunted two more days, then they are going to send somebody up here to haul all the deer down to the village. When, at that time, they take all the deer meat you have killed, the time left will be pretty short for you to get down there yourself. In about two days, by the time you get down there, perhaps they will have commenced eating. All the people will be there to eat those deer. Already they will be eating this deer meat with the acorns the women have been cooking, when you get down there." The messenger stayed up there that night.

Meanwhile the visitors were being invited.
J.R. maintained that, in going to announce the
coming celebration to the tribe which was to
participate as "washer," the messenger did not
take any gifts: "He just tells them they have
so many days to come up here." J.R. further
[431] stated that the visitors did not bring any
gifts to the host: "They just come and eat
what the captain has ready for them." They do
bring money, baskets, and other valuables with
them, but these are for personal use, for paying
gambling debts, or to pay a doctor if they
[184 should fall ill, etc. [It appears that the
extensive money-lending, concomitant to mourning
426] ceremonies of Yokuts to the south, was not
practiced here. -- A.H.G.]

[276] Tobacco-sipping was publicly indulged in as a preliminary of the ceremony witnessed by Powers.[131]

A rectangular dance space, surrounded by open brush booths which housed the bereaved and the visitors, was set aside for the affair.[132]

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[131] P. 387.

[132] Ibid., 385.

769 The Chukchansi at Picayune were the ceremonial washers of the Chukchansi at Aplau.
783 J.R. described the washing.

"The people who live right there, maybe a bunch from Picayune, come up. They heat water in a basket with hot rocks. Those people from Picayune wash the people who live right here [the mourning hosts] with this warm water. The people here give [in return] maybe half of the deer meat, and acorn meal to go with it, which their women have pounded up."

When the Picayune Indians get through washing the mourners, they all go back to their sleeping camps. The host captain, who lives here, goes back after being washed and sits down. He calls all the [his ?] people around. He says that now they are washed [ritually cleansed] and they can enjoy themselves. There was no definite plan of entertainment. If they [526] felt like singing, they sang. Various games were played, a footrace was run, and so on. "They play anything they want."

769 They would play for a week, in the old times, said J.R. They ate the food that was
527 ready. They had some acorn meal already pounded and cooked; they cooked more as needed. Some of this was given to the visitors. When they had enjoyed themselves for perhaps two days, possibly longer (they usually stayed a week), everybody went home. They just had fun. Played games. Danced. It was just to have fun. They just got together for that. The old fellows stayed near the fire [outdoors or in a sweat house ?]. The young girls got out to sing, dance, holler, have fun. The boys played together too. The young people all ran around, jumping, dancing, boys and girls together. "After it is all over, it is finished. No one says anything more about it."

769 Dancing was the chief form of entertainment, however. Every night there would be
535 dancing, only a little during the day. A doctor, if he knew how, would dance -- not because he was a shaman, but because he was a dancer. There would be three or four good dancers from Picayune, three or four from Friant (Gashowu, Kechayi, etc.), the same from Mariposa (Miwok). The captain of the community would tell certain persons to dance to entertain his visitors. Then a visiting captain would have his men perform. And so on: "when one bunch quits, another will start."

769 During all this time there were Indian "police" or managers on duty, who functioned
625 only at this time. They went around with the captains to preserve order. They exhorted people to behave peacefully, to be good. They were called kut'eu.

769 No understanding of Chukchansi mourning rites is complete without perusal of an eyewitness account by Stephen Powers.[133] Kroeber's description of the ceremony should also be ex-

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[133] Ibid., 384-391.

769 amined in this connection, as it contains more detail than is presented here.[134] Both Powers' and Kroeber's records are too lengthy to permit reprinting; neither contradicts any of Miss Thrall's material, given above. However, it may be noted that while Kroeber says "the use of effigies ... appears not to be participated in by ... the Chukchansi ...," Powers specifically states that "another woman had an image, rudely constructed of shawls and clothing to represent the dead woman, sister to Kolomushim."[135]

Besides the usual display of basket, beads,
769 and feather finery at the ceremony Powers wit-
293 nessed, there was exhibited an elaborate plume.

> "But the most remarkable article was a great plume, nearly six feet long, shaped like a parasol slightly opened, mostly of ravens' feathers, but containing rare and brilliant plumage from many birds of the forest, topped with a smaller plume or kind of coronet, and lavishly bedecked through all its length with bulbs, shell-clusters, circlets of feathers, dangling festoons -- a magnificent bauble, towering far above all, with its glittering spangles and nodding plume on plume..."[136]

No such lavish ornament was described to
me as part of the ceremonial paraphernalia of
other Yokuts groups, yet presumably such were
[171] made and carried at mourning ceremonies in abo-
riginal times, for a comparable plume is re-
ported from the Tübatulabal.[137]

GAMES AND DANCING

Games

526 Football.--This was played between two goal posts. Two men from opposing sides each placed a foot on the ball. Then each tried to kick it toward his own team of three or four men who attempted to take [kick ?] it to the opposite goal.[138]

Hoop and pole.--This was especially a young woman's game. There were four or five on a side who attempted to hurl a hoop toward a goal by means of sticks.

Hand game.--This was played by both sexes,
525 mixed or separate. Two pairs of cougar bones
were used, one of each pair being marked with a
black band. The plain bone was guessed for.
Four people played in opposed pairs, each of
the two having a pair of bones. The holders

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[134] Kroeber, Handbook, 501.

[135] Ibid.; Powers, 388.

[136] Powers, 388.

[137] Voegelin, Tübatulabal Ethnography, 70.

[138] Of the games recorded by Thrall only football and shell dice are omitted by Kroeber when referring to Chukchansi (Handbook, 539-540). -- A.H.G.

525 put the bones in their fists, which they gyrated rapidly, or put behind the back, ending by crossing their arms and holding their fists under each armpit. The guesser, on the opposite team, pointed at his chosen location for the white bone. If the guess was correct, the bones went to uhim (the guesser); if incorrect, one of ten counters was given the holder. When one guess was correct, but the second wrong, the holder became the next guesser. Score was kept by a scorekeeper who held ten counters. The partners first acquiring all ten counters won. Then they rested awhile, put up more stakes, and then began again. A crowd of onlookers always stood by, carrying side bets. [606] No moiety opposition was followed, according to J.R., who understood the moiety situation well. M.N. added that there might be several people on each side but only four active players at a time. There were many songs which these other [533] members of the team sang. The holding side sang to try to confuse the guessers.

526 Shinny.--In this game, said M.N. a ball is hit with sticks toward goal holes about one-half mile apart. The holes are marked with posts. Each side defended its goal. The players stood between the posts. The ball, about 8 inches through, was of skin stuffed with grass.

Shinny variant.--A circular form of shinny was played with one goal hole about three inches in diameter. The ball was a "birch" knot.[139] Players stood in a circle, one side defending the hole, the other attempting to put the ball in it. The sticks were the usual ones of chaparral wood (Ceanothus, manzanita ?).

525 Shell dice game.--A curious game was described by M.N. It was a favorite of old people, especially women. Sand, in which there were a few shells, was filled into a circular tray. Then "two people turned the sand over with their hands. The one that does it best gets the stick (counter)." There are shells in the sand. The score is made according to how the shells fall. The winner would get a prize -- food, money, a nose ornament, or ear plugs with quail feather ornament, etc.

Stave dice.--A flat stick of elderwood, about five by one inches, was thrown with a handful of elderberries onto a flat surface. If the carved side of the stick was uppermost, the thrower won one point; if not, or if the stave was concealed by the berries, nothing was made, and the opponent took the next toss. This game was accompanied by songs.

526 Spear-throwing game.--A screen of boughs ten to fifteen feet high was erected, and on each side, some ten feet in front and behind it,

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[824] [139] The notch (sic) of wood is from a tree growing by the creek; it has white bark, dark slightly roundish green leaves. When the wind blows, the leaves rustle. The bark pulls off horizontally. The tree has dark colored little burrs on every limb. Thrall and interpreter suggest birch; probably sycamore. -- A.H.G.

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526 stood a post. Opposing players stood on each side of the screen and endeavored to strike the post concealed from them by tossing long spear-like sticks (longer than arrows) over the blind. The stick nearest the post won a point. An umpire (scorekeeper ?) stood at the end of the screen where he could watch both sides. The opposing players were named as a group, said M.N., one for a bird the other for an animal [moiety ?].

[292] [171] No special clothing was worn for games, said M.N. All the games she described were played by both Chukchansi and Miwok at Picayune and Ahwahnee. She mentioned here her grandfather, a Chukchansi, who later married into Ahwahnee, a Miwok village (presumably to imply methods of diffusion).

524 [177] The informant N.W. described games which she claimed were aboriginal but are suspect as of white source, perhaps modified by acculturative processes. The first might be played anywhere; native names should have been got for the other two.

Throwing sticks.--Boys frequently played with sticks about fifteen inches long. They threw them about, one stick at another.

Jackstones.--Girls, very rarely boys, played with twenty pebbles. One pebble was thrown up in the air, another picked up, and the thrown one caught as it fell; this routine was continued until a miss occurred. The winner, who successfully picked up all twenty, had the privilege of thumping the loser twenty times, first on the knuckles, then on the nose (twenty thumps total). This made some girls cry.

London Bridge.--This was played by girls ten to fifteen years old. A couple stood facing each other, clapped their hands together. Other children in line, filed under the clapping arms, and the last in line was captured, if possible, by the couple. The one caught was then picked up by the feet and shoulders and swung back and forth until he named his family's totemic animal.[180] Those so caught were out of the game. When all were disposed of, the first couple was replaced by another pair.

If boys played this game, they did so by themselves. It was a favorite at large gatherings. N.W. had played this, saying it was known long before the coming of the whites. A song accompanied the game as follows.

bala'	bala'	'omis
clap	clap	mother

This was sung over and over until the last in line, off guard, had been caught.

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[180] Does this imply a normal restraint in naming or telling one's totemic animal, or is it no more significant than if an American child were asked to tell his middle name?

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Dancing

535 No specific dance performance was described, but J.R. gave a few generalities. Dancing groups were usually composed of four dancers and an accompanist singer. The dancers wore a loincloth [breechclout ?], feathers around the neck [sic], and something around the head "that looked kind of funny." They might [302 439] have specks of white paint on their faces, or sometimes red paint obtained from the Eastern Mono. Not all the dancers used red paint. Often the Miwok used it when they came over for a dance.

The dance steps were standardized. J.R. characterized those of the Chukchansi and the Yokuts of the San Joaquin River region as being done with an erect posture, immobile head, and heavy stamping step [the familiar Yokuts "piston rod" step]. The Miwok, he said, leaned forward, moved back and forth with a wiggling step, keeping the feet a little apart. (Miss Thrall suggests that this may have resembled a quick "grapevine" step.) There was a different movement for each song.

[534 533] The singer wore no paint nor feathers. His only instrument was the split elderwood clapper, about ten inches long. This was "waved up and down to make it crack while he was singing." The singer sang, then paused for an interval of rest.

GHOST DANCE OF 1870

764 344 There were three chiefs at Wasamo (near Ahwahnee).[141] This was where J.R.'s family "lived and died." There was a large burying ground there. Today (?) there is still a big round [dance] house which the three captains, assisted by a white man, built. The white man contributed some food for the builders.

622 796 When the chiefs wanted something done, they called their people to a big assembly fire. There were many people. If a festivity was planned, the chiefs said when it was to be, how long it was to last, and what singers, dancers, and guests should be told to come. Men were dispatched to get deer for food.

796 This kind of big time lasted about one week. The hosts provided the food. In the evening three or four men would dance, and sometimes as many women. Guests from other places also performed; each dance was said to [624] be different. There were certain men [dance managers] who went about giving instructions; the managers went in groups of three or four. [526] During the day games were enjoyed: footraces, football, hoop and pole played by the women, and the hand game by both sexes.

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[141] The location of Wasamo is uncertain. J.R., in this connection said "near Ahwahnee": "they were living at Ahwahnee, that is where they had that dance."

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796 When the Ghost Dance was introduced at Wasamo, J.R. was about ten to twelve years old. [177] A few whites were about, but not many. Chinese and Mexicans were looking for gold; there were Chinese camps all along Fresno River.

[775] A group of people came from Bishop Creek and told the people at Wasamo that their dead had returned to life, that "they had come up out of the ground." They told the people at Wasamo to dance; that, when the dead came, they would bring with them a small piece of food ["Indian food"] which would prove to be inexhaustible, no matter how much was eaten from it.

[535] They danced in a circle, men and women holding hands and dragging their feet. There was no special dress: the aboriginal costume was still in use. However, in the morning [302] after bathing, red clay was put on the face. This red paint was brought from Bishop Creek, as the Miwok and others did not have it.[142] The men from Bishop Creek sang while the others danced. These singers each had a single eagle wing feather tied on the head "with some kind of rag." No one else wore feathers. The dancing continued all night and in the morning everyone went to bathe. Even little children were put in the water and washed.

This initial event lasted about one week. About a year later, after more people had died, there was another. J.R. thinks that there were about three of these dances in two years. There was the first at Wasamo [or at Ahwahnee ?], another at Bill Basall's (Bersell's), which is the site of Aplau, Sloknič's village, and another near here at Totono which is about a half-mile across the creek from J.R.'s present house. The dances were abandoned after that because no dead people came back: Said J.R., "Never seen one back here yet!"

SUPERNATURAL POWER AND SHAMANISM

Sickness

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776 Several anecdotes of illness were told by N.W., whose father-in-law was a shaman. In spite of the fact that she believed this man, Xatali (Bill Wyatt), responsible for the death of several of her children, she bore him no grudge; in fact, claimed that the fault was not really his. He was a good man: the illnesses and deaths he caused were due to his being subject to his supernatural helper's will. His helper was Coyote. He killed seven of N.W.'s children "because if he didn't kill his own son's children, he would die himself. Coyote would tell him to do it or he'd die." After 754 N.W.'s seven children were killed, she "didn't have any more left, so he had to die himself."

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[439] [142] Red paint was a trade article between Eastern Mono and Yokuts. It was not newly introduced at the time of the Ghost Dance, as implied by Powers (p. 381).

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754 Subsequent to his death N.W. bore three offspring all of whom lived.

These children, at the time Xatali killed them, were from a few months to a few years old. He made them ill by shooting an intrusive object; then he would attempt to cure them, but would fail. "Every time he would pay for the child's death." [Pay or merely return his fee?] One of the children, a little girl about five years old, whom Xatali could not cure, they took to Mota (Frank Smith) at Friant (see below, anecdote 6).

753 The following accounts of sickness were given by N.W.

Dead persons often caused illness by touching a living one. The shade or spirit was usually that of one who had been emotionally close, either an immediate relative, lover, or past enemy: "Maybe you think angrily about someone, when he comes."

1. N.W. had a son at [illegible] High School. He died there (presumably [illegible] operation). Once N.W. was sitting close [illegible] axe the boy had used. He touched her hand which was "all cold feeling." Her shoulder swelled. She had a white doctor cut it and at once it got well. The scar is about three inches long.

754 The usual cause of sickness was an intrusive object shot by a malicious shaman. The object might be bugs, snakes, squirrel's fur, anything, "Just so it's something to make you sick; maybe rocks, bones." However, some objects caused a more serious illness than others.

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755 2. N.W. herself was made sick by her father-in-law, Xatali, who shot a cougar's hair into her jaw. "She hadn't given him any presents" [hence the sickness]. Her sister went after the shaman. He came and made five cuts under her chin. He sucked out a lump of blood: "It felt just like fire when it came out." The clot he held in his hand and, after washing it a little, showed a cougar hair, about an inch long and stiff, sticking out of it. The blood was darkish, black; it had collected around the intrusive hair. In about two days N.W. was well. The five scars remain: "Sometimes you had to make lots of cuts, till you get the right place, till you find the hair." N.W. paid Xatali $5.00. Then he went off.

3. Xatali shot a tree bug ("one which eats trees") into the stomach of a woman; this came out on her back causing a lump about one and a half inches across "just like cancer." She was sick for a year. Her family had not sufficient money to pay the doctor to cure her. When at last they had money and Xatali tried to help her, it was too late: "the bug had eaten her inside." They then got another shaman (name unknown) who came a long distance. The patient was laid outdoors. The shaman, while trying to cure her, threw water at the sun, which created a rainbow. He waved an animal

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754 tail at the sun, at the same time laying another animal [skin ?] on the woman's chest.
755 The animal was probably the same species as his supernatural helper. But the attempt was fruitless, and eventually the old woman died.

4. Once, while a woman was cleaning out a spring, Xatali shot her in the leg with sand. She cried out in pain (it hurts when the intrusive object strikes) and fell in the spring, unable to help herself out. People came and lifted her out. They got Xatali, who cured her right there, laughing as he did so. She had a bump about the size of one's fist under her knee. Xatali cut it with an obsidian blade three times. At first he got no sand, then he got a little, then all of it. When the blood came out smooth, free of lumps and sand, he knew it was all out. He told the woman she would recover quickly; she did, and was well thereafter. She paid him $6.00.

5. A certain old woman refused to give Xatali food, whereupon he "shot" her near the navel with a lump of blood. To do this, he sent his wife home and himself waited till the old woman went out toward the spring for water. Then he quickly went home; no one had seen him.

Soon the old woman's husband came to Xatali, who asked the man what was the matter. He said his wife was sick. Xatali laughed and accepted $2.00 from the man, saying that he would come in the afternoon and "to have lots of dinner ready." "Then everyone knew he did it."

755 When the time came for the curing, Xatali told N.W. not to go up there to see it for she had an infant [or was pregnant ?]. However, her parents told her she might go, which she did. Xatali was angry when she arrived and made her sit on a certain rock "so the blood wouldn't hit her when it came out." All other spectators he made stand in a circle around the patient.

The woman was entirely helpless, so her two sisters lifted her up to make her look toward the sun. It was very hot; nevertheless she must look at the sun. Xatali talked to the sun [informant could not say in what manner] and, each time he sucked the patient, he stood up and threw water at the sun. He cut the patient two or three times in the palm of the hand: the blood streamed out. Then he sucked it and got the blood which was making her sick. He got nothing but blood, which he continually spat out. The woman felt prickly pains all over her, and wherever she said she had a pain, Xatali cut and sucked. She had a headache, so he cut her on the nose bridge. However, while he was cutting her, the pain ceased and she fell asleep, and she began to get better. About
[147] a week later she was able to resume work, and in about two weeks the numerous cuts were entirely healed. (This woman is Mary See, now about eighty-five years old. She lives at Picayune and occasionally goes to church.

6. When Xatali failed to cure N.W.'s little girl, they took her to Mota (Frank Smith) at Friant. He was able to suck blood without cutting. Mota sucked her nose, fingertips, and toes. But she could not be cured: "all her blood got white." The family stayed there

755 about two weeks, then took the child home. Although N.W. wanted to pay Mota $20.00 for his services, he refused to take it because he had failed.

J.R.'s only statement concerning curing was as follows. A doctor sucks out blood, or just goes through the motions without drawing blood. He looks at the sun. He finds out what is in the patient's body, causing the illness, then announces this [publicly ?]. He was paid about $20.00.

754 768 When sickness resulted in death for several occupants of a house, said N.W., it was believed that a shaman "had put something there to kill them." Thereupon the survivors moved out, and others, even people from other communities, were warned not to enter it. The house was not destroyed, nor did neighbors move away. The informant did not know what was the nature of the destructive force about the house, only that the shaman "would have said some words." Before actually moving, the family would pay the shaman to remove the spell but, if he hated them, he would not do so. If the family themselves failed, no one else would attempt to purify the house. A family would not move, however, until several in it had died under suspicious circumstances; they waited until only one or two were left. The refugees would then live with relatives or friends until they could erect or secure a new house.

754 Once a shaman sickened this entire community [Picayune ?]. He set up a stick on the top of a near-by hill and talked to it. He wanted everyone to be sick, which they were. The stricken people pooled their money and asked him to remove the stick. No one dared approach the stick or even look at it. That shaman received beads, baskets, and rabbitskin blankets: he took away the stick.[143]

756 Payment was made to a doctor at the time he was asked to attend a case: "[illegible] you didn't pay, they wouldn't come to make you well." Some doctors, more scrupulous than others, returned all or part of the payment if their efforts failed. But some would keep it -- "just like white doctors do when their patients die." Some shamans deliberately caused sickness, killed others by means of their power; those who did not were "good" doctors.

Curing Shamans

[791] According to N.W. there were but two types of shamans recognized by the Chukchansi, curing shamans and rain shamans. The curing shamans were divided into two classes, those who could suck out blood and the accompanying cause of

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[143] The shaman's name was not known. The event occurred when only a few whites were in the neighborhood: the Ecker family was at Coarse Gold, but not the Krohns.

756 illness without cutting, and those who resorted to cutting to accomplish the same end. Curing shamans treated such things as snake bites and bruises, as well as illnesses caused by ghosts or intrusion of objects "shot" by shamans, or other ailments due to obscure causes. Broken [752] bones were bandaged [by a shaman ?] but "they [shamans] would not try to do something about that" [by sucking]. Kroeber states that the Chukchansi shaman was called teish, "maker"; possibly this term applied to the rain shaman rather than the doctor.[144]

756 Acquisition of curing power came through dreaming of a supernatural helper, usually an 787 animal. Any animal might direct a shaman: "They believe in all kinds of animals -- snake, bear, squirrels, coyotes." The animal came unsought and sang a song; if the dreamer accepted the offer of power, he sang the song himself. The repetition of the song formed a bond, so to say, whereby the man and the tutelary became subject to each other's power. The animal was subject in the sense that his living counterpart of the fields -- snake, weasel, coyote, etc. -- was controlled by the shaman. But an offended or perhaps capricious tutelary could cause the empowered man to act against his better feelings (thus Xatali and his victimized grandchildren). On the other hand, said N.W., "A doctor might dream he would have to tell a snake to go bite someone, and the snake would have to do it." This informant tended to lay the blame for a doctor's social activities upon the tutelary, once a man fell under its control: "That is the way Indian doctors do; if they didn't listen, they wouldn't have anything like that happen." Even today dream helpers appear, but the young people do not want to accept them. Neither are they willing to propitiate with gifts the few remaining shamans. However, N.W. said she would [does ?] because she "wants to live just as long as they do."

N.W. herself knows the temptation from an animal helper's offer for she was repeatedly importuned by a gopher snake.

A large gopher snake about four or five inches thick appeared to N.W. every night for about a week. And each day, wherever she went -- to pick wild onions or do anything -- she would see him. But each time she said "No"; she did not want to be a doctor. Every time she pounded acorns he would whistle at her. He was on a rock she was sitting on. She would pick up her pestle and look around for the creature but she always looked in the wrong place. Every time she lifted her pestle he would whistle; he did this about three times. She turned and looked up the hill instead of at the rock where she was sitting. Right then he whistled again. Then she looked down and saw him. She reached for a handful of acorn

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[144] Handbook, 511; see also p. 516 for a further reference to Chukchansi shamans.

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meal, threw it in the snake's face and told him to go home. She then filled up his hole with stones "so he couldn't come out again."

That night she dreamed again of the gopher snake. He sang a song and told her to sing it. It was very pretty, but she resisted. The snake was angry and demanded that she give him her children [the two living ones]. Then N.W. told him to go away, not to ask her anything again "no matter how good a song he sang." Next night when she went to sleep she didn't dream; the snake did not bother her again.

If she had listened to the snake she would have lost all her children. "That is the way Indian doctors do. If they didn't listen they wouldn't have anything like that [injuring others] happen. Coyote made Xatali do things because of dreams. He dreamed it and he had to do it."

Dreams were not sought. The majority of people did not want them and hence did not attempt to secure supernatural power [as was done by Yokuts to the south]. "It just happened. You dreamed and the animal sang something pretty and then made you sing it." N.W. liked the song sung to her, too, and wanted to sing it, but the gopher snake "asked her for her children right away so she said no." Had he not been so precipitous with the evil demand, she probably would have sung it. Then she would have been in his power. He would have shown her how to do things "just like you show a little girl how to do embroidery or crocheting."

An animal helper for supernatural power was obtained through dreaming, said J.R. It was as if one saw them with his own eyes, but one saw them with his heart [sic; soul. -- A.H.G.]. The dream usually came near dawn. When it left, the dreamer wakened at once and, following the animal's [stereotyped] instructions, went to bathe in cold water -- the creek or some spring. This would be about the time the morning star appeared. The man went to the water and there began a prayerful discourse, saying that he believed all that the animal had told him, asking that the tutelary would continue his dream visitations and that he, the protégé, would be a good shaman. If all went well, the dream animal returned every night for about a month, perhaps a little more or sometimes less.

No person told the novice anything: his dream helper told him everything. He would learn the song the animal sang. Later, when the man had learned more and understood better, he too would sing it. When he had learned all that was possible, the tutelary would tell him so. Then he could go out publicly, perhaps to some ceremony, and sing. This he would do at a chief's request, for it was no secret that he had been acquiring power by dreaming. When there were many people present, the man would sing his song. After that, after all the

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756 people heard him sing, everybody would know he was a doctor.

787 The shaman's debut was described by J.R. When a man was ready to announce his profession, he would sing his song at a public gathering. (Not a special gathering, apparently, but at any meeting when the chief would ask him.) After it was public knowledge that a certain man had acquired curing power, everything was made easy for his first case. Eventually someone got sick and decided to try him; they would send for him. He would go and cure the man. When he had once made a cure, then everyone knew he was a competent doctor and other people asked for his services. Perhaps he would be called down to Picayune or, if someone was sick over at Northfork, people would come down from there to get him.

A man became a fine deer hunter by dream-
787 ing of Deer, said J.R. If the deer wanted a
224 certain man to be a good deer hunter, they
would go to him repeatedly in dreams. The wild
825 deer told him where he might see the sacred
flints. These are seven flints about five inches long; they belong to the deer; they lie under some bushes in Miwok territory close to Ahwahnee. They are not to be touched, but looked at from a distance of five or six feet. J.R. himself has seen them.

After several dreams of the deer, in which they talked to their protegé, the man knew where to find the flints. Then he went. He went gently, gently, watching, watching. The flints make a metallic sound, like metal dropping on a rock. The man would hear them: he could hear sounds no other person could detect, some good, some bad. [What was said or done on viewing the flints was not told; perhaps nothing ?] After such an experience a man became a professional deer hunter; he was called upon to provide meat for celebrations, large assemblies, etc., like the big mourning celebration. He never ate deer meat, but ate any other kind which he killed.

M.W. said he had an aunt who received
787 power from Deer. Once when she was a young
825 girl, she was sitting out some place when a
deer came up to her. Deer talked to her, saying he wanted to be her master [supernatural helper]. The girl agreed, but she did not receive a song from Deer. She always said Deer was good, not a malicious tutelary. She used her power only to cure herself when she was ill, not for others. She lived to extreme old age, "over a hundred," and, although blind in her last years, was never ill. She married a white man, but had no children: "She was nice, everybody liked her."

M.W. had heard of an old man who also had Deer as a supernatural helper. Whenever others went out to hunt deer, this man "would step on something and then nobody could get deer." The informant did not know whether this man was long-lived, too.

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787 A doctor's animal helper was a living one,
not a spiritual representative. He could not
825 kill any animal of that breed. One actual
756 animal, however, such as a coyote, could belong
to or serve more than one shaman, N.W. thought.

She did not know whether white people
787 dreamed in this way but opined that they might,
especially if they "believed that way." "The
Chinese do." Also L.W. had a white friend who
dreamed that way [of animals ?] when she was a
little girl.

Shaman's Cache

756 The shaman's cache was attributed only to
rain shamans by N.W., but the beliefs she de-
778 scribed concerning it and the dangerous nature
of a doctor's paraphernalia were similar to
556 those held by other Yokuts groups. According
to her, a rain shaman kept his outfit within a
large rock. He would talk to the rock, which
would open so he could get his things. Each
doctor had his own place; his things would be
in a basket set in a hole in the rock which he
had created by means of his power. The opening
thereto was not palpable to others: "You could
go over that rock a thousand times and not find
the place." If an ordinary person wants to
[788] touch a shaman's paraphernalia, he must safe-
guard himself by rubbing his hands with worm-
weed: "Then it doesn't hurt you."

Poisoners

578 Malicious use of poisonous medicines was
made by some people who knew the secrets. Once
682 someone rubbed poison on a dress N.W. had hang-
ing on a clothesline. When she put on the
278 dress, it made sores. This affliction cannot be
cured by means of sucking. It is hard to cure
now [method ?]. If some evil woman had some of
that poisonous medicine, she might tell someone
else, like L.W. to go and kill a certain person
with it. L.W. would have to do it or she her-
self would die [at the poisoner's hands ?].
Even today these people [poisoners] are feared
although no poisonings have occurred "since a
long time ago."

Rain Shamans

791 The art of rain-making was learned from a
living rain shaman, although dreaming was an
essential part of success. A father usually
taught one of his sons and left him his outfit
when he died.

There was an old man named Soket at
[787] O'Neals who made rain.[145] N.W. saw him when he
was getting his power. He dreamed, not of

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[145] He was the grandfather of Mandy Lewis.

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791 animals, but "maybe about the earth, maybe the
world." It told him to go far off, over to
[787] N.W.'s house. He walked at night. In the
morning N.W. saw him. He behaved as though he
were blind. She said, "Where are you coming
from?" He said he was lost, and asked where
was the Picayune Rancheria. N.W. claims that
he well knew where it was but just asked because
he wanted them to bring him over. When
he got here [Picayune] he walked home by himself;
that was when he got power to make rain.

Soket had jars of medicine; he dreamed
[764] about it and made it himself from roots, seeds,
barks, etc. When he died, these jars were
buried with him. (L.W. interposed that someone
took them out later for his own use, she
791 thought.) Whenever it was dry in this region,
Soket would put some of his seeds in water,
then sing, talk, and pray. The songs came from
789 his dreams. Then it would rain a little. If
more rain were wanted, more seeds would be put
in. Some rain shamans threw water toward the
sun, thus making a rainbow. Kroeber describes
Chukchansi rain-making as done by "blowing and
the dipping of fingers into water."[146]

A rain shaman made rain because he wanted to or when people who knew him well asked him to. A curing shaman would frighten a rain shaman by threatening to kill him if he did not produce rain. "When it doesn't rain, things don't grow, but dry up. When he doesn't make enough rain people scold him and scare him. He doesn't get paid. He doesn't kill people, so they don't pay him for what he does." [This is N.W.'s opinion, but that he was not paid is open to doubt in the light of general practice by Yokuts rain shamans. -- A.H.G.]

When the shaman made rain, he was alone and allowed no one to see him. He kept his outfit in a big rock. A father might give his son the materials he used: this is different from the acquisition of power by dreaming of an animal tutelary. When another person wanted to make rain, the rain shaman might give him some materials and instructions; but he rarely had more than one such apprentice. No ordinary person could touch those things or he would die.

Rattlesnake Shamans

756 Rattlesnake shamans did not practice among
the Chukchansi and, according to N.W., nothing
752 was done to prevent snake bite. It could be
caused by someone having a rattlesnake tutelary
who would send the snake to bite a certain person.
The usual treatment was to send the victim
away from the village in the care of a
virgin boy, if a man, or a virgin girl, if a
woman. The attendant brought water and food.
There is still living an old woman whose index
finger was bitten by a rattlesnake. The first

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[146] Handbook, 518.

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756 joint "got rotten and fell off" but this was
the only ill effect she suffered. In plate 1,
752 Part I (right vertical) is a dark stick with
horizontal markings. This is a Chukchansi
"doctor's wand," and is a stick covered with
rattlesnake skin; it was "secured from
Mayenetz, Coarse Gold." (Spec. no. 76484.)

"The Indian doctor" [any shaman ?] could cure rattlesnake bites, according to J.R. He sang over the stricken person; he looked at the sun, at the same time whistling through a small bone tube.[147] A medicine for snake bite was known, but was not used if the shaman were there. "The doctor did better work. The medicine wasn't a sure cure. The witch [shaman] made a fellow get well, though." A person bitten by a snake should kill it, for if he did not, the creature would continue to send poison into the wound from a distance. "The snake wouldn't bite you again. He would just throw the poison into you from where he was, off somewhere."

People were bitten frequently. J.R. knew of one woman who did nothing for the wound; a large swelling developed. People tried to cure it, but she died.

756 There were shamans who had learned from
their dreams how to handle rattlesnakes, said
825 J.R. These men were told in dreams where to
787 find the snakes and how to appease them so they
would never be injured by them. A rattlesnake
shaman used down from a squirrel hawk[148] when he
[237] was dancing. The down was across his forehead
[entwined in strings or glued in place ?] and
he wore nothing else except "a little piece
around the waist." [Breechclout or loincloth,
probably.]

756 The rattlesnakes, secured in summer, were
fed hawk down. They were further quieted by
825 the shaman's spittle. The shaman spat on or
near the snake's head. "Spit just light, thin.
Do it close to him -- just over his head, on
his head, any place. After this he can understand
you, when you have thrown spit on him."
The shaman handled the snake with bare hands.

This was done at a ceremony, for exhibition, particularly "when someone won't believe they can do it." But the rattlesnake shaman did not prevent persons from being bitten: "They don't ever do anything to keep people from getting snake bite. They can't do anything that way."

Compared to southern Yokuts snake-handling, that of the Chukchansi seems aberrant, amateurish. According to Kroeber, the Chukchansi lacked the rattlesnake ceremony.[149] J.R.'s ac-

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[147] Cf. Kroeber, Handbook, 517.

[148] The red-tailed hawk? "The squirrel hawk has a red tail and feathers a little different from the tail. They get the fine feathers off the body of this bird, all white, fine, just like cotton. Pull the outside feathers off, throw them away."

[149] Handbook, 506.

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count may have applied to the Miwok also; it was not clear.

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J.R.'s own father, a Miwok, used to handle rattlesnakes. They never bit him. During the night, while others were asleep, the snakes would come into the house and glide around that man's head. He knew it though the others in the house did not. Then he would take the intruders up in his hand, take them away from the village and turn them loose. This sometimes happened after daylight, so others saw what he was doing.

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J.R. knew of one snake-handler who failed. H.J.'s father could catch rattlesnakes. When he was a boy he used to play, would run his hands down squirrel holes. He did this for some time. Then he said he was going to catch and handle a rattlesnake, as he had seen the old doctors do. He lived with his mother by the creek, near the present apple orchard at Coarse Gold; his white father was already dead. Eventually he got hold of a rattler. He wrapped it in his big handkerchief and put it in his blouse. As he grew older he continued the practice. He said he could catch any snake and, if they bit him, it would not hurt. He thought he was going to be a snake doctor.

He would go around where the Roans lived, around Coarse Gold, sometimes on horseback. He would have a rattlesnake, not always the same one, around his head or around his arm, rattling all the time. Then he would go away again, maybe come back again. But he was often seen so adorned.

Once he came into the saloon with a very small snake, only a foot long. He had the snake on his hand. He laid it on the table, coiled. He moved his hand around in passing movements over the snake's head to make it sway its head about. Then he lowered his hand a little. The snake was watching him all the time, never moving Suddenly it struck, biting the man on the hand, first finger, second joint. Then the man said he had been bitten, and that he would go home and die. "Before I die, I will go home," he said. He lived, at that time, near the mission at Coarse Gold; he had a wife and two boys there. He went home. He lasted all that night. About morning, just after daybreak, he stopped talking and died. They kept him after he died, maybe a day (not the usual two to three days). Then they buried him a little way from where he had lived.

Bear Control

Some people controlled bears by means of supernatural power but they did not change themselves into bears.[150]

There was a man (name unknown) who would call a bear to come and visit him, and some-

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[150] This family, H.W., C.D., etc., had never heard of bear transformation.

756 825 times he sent the bear to harm others. Once he sent the bear to kill an old woman whom he disliked: "People knew it was his bear." The woman was out gathering acorns when the bear came, tore her to pieces, and hung her clothes and all the separate parts of her body -- head, legs, arms, entrails, heart -- in a manzanita bush. Her heart was still beating when they found it.

[522] There is another man, alive today, who controls a bear. This is L.G. When Miss Thrall asked her informant if L.G. would tell her about his bear, N.W. replied that it was unlikely, "that he might set it after you," and indulged in good-natured laughter.[151]

825 Bears were regarded with considerable awe as they are powerful and are thought to possess human intelligence. They would get hold of a person's weapons and break them up. They cry "just like people when they are hungry." They hear and understand everything people say. There was a man named Kaitana who said derogatory things about bears: soon one came and tore the flesh off his buttocks. Bears, however, never turn into people.

There were persons with supernatural power, like shamans, who could converse with bears, said J.R. The bear is regarded as almost human: "He watches you, heads you off; he can't talk but he understands you just like a man."

[535] Sometimes bears were seen dancing. They walk on their hind feet, usually near a small tree. Then they approach the tree and maul it: "They are just doing their way." Some Indians down at Friant (Gashowu, Kechayi?) used to dance like bears, said J.R.: "They saw bears dancing." [The implication is that the Chukchansi knew the Yokuts Bear Dance only through the Yokuts at Friant. -- A.H.G.]

754 789 Kroeber states that Chukchansi Bear doctors (sic) made their enemies ill by shooting little stones into them; also that a female shaman transformed into a bear at the time of her burial.[152]

Miscellaneous Powers

756 The power of playing with fire was possessed by some Chukchansi shamans, like those of the San Joaquin River region. Once, said J.R., the chief of Wehil, a village in Grub Gulch, offered a sum of money to a shaman who lived near by if he would demonstrate his powers. Many spectators came, especially from Picayune.

756 789 The spectacle was in the evening. An enormous fire was built, around which the audience sat. Then the shaman "got his clothes off" (presumably appeared in aboriginal re-

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[151] This is typical Yokuts jollity. -- A.H.G.

[152] Handbook, 516, 517.

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756 galial and announced that he was going to dance
789 around the fire, then throw himself into it.
This he did. He threw himself into the fire head first and emerged about a minute later. Everyone saw him enter the flames, saw him right in there. When he emerged he was not blistered and his hair was not singed, nor was he otherwise injured: "That fire never touched him." That was all. Several people contributed money which was given him next day.

Just beyond Ahwahnee (on the Crooks Ranch) there once were five or six men going along, playing, enjoying themselves. Two of them had supernatural power. Some of the fellows grew reckless in their talk and challenged the "witches" to a show of power.[153] Ahead of them on the trail was a large round rock, some ten feet high and weighing perhaps a ton. One of the men asked the empowered ones, "could they do anything with that rock, could they break it, or could they kick it?" etc.

One of the powerful men said he could kick it. He backed down the trail about forty feet for a running start while his companions stood by the rock to watch. Then he said, "All right!" He jumped and ran at top speed toward the rock and kicked it. It moved about ten feet. It is still there; no one can move it. The men then agreed that he indeed had power.

756 Whenever a shaman died, whirlwinds and
764 thunderstorms arose. Consequently shamans were
buried at once without delay. Anyone who
821 grieved at a shaman's death would cry for him as
for an ordinary person. Some shamans were
buried in the village cemetery.

Shamans often received gifts of food, par-
756 ticularly deer meat from hunters: men feared
789 that if they did not do this the shaman would
sicken them. Some, but not all, shamans hunted for themselves. They had a stone called Bokun to which they talked secretly before setting out. With this magic aid they could shoot game at once with the bow and arrow.

A woman who refused favors to a shaman might be sickened or killed by him.

Shaman-killing

683 An evil shaman normally met with retribution in the end. Some shamans were more powerful than others and hurt their inferiors. Sometimes doctors would get together to test their power and see who was the most powerful. Then, to test the victor's power, they would send him to kill someone. Often a less endowed shaman would stay away from tribal festivities for fear of being killed by his superiors. However,

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[153] I do not know how else to render J.R.'s phrase, "Some boys can say anything, playing like that." In Yokuts culture it is considered reckless or unwise for an ordinary person to challenge another's power. -- A.H.G.

[P. 210 9] Chukchans.

683 when the time for public avengement came, no shaman was immune.

683 824 766 Once there was a shaman of ill-repute who came to a celebration at Picayune He was mean, would kill a person without provocation. Other doctors thought of the evil things that man had done, so they decided to kill him. He got a pain in his side, went home, and died. The people were afraid to bury him. They dug an extra deep grave at his own house, not in the regular burying-place. Such powerful whirlwinds arose they could scarcely handle him. It rained, thundered, and blew. When they got the body in the grave, they put large stones on top, but the whirlwind blew those rocks away "just like blasting." Finally they got the hole filled, put more rocks on top, and went home.

754 626 683 The activities of malicious shamans were curbed by fear of revenge. A family, believing themselves to be the victim of deliberate ill-treatment from a certain shaman, could legitimately seek to kill the man. This might be done by a member of the family or, in some cases, a man was hired to do it. Public opinion upheld the family when their suffering was known to be aggravated by a shaman's malice.

628 If a chief had a big family and they all started dying, he would think maybe it was a certain doctor who was killing them, said J.R. He didn't tell anyone. He secretly called a brave man, maybe two, not many. He told them that he had lost all his family and that he suspected a certain bad doctor of killing them. The doctor might live in some other community. The chief would have with him some money, perhaps valuable baskets, something worth fifteen to twenty-five dollars. He would say, "I am going to tell you, I want you. Now I tell you boys, I want you to go over to his place tonight. I will send a man over there to get the doctor and bring him where you are."

In the late afternoon, around five o'clock, the chief would send a man over to the shaman's house who, on some pretext, would get the shaman to come out to a prearranged spot. Without losing sight of him, the messenger went off a bit to find the killers who were to meet him. He said to them, "He is right there now. Are you ready? All right. Here he is." Then the hired men approached the shaman. These avengers had their bows, already charged with arrows, in their hands. When they were very close to their victim -- about four feet -- they shot directly at his heart. "That Indian doctor was done for." Then the men departed, leaving the corpse. The dead man's relatives came and took him away for burial. [Revenge by the shaman's family was not alluded to by any informant. Probably here, as elsewhere, the man's guilt was known to his relatives, so they would not attempt retaliation. -- A.H.G.]

756 Women shamans were known to the Chukchansi, and were evidently more common than among other

756 Yokuts tribes to the south. Their professional integrity was in no way superior to that of male shamans; and evil shamans, even though women, suffered the same fate. J.R. recounted
754 the following anecdote of the punishment of a
683 witch.

There was a witch (shaman), who lived near here, who used to go down to Picayune. She got killed right near here. An Indian named J. lived down across the creek, toward Oakhurst. His wife and aunt were both sick all the time. The woman doctor lived near there. [Inferentially, she was asked to doctor the invalids.] The man's wife died. That woman never tried to cure her. It looked like she never wanted to cure her. The doctor wouldn't help her at all, and J.'s wife didn't get any better. Looked like the witch didn't want to save her. Right away, after they buried the wife, the man's aunt, who was over there sick, died too, right away. They buried her, too. That night, after they buried his aunt, the man J., who didn't want that woman doctor to live, went and kicked and beat her and killed her right there.

Shamans' Contest

756 The formalized and spectacular contest between shamans, which was so important an ad-
789 junct to Yokuts mourning ceremonies, was but poorly represented in Chukchansi culture. The only contest described was seemingly not connected with the Mourning Ceremony but was merely an exciting demonstration of power.

J.R.'s father and father's two sisters had supernatural power. The aunts lived at Aplau (where Bersall lives now). At this place many Indians gathered to see the spectacle: Mono from Northfork, Chukchansi from Picayune, Gashowu (?) from Friant, and Miwok from Round House (Watsamo). From Friant came a shaman with his sister, also a shaman, wanting to demonstrate their power. The captain at Aplau was in charge, his permission was necessary. The captain said to the doctor from Friant, "You witches know how to shoot with your power, some kind you have. How far?" "Oh," said the shaman, "as far as to that building." ["That building" was J.R.'s substitution to indicate the distance, which was about 65-70 feet.]

The local shamans, J.R.'s father and aunt, already had their clothes off "to show they were witches" [were wearing ceremonial regalia, more probably. -- A.H.G.]. The father had bluejay tail feathers arranged as ornaments. The visiting shamans were going to shoot J.R.'s father and aunt and knock them unconscious.

Two fires were built; the power came from them. The shamans held flat basket trays which they circled over the fire to draw from the fire the invisible magic "shot." First one worked over the fire, then the other. Then the first visitor shot J.R.'s father [method or motions not described]. He fell down. Then the second shaman from Friant caused J.R.'s

756 aunt to fall unconscious. No one could see how
the shot worked: J.R. saw this performance
789 himself. Then the two visitors extracted the missiles by some unknown means, and the fallen victims "stood right up."

This was not a true contest since the local shamans did not take offensive shots at their opponents. Of course, they may have attempted to defend themselves in some way by means of their own supernatural powers. After the demonstration "everybody sat around and had fun" [played games, presumably. -- A.H.G.].

Jimsonweed

276 According to J.R., the best jimsonweed
(t'anai) grew down on the Fresno River at Grub
756 Gulch. The shamans who made use of it would go there to get it. They took only the main root, no side roots; this they dried for future use. Such men had dreamed previously of jimsonweed, of how to handle it.

When a shaman wanted to take the drug, he would pound up the root and mix some of the powder with warm water. Only a very small mouthful was drunk: "That will keep you down on the ground, talking to yourself, maybe a
276 couple of days." "It makes you dream, just
756 like marijuana. You see things other people
can't see. When a doctor wants to see some-
787 thing away off, or something they don't know about around here, they can do this with this plant. Only doctors would do it, to see how good they are" [how much power they had].

J.R. knew of shamans at Friant [Gashowu, Kechayi territory] who were expert at this. They sang before they drank. There were perhaps two such men. They drank jimsonweed from a little basket; they sang, "I am going to drink you, t'anai." Soon they appeared to be drunk and fell down. But while they slept, they saw with their hearts [souls] things which no one else could see.

At Ahwahnee, in Miwok territory, J.R. saw a shaman take jimsonweed. He came from Wawona. He did not want to lie down while under the

[P. 211 b] Chukchansi

276 756 787 drug's influence, but sat up, talking to himself. He said that he had seen his mother take it; she chewed a little, "just enough to sit there, see something, know something, talk to herself."

This method, just chewing a small amount of jimsonweed, was the local, common way of taking it in the Fresno River region, according to J.R. A person who has taken it is "jum[illegible]": "If you make a noise he will start, be scared, look just like a dog that has swallowed strychnine. Acts pretty funny. But he will see what he is after." The affected person must not be given any food or water until he has regained a normal physical condition. The mouth looks scabby, slobbery, dry, said J.R.

[887] He had never heard of any ordinary person, especially youths, taking jimsonweed. No young person would touch it; only very old people attempted to use it, and these were exclusively professional shamans already possessed of supernatural power. Such men might take it about once a year.

This information was substantiated by N.W. and M.W. They said shamans used dried powdered jimsonweed (t'anai), which they ate dry, to obtain clairvoyant power. When they ate it, they could recall long past events, see hidden objects, and see people and occurrences at a distance. For example, they would tell that a certain person was traveling on his way to their village.

A Chukchansi shaman, said M.W., drank jimsonweed for two [illegible] and ate nothing. [Presumably, in accordance with surrounding practice, he ate nothing for two weeks and then drank jimsonweed. -- A.H.G.] He acquired more power than he had before. M.W. said shamans, not ordinary persons, used to drink it to have visions. He never saw this [the vision or the practice?]. L.W. said the plant was "just like marijuana, that stuff. Pretty bad!"

[184] The information above corroborates Kroeber's statement that the northernmost Yokuts, specifically the Chukchansi, made but little use of jimsonweed and lacked the jimsonweed ritual.[154]

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[154] Handbook, 502.

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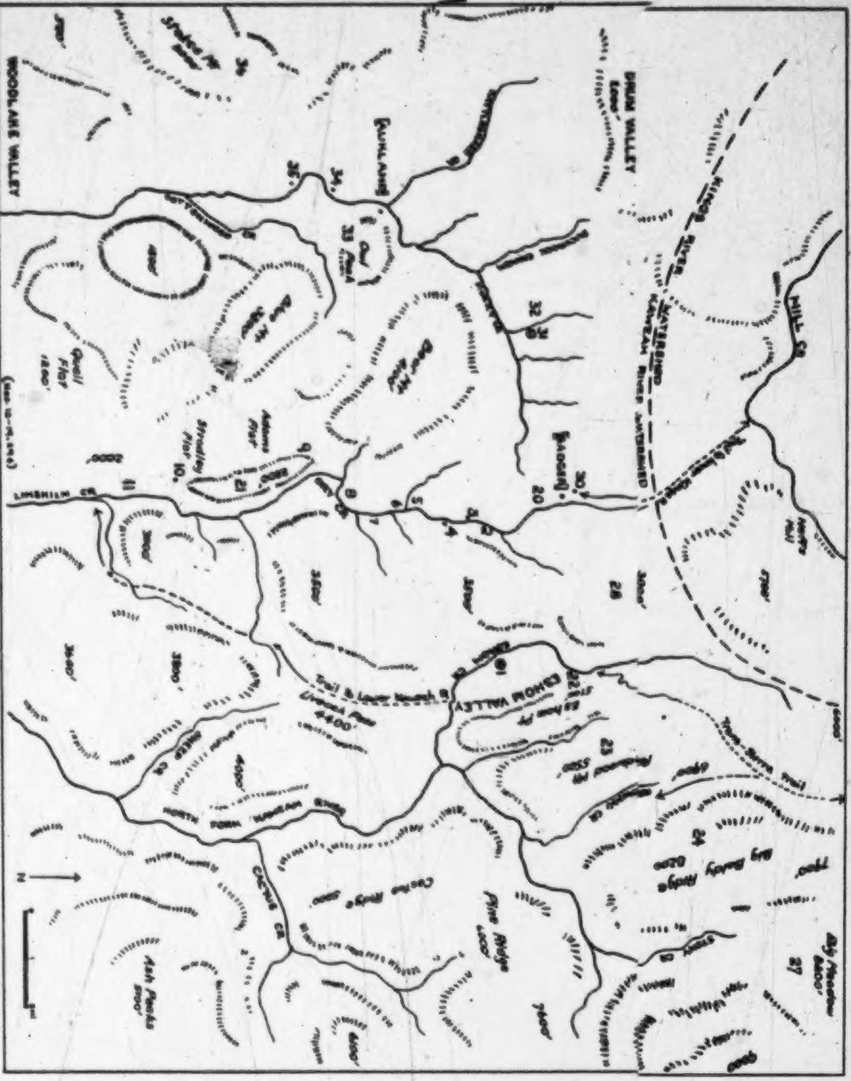
1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 NS29 Yokuts NS29
[P. 212]
Western Mono NS25


MILL CR.
Neff's Hill
KINGS RIVER WATERSHED
KAWEAH RIVER WATERSHED
DRUM VALLEY
3000'
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[BADGER]
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[AUKLAND]
33 Owl Peak
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Stokes Mt.
Bear Mt.
Blue Mt.
Adams Flat
Stradley Flat
Quail Flat
1200'
LIMEKILN CR.
WOODLAKE VALLEY
3500'
3800'
3600'
4000'
ESHOM VALLEY
Trail to Lower Kaweah R.
Big Meadow
Pine Ridge
7600'
Ash Peaks
CACTUS CR.
DEEP CR.
N

Map 3. Local Map E: Waksachi Territory

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TRANSITIONAL YOKUTS AND WESTERN MONO:
ESHOM VALLEY REGION

MICHAHAI AND WAKSACHI

TERRITORY AND INTERTRIBAL RELATIONS

Localities

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101 The locations of tribes known to B.O.
131 follow. His renderings are given in brackets when they differ from the forms established by Kroeber.

Nutunutu: close to Kingston
Wechihit [we´čihət]: close to Centerville
Kocheyali (Aiticha) [kuče´li]: northeast of Wechihit
Gashowu [ka´šuwi·ša]: south of the San Joaquin River
Choinimni [čoinü´mni]: mouth of Mill Creek
Chukaimina: Squaw Valley
Michahai: between Choinimni and Chukaimina
Entimbich [a´ntɩmpɩč]: Dunlap
Wobonuch [wu´punuč]: east of Dunlap

Three terms which B.O. claimed were names of tribes but which have an ending comparable to the Yokuts pa'an (see below) are:

a´pusowi·'ɩtunü´'üm: Toll House
huro´gɩčnü´'üm: southeast of last
yui´ninü´'üm: south of last

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M
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103 Each tribe had a theoretical ancestral home, consisting of one or more villages, re-
131 ferred to as pa'an. "When Eagle made the world he named every hill and put people on those spots. They were the first birds and animals; later he made one pair [of humans] for each place." Those places S.O. could name were:

Chukaimina: to'o´ču
Michahai: pa´lnao (Rock Hill, unlocated by recorder)
Wukchumni: gutsnu´mi; dai'apnu´ša
Telamni: "at Visalia" (informant didn't know name of their pa'an)
Gawia: češɩ´yu (hill near Cutler, Stokes Mountain)
Waksachi: tusa´o; čita´tu
Entimbich: kečai´yu (Dunlap)
Wobonuch: kada´winao; sitɩ´minao (old sites)
Wobonuch: koiwa´nyu (Samson Flat, new site)

Y
M
101 Camping sites, even when definitely within tribal boundaries, were not considered as pa'an.

Y
M
101 Neither was there any sense of one family or
lineage, more than another in the same tribe,
owning, or originating in, the tribal pa'an.

Y A moiety term (Yayanchi) given by Kroeber[155]
M was unfamiliar to B.O., who ventured that it
192 "maybe meant toward the north, some people
living farther north."

M The Waksachi had two permanent village
Y sites, Čita'tu in Eshom Valley and Atitrao on
361 the edge of the plains at Gaines Flat. The
former had about twenty-five houses; the latter
221 was nominally the terminus of the summer seed-
M gathering trip down to the valley. The route
Y followed was always the same -- down by Dry
[487] Creek, across Rucker, Adams, and Gaines flats.
The Waksachi claimed this area and all sites in
it listed below, although there were no permanent villages or dwellings situated in it
within the memory of informants. This annual
move to the plains brought the Waksachi into
contact with Gawia and Wukchumni whose territory began at Ničina'o (Karlburn Point?). Only
if there was a severe winter or a poor acorn
crop in their Eshom Valley center, did the Waksachi remain at Gaines Flat through the winter.
The Waksachi made use of the country on the
upper reaches of Lime Kiln Creek, which eventually flows into Wukchumni territory. The area
which lay between this and Patwisha holdings at
Three Rivers, on the Kaweah River, was unoccupied and served as hunting and foraging grounds
for Waksachi, Wukchumni, and Patwisha. The
joint claim was wholly amicable, according to
all information. The Waksachi went southeast
from Eshom Valley to Cactus Mountain for yucca,
but not beyond. And they went across Redwood
Mountain to Old Baldy Ridge for piñon nuts.
This last ridge they never crossed, although no
people lived above them on the west slope of
M the Sierra.

Y The people of Tušao village -- mixed Micha-
[887] hai, Chukaimina, and Waksachi -- often joined
with those of Čitatu. Only very old people
stayed at Tušao all the year round. The others
went to Čitatu every summer for acorns. In the
spring they went down toward Stokes Flat for
fishing: they had a camp there named Tulna'o
(Map 3; Local Map E, no. 34) and another fish-
M ing site near by called O'polo'o (meaning "in
Y the sun," Local Map E, no. 35). Stokes Moun-
tain was called Mučati'' (Local Map E, no. 36).
[484] When traveling to the fish camp, they left

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[155] Ibid., 588.

Y
W their houses at home and built temporary
361 shelters at the campsite. The possessions
taken were rabbitskin blankets, all basket
221 utensils, both large and small cook pots, mush-
484 stirrers and shelled acorns. Mortars were not
taken, as they were rarely used save in the
absence of the bedrock mortar; cooking stones
were picked up anywhere. The paraphernalia
packed in carrying nets by the men were the
Y blankets and pots; women put their baskets and
W acorns in burden baskets. Infants might be
[854] carried by either parent atop the load, never
in the arms. Babies were also carried in their
cradles by older sisters while the mothers
carried burdens.

Y S.O.'s statement that there was no private-
W ly owned land or gathering-places is, I think,
423 over-generalized. Certainly there were no
rigidly defined limits, but the fact that a
bride returned to her mother's gathering-place
rather than going to her mother-in-law's or,
better yet, gathering where she would, indicates at least a tendency toward personal association with a gathering-place, if not indisputable proprietary rights. (See Aerie Ownership.)

W The sites named first by B.O. follow the
Y route to Gaines Flat (nos. 1 to 19); thereafter
103 come more random outposts to the east and north
(see Map 3; Local Map E).
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1. čita´tu: the main Waksachi village, tribal home or center
2. mosa´o: Rucker Flat
3. pinətsa´kowei: next camp south
4. tupaha´na: next camp south
5. hopuru´howa: Reed's place
6. kako´wa: Bill Hart's place
7. pasio´kiwi: Mel Osborn's place
8. mi'i´ñwi: Hunt's winter range, "Ranchería Flat"
9. koiwə´niu: hill by Adams Flat [possibly Sugarloaf]
9a. tâveto´ri: Buzzard Roost, by Adams Flat, not located definitely
10. koiña´wasiu: camp south of Adams Flat
11. takika´puwi: gap going toward Gaines Flat
12. waja´'unasako·nyap: a place just east of Gaines Flat
13. kama: an intervening spot en route (not definitely located)
14. tsawige´wa: Red Hill, above Gaines Flat
15. taka´ñwi: Buckeye Flat, near Bones Cañon
16. tupa´puwi: near Buckeye Flat
17. kotiša´o: foot of hill next to Gaines Flat
18. atitra´o: Gaines Flat, the campsite there
19. ničina´o: Karlburn Point [?], a hill near Gaines Flat on which tobacco grew abundantly. This was the edge of Gawia territory and the southern limit of the Waksachi range.
20. tso´hom: high hill south of Badger
21. (omitted)

W Y 103 131 361

22. na´'an: hill above Hershberger Ranch

23. woho´naga´tiri: Redwood Mountain. This is the only name said to have a meaning (lit., redwood mountain), but that this should be the only one seems dubious.

24. tipa´čivo·no: Old Baldy Mountain [Big Baldy Ridge]

25. penama´ti: "a big rock north of the sawtooth crags." Not located, possibly Buck Rock

26. paso´'owi: camp at Black Ox Springs, not located

27. pa´čiata´wi: Big Meadows

28. pasiwa´na: John Crow's Hollow, where men went for arrow canes

29. warosa´giti: twin peaks in the Gawia plain

30. koiwoi´'iu: Badger

31. kiču´'u: Ash Springs

32. tuša´o: "salty water," near Ash Springs

33. wiwa´nao: Owl Mountain

34. tulna´o: fish camp

35. o´polo'o: meaning "in the sun"; fish camp

36. mučati´': Stokes Mountain

Y W 133 773 There are two big peaks in the mountains, says B.O., called Pa´"wijwiyu (Map 5: Local Map G, no. 2, Obelisk) and Kai´binum (Cyclone) (no. 11, Buck Rock). The former is elder brother to the latter. Kaibinum, the younger, said to his brother, "Let's take off our shirts and fight!" At this Pa"wijwiyu pulled off his shirt, but the challenger merely shook himself and pulled his shirt up in preparation to removing it. Both brothers shook their bodies, but young Kaibinum did not get his shirt off in time and his older brother hit him with his club. Kaibinum, a smaller rock than his brother, kills deer and drops them down into the canyon below. (California Tehipite Quadrangle Topographic map shows Buck Rock as 1200 feet lower than Obelisk.) The same story was related by the Wobonuch informant, G.D., but with the relative ages reversed.

Trade

Y W 439 Trading was carried on with the Eastern Mono (yo´'owets), who came over the Sierra Nevada and down to Eshom Valley by means of a trail which came through a pass just north of Old Baldy, down Redwood Cañon, across Pierce Valley, and into Eshom to Čitatu. From there the traders would go on down Dry Creek, following the Waksachi route, to the Wukchumni and Gawia. About a dozen of the Eastern Mono would come as a group. Women sometimes came with them to sell baskets, which were considered finer than the local Waksachi ones. An occasional woman would bring her entire family and stay the winter. While some local man might live with her, she would not be taken to wife and would return home in the summer when

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439 the passes were again open. The Waksachi never
went east to trade; on rare occasions two or
three young men might go over to visit as a
Y kind of adventure. The Eastern Mono never came
W to social functions, the Ghost Dance of 1870
[574] being the first contact of a social order.

The articles brought from the east to trade were: rock salt; piñon nuts; mountain sheep skins (diwe´s꞉p); moccasins; a sleeveless buckskin jacket sewn up the sides; leggings of foxskin cured with the fur on, which were worn tied above the ankles and just below the knees; baskets; pine sticks for lifting hot cooking stones; sinew-backed bows; unfinished obsidian arrowheads. Payment was made in humana beads and smaller beads, acorn meal, and fine Yokuts baskets. In later days red beads and Spanish blankets were wanted by the Eastern Mono.

When the Waksachi were encamped at Gaines Flat, the Telamni, Gawia, and other valley dwellers would come up to get stone mortars and pestles. They asked the Waksachi to sell those very things they were using; the Waksachi never took any others along for trade. (Perhaps this relieved them of the burden of carrying them
Y home on the upward journey, having had their
use of them.) B.O. here interposed a descrip-
[322] tion of the Telamni mortar, which was made from
the crotch of an oak tree. The Telamni also wanted small stone mortars of the type used for tobacco. While they wanted stone mortars for themselves, they, in turn, sold their oakwood mortars to the Chunut, Tachi, and Wowol of the lake region.

Warfare

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Y B.O. stated that the Wechihit, Choinimni,
and Hoshima (Northerners in general) would come
726 over jointly to fight the allied Waksachi and
Wukchumni. These fights were rare and were tactically simple; they were called una´na pi´dikan. There were no special officers of war, but certain brave men would be acknowledged leaders on these occasions. The leader stood back and directed the fighting while the opposing warriors lined up, each man shooting at the one directly opposite. Bows and arrows were the only weapons; no spear or shield was used. There was no waiting for a dream or omen before going into conflict. The causes of
W these hostile interludes are obscure.

Y Raiding for horses became a favorite ag-
gressive activity after their introduction by
[177] the Spanish on the coast; they were available
in the valley in, roughly, 1800 and after.
Four or five men would go west to the valley plains, and probably to the enemies mentioned above, to steal a horse, which they would then
W lead off, kill, cook, and eat. The Waksachi
Y never stole from the Wukchumni. There is a
strong desire for horse ownership among these
[556] people even at the present time, 1927.

SHELTER, DRESS, BODILY ORNAMENT

Structures

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Houses.--The houses of the Michahai and Waksachi were thatched; mats of tule or other materials were rarely used and these only at the houses at the seed-gathering sites at the edge of the plains. The frames were either conical or oval. Bark houses were known and were preferred as more substantial, but these could not often be made because of the difficulty in getting cedar bark.

The conical thatched house (čeʼɨˊnaho yaˊowɨl, house [of] "weeds") was the usual type for Michahai and Waksachi. A circular space 9 to 12 feet in diameter was excavated to the depth of about 1 foot; this depression was called hi·č (sleeping-place). Several long straight poles, willow preferred, were set with their butts inside the edge of the depression and brought together at the top by means of a ring of willow (wiˊčɨt sotoˊli, stick round) some 18 to 20 inches in diameter. This hoop was inserted at the top to hold and separate the poles (fig. 5, a, Pt. I).

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[462]

Around the uprights were three or four horizontal willow withes tied on with hoʼo (willowbark rope). The lower ones were stood upon in order to reach the higher. "Men did most of this work but women might help." The women's job was the making of the thatch -- a "skirt" of long grasses (yaowɨl) and fine willow bunched in small handfuls and twined along their butt ends. Another horizontal withe was laid over the bound edge of the thatch to the frame when the outer withe, the thatch, and the horizontal band of the house frame were all lashed together with rope (fig. 5, a, Pt. I).

The doorway (tišeˊhi) was about five feet high, "a man had to stoop a little to go in." Usually the top of the doorway was the second horizontal frame withe: the first band ended each side of the doorway The door itself, said to be wholly aboriginal and called čaˊkilɨš ačaˊli (not translated), was a mat -- or, more properly, a screen -- of twined fine willows, which was tied on to one of the side poles of the doorway.

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[354]

A hollow dug in the center of the floor was the fireplace (uˊstun hoʼoˊhi, fire spot or place). If long fire logs were burning, as they most frequently were, their ends extended far out the doorway. The smoke found its way out the ringed apex, the "smokehole" (mutsaˊkan tanaˊhi, smoke goes).

The interior of the house wall was not finished in any way. When leaks occurred, new pieces of thatch were tied on outside, or tied from within if the leak could not be located from the outside.

People slept and sat close to the fire. Baskets and utensils were set around the very low outer edge. Poles were laid across the

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342 frame bands and hanging baskets, jerked meat, skins, and other things hung from them. There
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was no special place of honor for a guest to sit or sleep, though the preferred place was
[574] thought by B.O. to be just inside the door on either side. The senior or authoritative woman of the household who was responsible for the preparation of meals usually sat and worked
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just to the left of the entrance as one entered.

Y
There was no village plan, or defined
[361] location for chiefs' or doctors' homes.

While the Waksachi used the conical house, the oval type, characteristic of the Wukchumni and other foothill Yokuts, was the more common, according to B.O The floor space, which was some 15 feet wide by 20 feet long, was not dug down, but wore down eventually from constant tramping.

Two forked poles supported a center beam or ridgepole 10 to 15 feet long. These parts might be of alder or oak. The frame was of willow "or any kind of good wood." The side poles were laid against the center beam, and those at the ends were laid into the forked post. These side poles, while held in position by horizontal withes, were not bent to form a curved roof line, as in Yokuts houses, but, lying straight, produced an obtuse-angled gable.

The walls were covered with a thatch of grasses, seldom a thatch of tule (fig. 1, b, Pt. I). The whole process was the same as for the conical house. Both men and women tied this thatch on, although men made the frame and women the thatch "skirt."

The doorway, which was invariably in the long side of the house, was covered by a mat of twined tules stiffened on each side with willow sticks lashed along its edges. The door was not fastened to the house, "just leaned against it."

There was never more than one room to such a dwelling, nor were there partitions. "A man built his house the size he needed and he never added a room" (B.O.). The fireplace was in the center, the smoke escaping through a slot left
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at the ridgepole between the last rows of
Y
thatch. Beds were made of pine boughs, ob-
[352 tainable near Eshom Valley, or of tule mats. Rabbitskin blankets were the preferred covering,
[237] though these often had to be obtained by trade
[439] with the valley people. No type of pillow or head rest was used. [The idea of a wooden head
[522] or neck rest B.O. thought very funny indeed.]
513] There was no place of honor.

No plan was followed when setting up houses in a village: "anybody built where he liked."

The bark-covered house (ṭoṭo´pti, Michahai) was made on a conical framework which had as its basis a single forked center post. Occasionally two forked posts with a short center beam were used. Against either the single fork or the center beam were laid stiff poles, rather close together and lashed to their sup-

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342 port with ropes. Against these were laid slabs of cedar bark which were tied to the frame at convenient or necessary intervals. Earth was thrown up around the base to hold the slabs in place and to prevent water from running in. Although the bark was hard to get, as cedar grows only up in the higher mountains, it was not bought from the tribes of the Western Mono, living at higher altitudes, or from the Eastern Mono traders.

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343 Shades (ci´nu'ᵻš) were used only during the summer, when one was put up in front of nearly every home. The construction was a simple affair of four forked corner posts, four tie beams connecting these with transverse beams on which leafy willow boughs were laid. W Y [574] All cooking, eating, and lounging were done there. When visitors were expected for a ceremony, long rows of shades were erected for their shelter. On these, back walls were sometimes added against wind or rain. They also served as shades for spectators at the ceremony.

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343 Storehouses.--The Michahai, like the Yokuts of the valley, may have used a small house for storage. (The Waksachi did not.) Here extra baskets, foodstuffs, hunting and fishing equipment, etc., were kept.

251 Storage bins.--Two types were described by S.O. and B.O.; both were called suna´'ᵻts in Michahai. For the first, and apparently the most common, about six stakes, approximately about 10 feet long, were driven in the ground in a circle about 3 feet in diameter. Small willows were cut an even length and twined, top and bottom, into a long mat or strip. One end of this was fastened to one of the stakes, and the whole wound around all the stakes. A packing of leaves was filled in on the ground, and acorns thrown in on it. As the space filled, another turn of the mat was taken around the stake frame. It was about 8 feet high when finished. To fill the upper levels, and also to get out acorns, a woman stood on a forked stick "ladder" propped firmly against the side of the bin. To top off the bin, a conical cover of twined grass was fitted on and tied down. As the contents of the bin lowered, the upper turns of the mat were removed.

When S.O. was talking of this type of bin, he claimed that the wall was formed of a single mat, some 3 to 4 feet deep, wound once around the frame. Sometimes this mat was held upright in a cylindrical form by having horizontal withes tied around it. These bins could then be picked up and carried to some preferred location, usually to the top of a flat rock, for dryness was essential in keeping the acorns: "a woman might have from three to several of these on one rock." The bottom was filled with grass, the acorns filled in, another layer of grass put in, and the whole topped off with a conical cap of grass thatch.

A storage bin close to home was made on a raised framework. A forked post some 6 feet

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high was set up, and in a squared position about it were erected four shorter forked posts. Four tie beams connected the corners, and across these was laid a flooring of small logs. Side poles, whose butts rested on the outer edges of the floor, leaned into the forked center post. All poles were lashed in place, and over them was wrapped a grass thatching, similar to that used on houses. How this type of bin was filled and emptied was not learned.

In such bins only acorns were kept. Seeds were stored in special baskets in the house or were put in skin sacks and buried under sheltering rocks. Piñon nuts were stored in buried sacks, made of antelope and deer hides cured with the fur on. The leg parts of the skin were cut off; the skin was folded down the back and sewed up around the edge with sinew thread. An opening, left at the neck, was closed by a tie string. These sacks were often hung from trees, as the hair shed water, making them practically waterproof. They were also used as general carryalls by men.

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Sweat house.--This structure (mos, Michahair; mo·sa or mosa´owi, Waksachi) might be made with one or two center posts. B.O. said the two-post type was preferred by the Waksachi, whereas, according to S.O., the single-post type was the common form for both Waksachi and Michahai.

The posts of the two-post type were about fifteen feet apart, and a long gable beam rested in their forks. Long poles, lying as close together as possible, were leaned against the center beam, and into and around the forks of the two uprights. Then brush, willows, and "long weeds" were laid against these, commencing at the bottom and working up. Earth was taken from the interior and piled over the brush cover as it was laid on. In the side of the structure facing the water [Eshom Creek for the one described here] a door space had been left between the side poles. Three upright stakes were driven in the ground on each side of the door space, just within the entrance, so that a log resting upon them was flush with the slanting side poles of the frame. On this log rested the butts of short poles, their tips against the center beam, thus filling in the space above the doorway. The height of the entrance was about three feet, and the interior of the house not quite high enough for an averaged-sized man to stand erect. There was no closure for the entrance.

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Two "brush" fires were built, one on each side of the doorway; the draft pulled the fires' heat inwards, it was claimed. Whoever wanted to sweat would get the necessary fuel. The room held ten or twelve men. While any man was free to enter and make use of the sweat house, boys were not permitted to try sweating until they were fifteen to twenty years of age. The prohibition was due to their lack of mature physical soundness, not to any sense of ex-

W Y 343 515

clusiveness. Women "never went near the place" (B.O.). The favorite time for sweating was the late afternoon, between returning from hunting or other duties of the day and the evening meal at sundown. After the sweat the men ran out to bathe, and then back into the sweat house, where a reduced fire dried them and prevented chill.

W Y [513]

Single men slept in the sweat house but, whether sleeping there or at home, a man invariably rose with the morning star and went immediately to swim.

The single-post sweat house had the earth excavated for about one foot over its proposed floor surface. A forked center post was erected, and into its crotch were laid the ends of many straight poles very close together. The interstices were filled with still more slender willow rods. Then earth was piled over the whole. The doorway, which S.O. said "was small but you didn't have to wiggle or crawl through," was constructed as described above.

There was one fire directly inside the door. Anyone got wood or kept it burning: the winatum had no special duties in this respect. B.O. thought the single-post house held seven to ten men, a two-post house, eight to twelve. All men did not indulge: "some did not like it." When a visitor arrived, he would be offered a sweat. Women "did not go very close" to the sweat house. If a woman wanted a man who was in there, she would send a boy or male relative for him.

A breechclout was not worn, nor any type of penis-protector; if the heat was too intense, the hands were held over the organ. Kneeling posture was maintained while sweating.

"Any man who wanted to could build a sweat house, but he always asked the tia’a [chief] first." There were two small ones (single-post) and one large one (2-post) at Tušao. A new one was seldom put up before an old one burned or showed signs of decay.

W Y 515 533

No dancing was done in the sweat house, but singing was frequent. Some good singer (ile´kɨč) would lead in singing songs used outdoors to accompany dancing; there were no special songs for the sweating occasion. Often a man would go in there to play the flute (u´ṭač). This pastime was particularly popular when men were sleeping there all night.

Dress and Bodily Ornament

W Y 291 [439]

Footgear.--Normally people went barefoot. Some men had deerskin moccasins (name not recalled) which were bought from the Eastern Mono. S.O. could not describe the pattern clearly: it was cut in one piece with the fold on the inside of the foot, the seam on the outside, and had a long flap as a tongue.

No sandal of leather or fibre material had ever been seen or heard of by S.O.

[P. 218 9] Western Mono NS25

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Y A sewn leather jacket was denied by S.O.,
291 yet other informants said a sort of sleeveless
jumper with side seams could be bought from the
Eastern Mono. (It is possible S.O. misunder-
stood my query.)

W Rabbitskin blanket.--The Michahai and Wak-
sachi, when on their camping trips to the lower
Y foothills, caught jack rabbits. Sometimes they
[237 bought rabbitskins from Wukchumni, Gawia, and
Telamni. They also saved and used the upland
439] rabbitskins for blankets.

Dance costume.--The shaman's dance skirt,
W which he wore on all dress occasions, consisted
Y of many 18- to 24-inch pendent strands of ša'
292 string into which chicken-hawk down had been
rolled. Each strand was tipped with a bluejay
237 or flicker quill.

The headdress consisted of the usual two
parts, the vertical feather bunch (čuha´o,
Michahai; čuha´b^{i}, Waksachi) made of roadrunner
quills, and the soft fluffy crown (se´ma,
W Michahai; sema´b^{i}, Waksachi) of crow feathers.

Y The skirt was made by either men or women,
292 but the headdress was made only by men. An old
462 man at Kičeyu (Dunlap) named Ko´'o was particu-
larly skilled at making headdresses, which he
435 sold at a price somewhat equivalent to $10.00

Ear and nose plugs.--Everyone, said S.O.,
W had his or her ears punched. This was done
Y with a fine pointed manzanita stick. The heat-
ed point was pressed from in front against the
301 lobe, behind which was pressed a small flat
304 stone. The stick was pushed on into the hole
and left until the wound healed. Then a series
of increasingly larger sticks were inserted.
Cane tubes were sometimes inserted, and the
men's quail-feather ear plug of the Yokuts was
used. A women's ear plug, also derived from
the Yokuts of the plains, consisted of a ring
of abalone shell (li´la, Michahai) which fitted
the aperture like a plug, and from which
dangled short strands of clamshell disc beads.

Similarly, in the old days, both men and
women had the nasal septum pierced. A single
Y humana shell bead was the favorite ornament for
this aperture.

W Tattooing.--There were no special practi-
304 tioners of this art, "anybody could do it."
The design was pricked in the skin with the
point of a fine obsidian blade and charcoal was
rubbed in the abrasion. The patterns were
stereotyped. Women had vertical lines from
lower lip to chin, but these were never used by
men. Both sexes used horizontal lines running
from the corners of the mouth to the ears, and
bandlike lines on the inner wrist. Two old
women, Bren and Sugarfoot, were noted for their
ambitious decorations which consisted of
straight wide lines commencing on the chin and
W continuing down throat, chest, and breasts.
Y S.O. could recall no other kinds of designs.

302 Paint.--Face and body paints were hapa´ka
[192] o č·k (red), toiye´'i oč·k (white), and
mutskei´w·k oč·k (black, i.e., charcoal) [all
terms Michahai.]

[P. 218 b] Western Mono NS25

W Y 302 terms Michahai]. S.O. could recall only two specific patterns and the generally used shamans' pattern. A man with Crow totem would always use black, but this might be arranged any way he chose, S.O. thought. The favorite pattern for a Crow počam was a horizontal black band on each cheek under the eyes, or sometimes over the eyes. A Deer man's emblem was one to three rows of black dots drawn along the zygomatic arch from nose to ears. Shamans used three horizontal rows of lines or dots on each cheek in the order red, black, red, and the same on arms and legs. At the Ghost Dance gatherings any person could and did use this pattern. [The use of white paint was not mentioned, and I failed to note its omission.]

SUBSISTENCE

Hunting

W Y 411 Bows and arrows.--The following information is from B.O. who was a noted hunter.

The plain bow (e·´dʷ) was in common use by every man, and was the type first used by boys. It was made of pepperwood (no´jɨb¹; California Laurel), and was of the same proportions and curvature as the sinew-backed bow. It was strung with a two-ply sinew cord.

W Y 411 322 The sinew-backed bow (ta´muedʷ) was of juniper wood (wa·p) which only grew up in the mountains, i.e., from Waksachi territory eastward. The length was from 3 to 4 feet, and 2 inches the width at the center: roughly measured from the sternum to fingertips; if wanted extra long, from one shoulder to opposite fingertips. There was no indentation at the grip. The ends were recurved: heated over coals, the end would be braced into some crevice and forced to bend by leverage pressure on the center of the bow. W Y 411 322 237 This was a slow task requiring many repeated efforts. After the bow was shaped, sinew (ta´mob¹) from deer legs was soaked in water, then beaten between two flat stones. A heavy glue made by boiling deer horns was smeared along the back of the bow and the sinew laid into it. The sinew was so placed that a piece about one inch long extended beyond the bow at either end. When dry, these curled back, forming hooks for the better attachment of the bowstring. A hand grasp of leather was glued around the bow at the center; sometimes small feathers were inserted around the edges of this. The bowstring was 2-ply sinew cord. W Y 411 In fitting a new string, the looped loose end was placed first and the other end pulled up to the desired tension and tied permanently in position. Bows were left unstrung most of the time. To unstring, the tied end was placed against the right instep, the left hand grasping the upper end. The bow was then pulled inward and downward sufficiently to relax the string, which was slipped off with the right hand.

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Not every man could make this kind of bow, but B.O. did not think that the art was confined to families. He stated that the Wobonuch made the best bows; the glue on theirs was clear, that on Waksachi bows murky.

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For all types of shooting the bow was held in the left hand, with its left end about 30 degrees above horizontal. The left hand was so held that the joint of the third (middle) finger was slightly higher than that of the second (index) finger so that a groove or slight hollow was formed between the third finger and thumb[156] in which the arrow rode (fig. 10, h, Pt. I). Only one type of arrow grasp was used, that between the thumb and first bent joint of the second (index) finger (primary release); there was no hold on the string itself (fig. 10, i, Pt. I). Arrow butts were not thickened.

Four forms of arrow were distinguished: those for birds (pa·ga); for squirrels, rabbits, fox and other small game (pa·ga); for deer or vicious animals such as wildcat, cougar, and bear (u·´tipa·ga); and for war (gai·´wani). The first was of alderwood (napa·´apᵊ) in a single piece. When scraped down with an obsidian blade, these were straightened by being heated over coals, bent and turned in the hands and over the knee. The self-points were ground down on stone and hardened by heating. The feathering was of three split feathers from a hawk wing. The butt was nocked.

For shooting birds a simple alderwood arrow was tipped with four small crosspieces tied on perpendicularly to the shaft (fig. 10, d, Pt. I); the butt was not feathered.

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The deer and war arrows were made of a single shaft of cane (ka´dkɨd, Michahai; ha´obⁱ, Waksachi), the former long, the latter short. Both had obsidian points. To shape a cane arrow a heated stone arrow straightener was used; the cane itself was not heated. The cane, cut to the desired length, was grasped at each end and pulled back and forth across the stone groove with a rolling motion. It was sighted down its length for straightness.

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The tip end, which had been squared off, was wrapped with six turns of fine sinew cord about three inches from the end. Then the end was turned on a sharp wooden point to open up the partition in the cane, for it had been cut off just before a joint, (the boring process was called maraso´gomi o'o´homa, to-make-a-hole bone-drill). Into the hole thus made was inserted the flint point (fig 10, f, Pt. I). The points for deer arrows were nearly round in cross section and had a round stem. They were obtained in rough form from the Eastern Mono of Owens Valley and dressed locally. With this type of point no force other than wedging held it in place (fig. 10, g, Pt. I); it remained in the wound. Wood points were often substituted.

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[156] The thumb is regarded as the first finger herein.

W Y 411 The butt end, already nocked, was now feathered. About 1-1/2 inches from the end the butt was wrapped with three turns of sinew cord, then on each of three ensuing turns the end of a feather was inserted. A final turn was taken around all three feathers and the end fastened by slipping it back under the last turn and pulling it up tight. The forward ends of the feathers were tied down in the same manner. The feathers were not spiraled but had an almost imperceptible turn; nor were they permitted to bow up from the shaft.

The war arrows were made in the same manner but were shorter and were tipped with a small obsidian blade. This was nearly flat in cross section and had a flanged butt. The tip of the shaft was treated as described above, but two splits were made into which the flanged butt was inserted: This was lashed in place with fine sinew and smeared with glue.

A composite arrow which was in popular use for small game was made by combining a cane shaft like that of the deer arrow with a wooden foreshaft of white oak shoots (pu·´jab¹), the very hardest straight wood, according to B.O. He said spicewood [?][157] was the alternative if oak was unobtainable. Sometimes foreshafts were tipped with an obsidian point, but more often not. The foreshaft remained in the wound, while the main shaft fell off.

W Y 413 Arrow straightener.--The Waksachi form of arrow straightener (te´para·no, Waksachi; tu´padan, Michahai) was usually round or oval and had but one groove, according to B.O. His own was of that type. He had never seen one made; "they were just handed down." While B.O.'s generalization on shape may have been influenced by the aspect of his own, two "Mono" arrow straighteners pictured by Kroeber[158] are ovoid as opposed to the rather squared-off Yokuts type. (See also pl. 1, Pt. I, lower right foreground, and pl. 2, d herein.)

W Y 224 Traps.--A spring trap baited with acorn, which B.O. did not describe lucidly, was used for rabbits, jays, and squirrels. Quail were shot, not trapped. Ducks and geese were seldom seen in this mountain region.

Deer hunting.--Two methods were in use, that of a single hunter wearing the deer disguise, and that of several participants engaging in a communal drive. The former method was like that of the Yokuts. The second was so arranged that one or two accurate shooters hid themselves on known deer trails down which the animals were quietly driven by the other members of the party. Anyone who wished might join such a hunt, and all who did so were entitled to part of the spoils. B.O. said that in dividing the animals the shooters each received antlers, skin, and a rump, the choice

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[157] California Laurel?

[158] Handbook, pl. 49, a, b, c.

W Y portion; otherwise all parts were regarded as equivalent in quality.

224 [381] Fall was the favorite time for hunting deer although no seasonal restrictions were observed. In the spring, bucks with soft horns would be killed in order to secure the horns for glue.

Bear hunting.--B.O.'s father's brother, Wanuk, was a fine hunter; he used the following method, as did some other intrepid hunters. A feeding ground of a bear was selected, and during the animal's absence the hunter arranged a crude scaffold of logs in an oak tree above the feeding place.[139] Before sundown the man took up his position on the scaffold where he must remain all night. During the night, usually just before dawn, the bear came, and the hunter, to encourage him, dropped down acorns from above. As the bear fed and eventually turned in a vulnerable position, the hunter shot. Should the bear discover the man above and not be fatally wounded, he might climb the tree in a rage. As the bear died or W Y staggered to a safe distance, the man descended and went home to get help in taking the carcass to the village. The meat was divided among his family, friends, and helpers; naturally [825] no one with a Bear totem was involved in the killing or eating. The hide and claws were "sold to a person with Bear ibuk." The hunter did not indulge in any formulaic address or ritual before or after killing a bear.

W Y 224 776 Both B.O. and S.O. said it was not essential to have a dream helper to be a skillful hunter. One might get supernatural aid for this from Cougar (B.O.'s dream helper), but normally "if a man was a good hunter, his son would be too." A special term, ha´haš (Michahai), was applied to a hunter "who was so good he could kill anything."

W Y 224 Squirrel smoking.--Ground squirrels (šiti''la, Waksachi) were plentiful in the foothills. Usually one man, seldom more than two, would hunt them by smoking them out of their holes. Boys often helped. This method was called ili´ni mak šiti'la (fanning we squirrels). All vegetation was carefully removed from around entrances to runways. Then dried grass or weeds "of any kind" were stuffed into the holes, packed in as tight as possible. An area about fifty feet square would be so treated, with about six holes in the center left open. Then the grass was ignited and the men or boys went from hole to hole, fanning into them with feather fire fans. Smoke would ooze out of the open holes and soon squirrels would stagger forth. The hunters grabbed them and wrung their necks. The animals could be heard underground running and squeaking; and when all was silent the holes were dug open to secure those which had suffocated.

Cottontails were sometimes smoked out of their burrows in the same manner.

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[139] Mentioned by Kroeber as a Yokuts method (ibid., 529).

[P. 220 b] Western Mono NS25

W Y 224 372 [237] The fire fan (ile´tɨl, Michahai; tu'ohi´dano, Waksachi) was made of hawk or buzzard tail feathers. One made by B.O. appears in plate 2, e herein. The handle was about twelve inches long. They were made only by men. They were used primarily for hunting and for fanning coals under cooking or roasting materials (e.g., fish, burning lime), never as personal accessories for fanning the face or body. They are not to be confused with the feather bunches used in doctoring.

W Y 223 343 Pigeon snaring.---Pigeons (šo´ni, Michahai) flew south in the late fall (about November) and were caught in large numbers by means of a hand noose operated from a blind. Two sorts of shelter for the hunter were used, one a booth on the ground (ṭi toho´noi šoni, house to-catch pigeon) and a brush concealment in a tree (ṭi´pɨn ma ṭe'e´ niši´, up you house build). The booth was usually placed near water where the birds gathered at sunrise.

The booth was about 8 feet long, 4 feet wide, and had its floor excavated about 1 foot all over. Long poles of dogwood were set butt down along each side, bent and tied together overhead to form a series of arcs just high enough to clear a man's head when kneeling. The arcs near the front were lower than those farther back in order to make the front opening as discreet as possible. Horizontal withes were tied along the arcs to keep them erect, and over all were tied bunches of brush which, in turn, had more brush and green boughs fastened or thrown on. A grass called paša´ was laid all around the booth on the ground. The arched front was partially covered with long twigs set upright in the ground and fastened at their tips to the arc frame. One opening, or more often two, about twelve inches wide was left in this frontal screen.

Directly in front of the booth was a raised circular platform some 4 feet in diameter and 18 inches high built up of stones, earth, and a final layer of smooth sand. Manzanita brush was laid all around the edge of this to form a low "natural" barricade. On the smoothed sand cracked acorns were scattered. This platform was called pa´nɨs a´tmɨn šoni (place down-their pigeon).[160]

W Y 223 231 The hunter, concealed in the booth, had with him about six live pigeons which, with strings to their legs, were let out through each of the openings. "Four on each side was best," said S.O., "but three on each side was usual and sufficient." Acting as decoys these birds, which had been kept hungry for the purpose, ate of the acorn meal and lured the wild birds, which came readily. The tame pigeons were jerked or poked occasionally to make them flutter and attract attention. W Y 223 The noose for snaring the newcomers was of ho'o, about 4

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[160] S.O. said, "You just said 'pa´namɨn' for short, just like slang."

[P. 221 a] WESTERN MONO NS25

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223 inches in diameter, and attached to the tip of a 6- to 8-foot light pole. The whole thing was called wi´čɨt toho´na min šo´ne (pole to-catch its pigeon). The noose was stealthily lowered over the head of a bird and instantly jerked back into the booth. Each victim's neck was wrung. Ten to twelve might be taken at a time. The hunter remained concealed until all the wild birds had left voluntarily. The decoy birds he took home in their cages, the dead birds strung on a stick forced through the loose skin under their necks.

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231 The tame pigeons were always kept in their cages (ti min šo´nɨn, house its pigeon's, Michahai; upa´omus ipo´kuɨk, basket pet's Waksachi) (fig. 1 herein). These were barrel-shaped, twined of dogwood (kiče´yu). Cracked acorns and water were fed the birds regularly. Three birds was the limit to a single cage; asked if they ever mated, S.O. said, "He never heard of anybody raising little ones."

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[431] The game birds were never sold when caught as game, but the live decoys were sold; more often, said S.O., given away. The game birds were cooked unplucked, either boiled in a pot (never in a basket) or roasted in hot ashes. The feathers were never saved.

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825 The man who built a pigeon booth owned it. No charge was made to another who used it, but the owner's permission was necessary. There were three of these at Tušao, owned by Isham Bill, Bill Tyner, and S.O.'s father. Asked how this was compatible with his father's lineage totem and occupation (winatum), S.O. said that "it didn't matter, that his father never ate the pigeons nor did he himself; he just had that place." One suspects that payment of some kind was involved, perhaps indirectly, for such an owner. It is possible that the winatum's responsibility of seeing food provided on official occasions motivated the ownership. S.O. added, as though possibly condoning the catching and killing of his poša, "When Eagle made

[p.221 b] Western Mono NS 25

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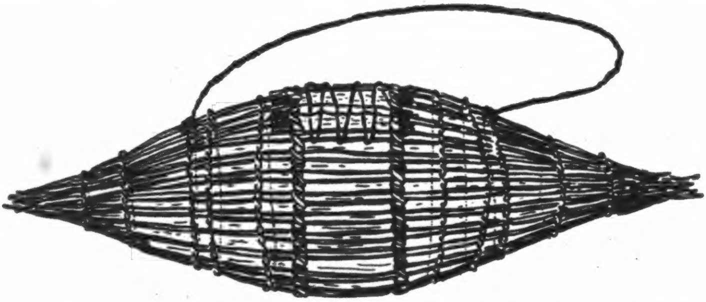

Fig. 1. Pigeon cage. (Schematic drawing after specimen in Kern County Historical Society Museum.)

[P. 221C] Western Mono NS25

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423 things he gave pigeons to Indians, all over; it
825 is the same everywhere. They were told to go to that salt water at Tušao."

The pigeon blind in the tree functioned in
W the same manner as that on the ground. It was
Y a more crude affair, made of any leafy branches
223 tied up in the tree in whatever way best suited conditions. A beam to sit on was the main con-
343 sideration. The tree chosen was one in which pigeons were known to roost. The hunter took several of the noose-poles with him and laid them out in various directions in the branches around him. As the birds came to roost at dusk, they were snared with the poles most conveniently placed. A common practice of men who owned no caged pigeons was to climb such a tree before dawn, get one bird, and then use it as a decoy from the booth on the ground.

The Waksachi built pigeon booths similar to that described for the Michahai (B.O.). The decoys were always six in number, let out in three pairs. In place of a decoy a simple noose twitch-trap was sometimes set up over the feeding platform, but this method never got more than one bird a day and was used only by a man who lacked decoys.

W Some people kept doves as pets (mapuk) as
Y well as for decoys. In either case they were
231 lodged in cages (mapuwu´na) like the Michahai pigeon cages and tamed by the following method.
825 The bird was held between the knees and a few tail feathers pulled out. The feathers were set afire and the bird held, by the feet, head down in the smoke for several minutes. Then it was given a little acorn meal to eat, which it promptly vomited. "Then that bird was always
Y tame" (B.O.).

223 The pigeon booth is reported by Kroeber for "Southern Foothill Yokuts" (presumably
343 Yaudanchi).[162]

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[162] Handbook, 529, pl. 46. He informs me that he there saw a single decoy used.

[P. 222 a] Western Mono NS 25

Fishing

Y W 226 Fish were scarce in the upper streams in Waksachi territory, said B.O.[162] They were captured by poisoning; no spear or harpoon was used (B.O. and S.O.). (Perhaps because of the smallness of the streams in their vicinity.) A plant called ya´ohao (not soaproot, but unidentified) was mashed and scattered over the water. The fish became active, jumping around in the water, then became stupefied, when they were scooped up in fish baskets. Men prepared the poison, merely by mashing the plant leaves, but both sexes took part in capturing the fish.

Foods

Y W 263 258 Salt.--Salt was obtained from "a bush that looked like a tomato vine." While living at Čoloku (on Fisher's Ranch), S.O.'s father-in-law and his mother's sister used to gather it. To obtain the salt a pit was dug about 2 feet long, 1 foot wide, and 1 foot deep. In this a fire was built and let burn down to coals. A grating was made by laying hardwood sticks across the earth's surface and on this the plants were laid. The whole thing was fanned with a fire fan. A material then oozed out of the plants and dropped on the coals forming large lumps. Then the whole thing was covered with earth and left overnight. In the morning the pit was opened and the salt, which was now a hard large mass, was cleaned of dirt. Y W [264] These lumps were trimmed and sold. This salt was eaten in tiny bits with meat; it was never put directly on food or cooked with it. The plant (or grass ?) which produced this salt was called in Michahai, ṭi´k·t koi´yo (smells salt), in Wukchumni, a´l·t, and in Waksachi, u´nab'. It was sometimes boiled and the liquid drunk to cure nausea. Salt or brackish springs were all called tušaʻo.

Y W [439] Rock salt (koiyo, Michahai) was obtained in trade from the Eastern Mono.

Y W 272 263 Manzanita cider.--Manzanita berries were gathered, mashed on a tray with a small pestle, and put into a sieve above a large clean mush basket. Water, poured over the mass, seeped through into the larger basket. A powdered plant called ča´m·t (Michahai; pasida, Spanish; unidentified) was added as a thickener and flavorer. There were four or five such flavorers known, but S.O. could not name them. The manzanita drink thickened as it stood, and people came to drink it at whatever stage they preferred. It began to sour after twenty-four to forty-eight hours and was no longer thought fit to drink. S.O. insisted that it was in no sense intoxicating.

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[162] Trout should be abundant; possibly he meant scarce in comparison with the numerous varieties of the lower foothill rivers and sloughs.

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Y **Yucca**.---The yucca plants (o·´pa°dra,
Waksachi) which grow on the mountains to the
222 south and east of Eshom Valley (on Carpenter's
Hill, B.O.)[163] were secured for food. In the
262 fall men from Eshom Valley, mostly Waksachi,
went up to dig up the roots which they brought
back to roast. In the spring they again went
up to break down with hooked sticks (po˘dos)
Y the tall blossom buds (o´b¹) and returned with
W them in back-packs. At home they were cut into
18-inch lengths, and laid on a large coal fire.
[252] As the stems cooked, they were turned with a
long pole. When removed from the fire, the exteriors
were caked with a hard ashlike substance
which was scraped off. Then the pieces
were split open and the tough pulp of the interior
W was chewed to extract the sweet juice
Y and the pulp was spat out. The whole process
of gathering and cooking was men's work; one
[462] fire served for the group who divided up the
251 yucca after it was cooked. B.O. said the
cooked food was often dried, pounded up, and
stored for winter use.

Piñon nuts.---Pine nuts (pone´diwᵃ, Waksachi)
were obtained in the hills east of Eshom
Valley, near Ox Springs. Waksachi and Patwisha
families went camping there to get them in the
late summer (August-September). A long pole
Y with a shorter one tied to it at an angle made
W a strong hook with which the men hoisted themselves
[481] into the trees and hooked and knocked
down cones. The cones were full grown but
W still in a "green" or unopened state.

Y At the camp the cones were piled on a big
fire of coals and turned with long poles until
262 their exteriors were burned and ashy. Removed,
they were piled in a big heap where they
252 steamed as they cooled. Sometimes the cones
were taken home, but more often the nuts were
extracted on the spot. This was done by holding
a cone butt down on a basket tray. With an
obsidian blade the tip end was cleft four ways;
the outside of the cone could then be stripped
down in sections by hand. This let all the
nuts drop out on the basket. Occasionally the
W nuts too were cracked on the spot and only the
Y meats taken home.

[439] Piñon nuts from Owen's Valley, brought
over for trade by the Eastern Mono were called
te´ʷwa. They were superior to the local variety.

W **Acorns**.---Fine groves of black oaks grew on
Y the floor and slopes of Eshom Valley. It was
the men's task to knock down the acorns while
222 they were still slightly green; this was accomplished
262 by means of the wooden hooks used
also for piñones and cactus. The women picked
[462] them up and carried them home in burden baskets.
[251] All returned home in midafternoon. Everyone in
the family assisted with shelling the nuts,
W which were shelled before being stored in the
Y house. Sometimes one person would crack them
262 and another do the shelling. For cracking, the

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252 [163] Probably also on Cactus Mountain.

W
Y
252 nut was held butt down on a small flat stone
262 and struck on the tip with another stone. A man would not hesitate to use his arrowstraightener for such a purpose, though other comfortable hand-shaped stones were kept about and so used. The shelled acorns were spread out on rocks to dry, then stored in large covered baskets in the house. Acorns to be stored in outdoor bins were not shelled. Acorn-shelling was a favorite evening occupation while some old person would tell stories.

W
Y
[251]

Acorn mush.--The process of cooking was the usual one with hot stones. The stones were of a dull brownish color, hard and fine grained; granite was never used. The mush basket was always twined and invariably carried four horizontal rows of redbud ornamentation (pl. 2, b herein). The hot stones were lifted from the fire with two pine poles, dipped quickly into water to rinse (if ashes adhered, which they rarely did), and dropped into the mush. They were extracted from the mush with a looped mushstirrer made of grapevine.

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[285]

If people were in some hurry to eat, the whole basket of boiling mush was set into a larger one filled with cold water. If they were in a great hurry, portions of mush were scooped up in individual baskets or clay bowls and lowered into cold water where they immediately solidified. These agglutinated cakes were removed from the water and served from a big tray. They were eaten "just that way."

A plant called paša was used to flavor acorn much.

Y
W
[263]

Ya´´ap.--This was a root (unidentified) about 1 to 2 inches long and 2 or 3 inches wide. It was boiled, or baked in ashes, and was sweet, mealy, and fragrant.

Yellowjacket nest.--This was dug up, roasted on a hardwood grating laid over coals, cooled, broken up, and eaten.

Honey.--A bee (?) called in English "big stick bee" (ta´beko’ot, Waksachi) deposited honey all over a tree -- in its crevices, forks, or splits in the bark. This honey, while sticky, was sufficiently firm to be cut away in small pieces. An obsidian blade was used, and pieces obtained might be as large as a man's middle finger. The honey was taken back to camp on leaves, or in a leaf-lined basket, and was eaten immediately "just like candy." B.O. insisted that this was "old time" and that the bees did not come from Spanish sources.

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[237]

Fish.--These were usually roasted between two layers of hot coals; the bottom layer was covered with sand. Occasionally they were boiled in a pot, but were less favored when so cooked.

Shellfish.--The only type known for eating was the freshwater oyster (river mussel). When whole, with meat inside, it was called ki´puš; the shell itself, which was burned to combine with tobacco, was known as ke´wi. As a food the oysters were used only by the people near Wood-

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[252]

lake (Wukchumni and Gawia) or those of the slough region toward the lake in the tular.

Subsistence materials.--B.O. named the following animals, birds, etc., indicating which were totemic, which used for food and by whom. Many of the words are recognizable as Yokuts, particularly those for creatures not native to Waksachi mountain territory, e.g., soiyo´ti, antelope, e´bis, lake trout.

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Animals:

tuhu´ni: deer; everyone ate
soiyo´ti: antelope; only around flats; all ate (no mountain goat known)
u´nu: grizzly bear; many did not eat; a family totem (ibuk)
tuhu´bu: brown bear: many did not eat; family totem
kutu·huza´giti tuhu´bu: black bear; many did not eat; family totem
iša´buč: coyote; no one ate: "might be somebody's ibuk"; was a dream helper
tuka´wɨš: bob-tailed wildcat: "might be somebody's ibuk"
a´otsa: fox; "maybe somebody's ibuk"
tru´nao: badger: some ate; not a totem
tsu´ka: cougar; dream helper for doctors and hunters
ta´bu: brush rabbit; all types of rabbits were eaten by everyone
te'a´wa: cottontail rabbit
to´hpol: jack rabbit; only around flats
wi´jia: squirrel [kind?]; everyone ate
poho´'ot: weasel; doctor's dream helper
pučuko´no: gopher; a secondary ibuk for people with Bear totem
a´čkɨt: mole; no one ate
ga´wa: wood rat; some people ate
to·´pi: dark gray wolf [mountain coyote]; no one ate
ti·´bük: beaver
naha´'ots: otter

Birds:

guiñwa´: eagle; chief's totem
kini´: duck hawk; a family totem
wubuyana: "chicken" hawk; a totem for some families (probably redtailed hawk)
kwiša´ra: unidentified, a big hawk; some old people ate
pikɨ´digi: sparrow hawk; not a totem
wᶦhutzai´ya: buzzard; no one ate
we´ja: condor; no one ate
hutu´'du: a "blue" owl; no one ate; a doctor's dream helper; there was also a "yellow" owl whose name B O. could not recall
pa´'aǥa: crow
ka´ǥapuč: raven
ča·k: blackbird
či·au´wi: another kind of blackbird
o´ščo´šč: magpie
hai´hai: Steller jay; old people ate
šai´go: blue jay; old people ate
hu·phu·´pna: flicker; old people ate
haǥa´ki: old people ate
´pana´tat: redheaded woodpecker; old people ate
soǥo´ki: "speckled woodpecker" (possibly Nuttall's woodpecker)
si·´čeč: redbreasted sapsucker; old people ate

[P. 224 a] Western Mono NS25

W
Y čuču´'ai: bluebird; too small to eat
262 čini´ša: Oregon towhee; too small to eat
192 tu´mna: chickadee; too small to eat
ču'i´na: Oregon junco
136 muči'uoi´na: mockingbird ?, thrasher ?
sagikiyi: goldfinch; "first sign of spring"
troti´tɨš: Audubon warbler?
so'o´wi: pigeon; everyone ate
ho´mona: valley quail; everyone ate
či´pɨt: mountain quail; everyone ate
oi'oi´'ina: roadrunner; all ate but winatum
sara´rapa: kingfisher
šo´'šo': little green heron
wa´kɨts: blue crane
ko´dɨto: sand-hill crane
ka´hi: grouse
kura´vi: duck (kind?)
la´la: geese
huihui´mus: pelican; flew by to and from lakes
sai´ga: mudhen

Insects:
mü·´yɨm: fly
čokoi´'ica: wasp
pe·´na: yellow jacket
hu´biwa: bumble bee
naraposta´pe´na: hornet
ta´beko'ot: "big stick bee"; kept honey in tree-bark crevices
tsutsu´ñɨp: tarantula
mu´ča: black widow spider

Reptiles and water creatures:
wulu´lu: brown lizard
kumče´ča: black lizard
wasu´'i: a large "brush" lizard
musi´gi: rattlesnake
paso´go: water snake
kolo´lki: King snake
o·´koko: bullfrog
kuai´aki: a small frog
a·natza´na: water dog
ta´lɨm: speckled trout
e´bič: lake trout, not found in Waksachi area
po´lhoi: sucker
aiya´go: a flat fish (perch?), not found in Waksachi area
gai´hɨt: salmon, not found in Waksachi area
ta´kɨts: minnows
W a´ñya: turtle

Y Trees and shrubs:
pohue´dopᵃ: valley oak
192 ya´kapᵃ: post oak
137 wi´'upᵃ: black oak; the acorns of this made the "best" mush
262 sakša´ba: live oak
tikai´ya: acorns of all oak species
a´psoabᵃ: manzanita
to´nap: mountain mahogany (used for plain bow)
no´jibⁱ: pepperwood (used for plain bow)
tso´poip: chaparral brush (ceanothus?)
wo´haba: "Jack" pine
pane´wanɨp: sugar pine
pone´diwa: nut of sugar pine
tu·´bap: "Digger" pine (piñon)

W
Y tuˑba: piñon nut
wa·p: cedar
137 sana´uap: fir
o·´pa·dra: yucca ("cactus")
192 o·´bɨ: yucca blossom stalks, eaten in
262 the bud.
wo´honaba: redwood
ye´bɨp: tamarack, grew at Big Meadows
tsa´tɨp: slippery elm
napa·´ʼapᵃ: alder
soho´pᵃ: cottonwood
tanapo´nipᵃ: ash
pa´sitap: willow
sᵘhu´bᵃ: small willow
se·´nowiyap: elderberry bush

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372 Firemaking.--The Michahai and Waksachi made fire by striking and drilling. When flint rocks were struck, the sparks fell on a tinder of fine growth derived from oak trees (Spanish moss ?) or on rotten buckeye wood. The drill apparatus consisted of a buckeye hearth, mountain-mahogany drill, and oak-growth tinder.

Meals and Manners

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264 Meals were eaten just after sunrise, about noon, and just before sunset. The midday meal was taken only by persons in camp and was little more than the casual picking up and eating of already prepared food. A man going off from home would not take food with him unless he were to be gone more than twenty-four hours. The occupations which took men away all day usually permitted them to return in the late afternoon. When gambling and playing games, men often became so absorbed that they would not stop to eat during the day. However, between the two main meals, morning and evening, there was considerable eating of odd bits, as one wanted them, of such things as honey, piñon nuts, and cooked food left over from previous meals.

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[415] People never ate directly from a cooking basket. The food was apportioned in smaller coiled baskets (fig. 3, Pt. I), which were usually individual. Often two or three small children would share the food in a small basket or, in very poor families, adults might have to do the same. The three middle fingers were dipped into the mushes; gruels and soups were drunk from the edge of the basket; meat and fish were torn apart with the fingers as the cook had already hacked it up with an obsidian blade before putting it on to stew; jerked meat and fish were usually cooked by boiling in pots or baskets.

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574 The essence of hospitality was the serving of food. The first person to recognize an approaching visitor called to him to come and eat. Custom required that a visitor go first to the chief's house, where he was given food; no one necessarily ate with him unless a meal were in course. Then, unless he were a winatum whose business kept him with the chief, he was called

W Y 261 574 from house to house. "He went the rounds and never declined" (S.O.). This procedure was not followed with persons whose intimate connections in a village took them there frequently.

W Y 576 A person approaching a house shouted or otherwise drew attention to himself. To approach quietly was looked upon with suspicion.

The Waksachi greeting used by B.O. was hani´'iwa'ü´ñwa [one word]. This he claimed was wholly aboriginal although the translation is practically the "How are you?" of European culture. The proper or expected reply was nasu´mi naü´ñwa tsatsa´mo (all of us well, or satisfactory).

W Y [888] Any old man might be called [paternal] "uncle" as a term of good-nature and esteem, much as Europeans call any greybeard "little grandfather."

W Y 521 517 During the evening, between supper and complete darkness, or after dark in the winter, people sat around conversing. Some would be engaged in tasks such as acorn-shelling or preparing tobacco for the pre-retiring drink. They talked about their plans for ceremonies, hunting, or other occupations; particularly important were discussions of the seasonal moves to other localities for fish, acorns, seeds, etc. W Y [869] Older people told stories, explained the nature of the world, and prescribed conduct for youngsters. This was the only means of instruction.

During the evening young people would shell acorns while some old person told stories or adventures. Stories were told only at night. S.O. recalls Etak and Wilolohi as especially fine entertainers.

W Y [525] The hand game was favorite evening entertainment as it could only be played at night, whereas the women's dice game could be played only during the day.

W Y [276] Persons wishing to induce good dreaming would foregather at a house to drink of tobacco and lime.

MANUFACTURES

Baskets

W Y 285 [177] According to D. the basketry of the Michahai and Waksachi was exactly like that of their Yokuts neighbors. From other informants we know this to be true, yet it should be pointed out that a mutual exchange has brought this about. The Mono-type cradle of twined rods and fan-shaped shade has been adopted by the Yokuts, while the Yokuts circular coiled sifting tray has been taken over by the Mono in preference to their own twined triangular sifting tray. Several shapes and their uses were distinguished by D. and may be taken as typical for all the foothill tribes, both Yokuts and Mono, between Kings River and Tule River. They are shown in figures 2 and 3, Part I. It may

[P. 225b] [redacted] NS25

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It may be worth noting that, in Michahai at least, there is a special term for the coiling technique, but none for twining; hence, li´h'·li na (coil I [my coiled basket]) and ti´'i´si na (make I [any kind of basket twined or coiled]).

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Coiled ware.---1. o´sa (Michahai, Wukchumni, Waksachi). This is called "bank" in English, as money, sacred talismans, or any sort of treasure was kept in them. D. said the snake doctors kept their pets in these while in captivity for the Snake Ritual (usually they were kept in cages of open-twined basketry).

2. a´mat (Michahai), kača´o (Wukchumni), a´po (Waksachi). This was an individual eating and drinking dish. When made with curved sides, it was used by women as a cap under the tumpline.

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[292
482]

2a. pi´kwo' (Waksachi). The woman's basket cap, according to B.O It was never donned save for use under the tumpline.

3. a´oki (Michahai). A modern shape which is said to have been invented to keep bread in; in English it is called "bread basket." D. was firm in her statement, which is corroborated by independent Wukchumni information, that it was never used for keeping acorns or any other purpose. Yet it closely resembles the large coiled baskets used for washing and as gifts at rituals. Water was kept in similar baskets for household use.

4. koiyo´to (Michahai, Wukchumni). The circular sifting tray, which was about two feet in diameter.

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[524]

5. tai´wan (Michahai). A circular gambling tray used in the women's dice game. It might be two to three feet in diameter and was distinguished from the sifting tray by its more sharply curved sides and superior decoration.

Twined ware.---6. po·´no (Michahai), tapono´či (Waksachi). This was the cooking basket. The traditional and only decoration of these was four horizontal bands of redbud. The basic material was called taka´ti (Michahai; sourberry, D.; chaparral brush, S.O.). When seeds were stored in the house, they were put in baskets of this type and covered with a coiled flat traylike cover called uṭi´'i (Michahai).

W
Y
[482]

7. a´naš (Michahai), wo·´no (Waksachi). The burden basket, carried by tumpline on the back, was twined of takati and starched with soaproot (to´hod, Michahai) liquor.

8. ča´phai (Michahai), ta´myuk (Wukchumni), ta´neho (Waksachi). This name was used for the handled seed-beater or for a basket of the same shape without the handle. The latter was used as a sieve or for any other purpose for which it proved convenient.

8a. A larger coarser, unhandled variant of the above, also called čaphai, was used exclusively for catching and carrying fish.

W
Y
[231]

9. Cages of open twine weave were used to house pigeons, rattlesnakes, and possibly other small pets. These had pointed bottoms, were covered with a lid, and hung from trees.

Pottery

W Y 323
W Y 323 415

Pottery was well known to the Michahai and Waksachi; in fact, all informants thought that "everybody" had it and that "all women" knew how to make it.[164] B.O. said the Eastern Mono had it also. The earthenware was called kiˊwɨš (clay) by Michahai and wiˊšowa (clay) by Waksachi. There were no special names for dishes of different shapes, all being called merely big or little dish (wuˊpi kiwɨš, wiˊči kiwɨš, Michahai; popaiˊ wišowa, tičiˊti wišowa, Waksachi). All the ware was flat-bottomed and straight-sided, and roughly of three sizes, large bucketlike containers for boiling, medium individual serving dishes comparable to the individual serving baskets, and small somewhat spherical dishes used as cups or scoops. The latter are probably not copies of European cups since no handle nor curvature is ever attempted. B.O. firmly stated that food was never eaten directly from the clay dishes, always from baskets. D. and S.O. could not agree, but admitted that baskets were the customary food dishes. Pottery was prized, and probably no woman would trust the dishes in children's hands. S.O. thought the average family would have about two large cook pots and five smaller ones.

W Y [462]

Men never made pottery but, if a man came upon a good clay bed, he might take some home to be made up (S.O.). There was an abundance of good clay at Tušao; women of Čitatu liked to go to Daley's place for theirs.

W Y 323

The clay was tested between the fingers for sand element (the binding), as no extraneous binding, not even free sand, was added. The clay was pounded while damp on rock with a special pestle, and when viscous was ready to make up. The bottom was pressed out between the palms (D. and S.O.), coiled (B.O.), into a disc and the sides built up with additional coils. A little water was kept at hand to add to the clay if it became too dry. The inside and outside were scraped smooth. The raw pots were left in the sun to dry all day, or even longer if necessary: they must be dry all the way through before firing. These informants did not know of any "test" for predicting safe firing (see Wukchumni). Meanwhile wood was burning in a small pit so that it would be thoroughly heated and partially filled with coals. The ware was heated at the fireside before being put directly on the coals. More wood was drawn over the top and the whole left to burn all nignt. A woman had to rise once or twice during the night to see that all was well. No slip of mush or other material was applied after firing (or at any time) according to these informants (see Wukchumni).

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[164] The pottery-making process and pottery shapes are described and illustrated in Gayton, Yokuts and Western Mono Pottery-Making.

[P 226 b] Western Mono NS25

Cordage and Nets

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281
[237]
283

Sinew cord (taˊmowiˊ w·š·b) was made only by men. Sinew from deer leg and back was saved and dried. When wanted for use, it was soaked in water, then pounded between two stones. A man often used his arrow straightener for this if he had one. The material was worked over with the fingers, smoothed, and finally separated into filaments.

To make cord used primarily for bowstrings and arrow tying three fine strips of sinew of differing lengths were knotted together evenly at one end. The knot was held in the left hand, and the three strands, well separated, lay on the right thigh under the palm of the right hand. The first movement was toward the body: the left hand held the strands taut while the right hand rolled them up the thigh. The left hand then relaxed, which permitted the knot end to roll up. It was drawn tight again. The right hand then rolled the string, which in the portion between the two hands was now a single 3-ply cord, forward down the thigh. This completed the cycle of movements which produced six to twelve inches of cord. The pressure of the right hand was not relaxed from start to finish. The movement of the hand was not straight back and forth. On the back stroke it was a rotating movement, the thumb side of the hand moving but slightly while the outside described an arc. The forward stroke was straight.

The next section of sinew was treated in the same way. The left hand grasped the cord just above the point where the three strands separated. New strands were spliced, i.e., rolled in by overlappings, never knotted. As the basic strands were of different lengths, only one need be spliced in at a time, which not only was easier to handle but obviated excessive thickening in the cord. The strand to be spliced was always placed in the center of the trio as they were rolled up the thigh.

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Y
283

Milkweed string (wiˊšib·b wišiˊbi; milkweed, wiˊšib·b, Waksachi; čeʼ, Michahai) was made only by women. B.O. thought this string was all 2-ply, but was not certain. Milkweed plants were laid out in masses on bedrock mortars to dry. The stems were then sprinkled with water (not soaked) and pounded. The fibres were smoothed down with the fingers. The rolling process for making it into string was exactly like that for sinew cord.

A coarser cord called saˊh·p (the Yokuts šaʼ) was also made of willow bark by Waksachi.

W
Y
482

The carrying net (tapiˊhᵊ) and tumpline (ta·ˊwap) were made by women, said B.O., but were most used by men. Women carried the line over the head and in so doing used the coiled basket cap (pi·ˊkuoš) which they never wore at any other time. Men placed the line across the chest and deltoid muscles. Any objects which the net could contain might be carried in it. The material and process of manufacture

[P.227a] [redacted] NS25

W
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482 were identical with that of the Wukchumni. The Eastern Mono used these nets when coming over
[439] on trading trips.

MONEY, NUMERAL SYSTEM

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Y
436
[439]
804
All money came from the west through the medium of trade. B.O. thought that the Tachi themselves made humana; the Waksachi retain the Yokuts name for this slender tubular bead. They were valued at about twenty-five cents each according to B.O.; S.O. said they came about ten for one dollar, or eight if they were extra long. The small clamshell discs (močo´ko) were measured Yokuts-style around the hand and wrist (fig. 14, e, f, Pt. I). This length was then doubled and called a muke´čɨt, and valued at about two dollars according to B.O. S.O.'s evaluation is wholly different, five cents for once around the hand and doubled (1 mukečɨt), ten cents. This is more in line with other statements. B.O. may have had the looped-up arm's-length unit in mind.

When red and blue European beads were introduced, these were measured by the handful, the red being more esteemed. The red ones were called piša´kono´gidi, the blue ones šilɨ´mkai in Waksachi.

Numerals (Michahai, S.O.)

W
Y
192
802

1. yɨt
2. pu´noi
3. so´pɨn
4. hatpa´na
5. yitɨ´šnɨl
6. ču´lipi
7. no´mčɨn
8. mo´noš
9. no´nɨp
10. tsi´a´o
11. yɨ´čam
12. po´ctom
13. co´yum
14. ha´čpan
15. yɨ´čum
16. čo´lpum
17. no´mčum
18. mu´nčum
19. no´npom
20. punoi´ tsi'ao
21. punoi tsi'ao yɨt
22. punoi tsi'ao punoi
23. punoi tsi'ao sopɨn, etc.
30. sopɨn tsi'ao, etc.
100. yɨt pi´ča
1000. tsi'ao piča

PLEASURES

Games

W
Y
526
The following games were played by the Waksachi.

Shinny.--This game (koniu´šiko, Michahai; nanata´kowɨt, Waksachi) was played with a hole at one end of the field and a post at the other. The ball had to be holed five times, though not successively, in order to win. When the ball was struck to a partner down the field and did not reach him, he had to come down the field to get it (i.e., the striker did not go after it).

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Y
[525]
This was the favorite game for betting and side betting. Usually three or four men played on a side. There was no special way of choos-

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526

ing partners but, when visitors were present, it was usual for local and visiting groups to oppose each other.

Ring and pole.--Two men would play this game (ho'o'tuš, Michahai; na'a'ñapai'šɨt, Waksachi) against each other. Each had his own ring and pole. The ring (wiki'no) was about nine inches in diameter, of many strands of string bound with fine string; it was rather pliable -- neither stiff nor floppy. A player picked up his ring with his left hand, tossed it forward, and with his right hand pitched his pole after it. If the ring and pole came to rest in contact, it counted one; to pierce the ring counted nothing. There was no limit on the score; the largest won: "players just stopped when they got tired" (B.O.).

Pitching stones.--This game (nahai'witi·pima) was usually played by two pairs of opponents. Two stakes were set up about thirty feet apart. Each player had a flat stone which he threw at the stake with a sliding underhand motion. It counted one to be nearest the stake, two if both partners' stones were nearer than those of their rivals. All players stood at one end, pitching at one stake, then all at the other, etc.

Pitching poles.--This game (ai'kaš, Michahai; nahai'wɨtho·pima, Waksachi) was played like the one above with long poles pitched at the stakes instead of stones.

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[765]

Dice game.--This was a woman's game (hutču'ša, both Michahai and Waksachi) and was played only during the day. During a mourning ceremony four women would play against four visitors. This was the Yokuts game with only six walnut-shell dice cast on the tray, and twelve counters for scorekeeping. Securing all the counters won the game. B.O. gave the following count: two face up, 1; three face down, 1; all up or all down, 5 (S.O. said 2).

Hand game.--This game (hana'ošiko, Michahai; nai'a'nwɨt, Waksachi) was played any time of day by both sexes; it was the favorite evening game. A pair of bones or short sticks, one marked by a string tied round it, was hidden in the hands, the hiding being done under a blanket. Twelve stick counters won the game, although this could be changed by common consent, e.g., all the counters could be won twice, etc.

When a large number of people played, the guessing progressed by pairs, that is, two people had guesses at the same hiding, no revelation being made on the first guess. If one was correct, it counted 1, if both, 2; but both had to be correct to secure the bones for the guessers' side The marked bone was guessed for.

The hiders sang all together while the guessers were deciding on their choice. The tone was laughingly derisive and intended to confound the guessers.

Musical Instruments

W
Y
534 **Flute**.--This (u´ṭač, Michahai) was made of elderwood (wise´ta). It was about twelve to fourteen inches in length and had four holes. The pith was removed throughout. The instrument was held vertically in front of the player, but was played on one side of the mouth. To a good player one would say: ma pai´yu u´ṭau (you know-how to-play [anything]).

W
Y
534
237 **Whistle**.--This (pu´sač, Michahai) was made from the shinbone of a "chicken" hawk; eagle bone was never used for this. It was about three inches long and had no reed.

Cocoon rattle.--For this instrument (ča´o'ɨč, Michahai) three or four cocoons of the silk moth with pebbles inserted were tied on a short stick. It was used only to accompany the Bear Dance and Shamans' Contest.

W
Y
534 **Clapper**.--This (ṭa´ohɨl, Michahai) was an elderberry stick some eighteen inches long, split two-thirds of its length and the pith removed. It was held in the right hand and flapped against the palm of the left, never against wood or stone. It was the normal or profane accompaniment to all dance singing.

Tobacco

W
Y
276
[438] Tobacco plants grew abundantly in Eshom Valley, particularly on burnt-over ground, but it was a poor variety, "small and dry." Most of the tobacco used by the Waksachi was bought from the Wukchumni and other people to the south (B.O.). Only a few people knew how to prepare the plants for use, but the function was not restricted in any way.

Both S.O.'s parents took on tobacco preparation when they became elderly: it was a favorite occupation of the old. Early in spring (March-April) they would go to the plants and pinch out the center tips "to make them grow bigger." This was the only care given the plants. When the leaves were yellow and about ready to drop off (about June), they went out with large baskets and picked them; sometimes they pulled up entire plants.

The leaves were spread out on a flat rock to dry thoroughly. Then they were pulverized in a mortar hole kept exclusively for this purpose. Meanwhile the stems and roots, which had been washed in running water, were boiled and the resulting liquid was stirred into the powder to form a paste. Sometimes "another weed with a good smell" (S.O. could not identify or name it) was likewise pulverized and added to the paste.

The paste was shaped into round flat cakes (tapi´pɨt) or cylindrical ones (pultu´kɨn). As they were making the cakes S.O.'s parents would say, tapa´lɨn nɨm ti´'ɨs (flat mine [I] make), or, pultu´kus ni´'ɨm ti'ɨs (round mine [I] make). The Waksachi terms for shapes were: a

W
Y
276 flat disclike cake (ta´kan), a round ball (unawa´ra po´nən co´ʼog), and little cylinders (pulči´na).

The little cylinder, hereafter referred to as pulčina, had a perforation at one end so it could be worn on a string about the neck. According to B.O., if a man were cold when out hunting or traveling, a bite of pulčina would warm him. But B.O. laughed at the use of pulčina as a "ghost-scarer" by the Wukchumni.

Tobacco was smoked by both sexes, though only men carried pipes in their ear lobes. The favorite pipe was a cane tube (si´kɨl, Michahai; ha´obⁱ, Waksachi) about three to four inches long. The best cane was got at Pasiwana (John Crow's hollow, no. 28 on Local Map E). One end of the tube was stuffed with a bit of oak-fungus tender, then filled through the other end with bits of tobacco shaved off a cake. The end with the tinder was then lighted with a twig burned to live charcoal. The cane tube itself scorched and burned slightly as the tobacco was consumed, yet would last through at least a dozen occasions, as a few puffs were all that were indulged in when smoking. A wooden pipe (šu´kmai) of elderwood was about four inches long, somewhat conical, as it was shaped down toward the mouth end. The clay pipe (wi·nabⁱ) was a crude imitation of the wooden one. Neither S.O. nor B.O. had ever seen or heard of pipes of stone.

Both Michahai and Waksachi ate tobacco mixed with lime to induce vomiting, which was thought to encourage dreams and insure good health. The tobacco and baked freshwater oyster shells (ke´wi) obtained by trade from Wukchumni and Gawia were pounded in a special small mortar and pestle (pl. 2, d herein). Then a little water was added to form a soupy liquid. The mortar and pestle were passed around among the participants, each person taking a lick or two of the liquid from the pestle.

A second kind of lime [?] (hoso´sɨl), like rock, was gotten out of the ground in Drum Valley. This "turned to flour" when heated over live coals. The fire fan was used during the process to keep the heat even.

Among the Waksachi, men only took tobacco this way, but Michahai and Chukaimina women indulged in its use. It might be taken any time of the year. Some men and women took it every night: S.O. said he took it often, that is, about once a week. The process was called, pa´luwi šoga´ni nɨm naha´hi (pestle tobacco my eating), according to S.O., who gave tobacco as šo´gən (Michahai, Chukaimina, Choinimni, and Chukchansi), so´ʼog (Waksachi, Wobonuch, Holkuma), and the growing plant as woi´yan šogən or woi´nɨčɨn (Michahai). The mortar and pestle were koi´wɨš and pa´lwi (Michahai) and koiwɨš and pa´ha (Waksachi)(S.O. and B.O. respectively).

N
276 The Eastern Mono (Yo´ʼots) had tobacco which they smoked in wooden pipes. B.O. said

[P.229 a] Western Mono NS25
Northern Paiute NR13

N 276 [439] they had the custom of passing the pipe around a group so each person might take a few puffs. He thought "they had their own tobacco," whereas S.O. said they got it by trade from the Western Mono and Yokuts. Both are probably correct: the San Joaquin Valley tobacco no doubt was desired as superior.

TIMES, NATURE, DIRECTIONS, SEASONS, BELIEFS

Y M 805 The following times of day were designated for conversational and practical purposes by the Michahai:

192
upiu´: daytime
o´puš ti´ši: sunrise [sun comes]
či´nao: noon [now means "dinner"]
siwɨ´lši: midafternoon [lit., "downing" or "lessening" referring to the sun]
niawa´lči: sundown ["about gone," not literally]
toi'a´nši: night, dark
ču´pao toi'an: midnight [lit., center, halfway between two points]
toi´niu: post-midnight
tawa´niu ti´ši: dawn [lit., morning star comes]

Y W 821 782 The morning star, sun, moon, and water were all addressed with a prayerful statement which was standardized, the essence of which was, "I am doing thus now, may I continue to do thus."

A well-reared man or woman always rose before sunrise and walked out to speak to the morning star (tawa´nɨč) saying, "I'll see you when you come out as long as I live." The new moon (hača´ main u´puš) was addressed likewise, "I see you at this moment. I'll see you all the time as long as I live." The full moon was called hi´am wate´'ɨša upuš main (now enlarged moon our).

W Y 821 The sun S.O. called upuš main, the same term as for moon, adding that the Wukchumni said opo´lo main. "The sun goes up and comes down always" (referring to its immutability). Shamans of prestige got power from it which they used when making airshot. The sun was addressed at any time, as by a man off hunting, who would say, ɨniša´n nan wan upuš nɨm (good [luck] me give sun my). When the sun sets, it travels back under the earth at night, to the east. The morning star "always comes ahead of the sun to show people that the day is coming." The morning star "switches its place at certain times of the year and becomes the evening star but it is always called by the same name -- tawanɨč or site´lši tawanɨč." When the morning star comes the night rises "right up to heaven."

W Y [773] The Pleiades are called goi´yuma (young women) as elsewhere with the Yokuts, and the same story of their homosexuality and abandonment of their husbands is known to the Michahai and Waksachi.

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 NS29 Yokuts NS29

[P. 229 b] ~~Western Mono~~ NS25

W Y 821 782 An eclipse of the moon or sun is attributed to Coyote's eating of the sun and is called by the descriptive phrase, kai´yu a´nahaš opšu´ main (Coyote eat sun-our). During an eclipse people ran out and shouted loudly, some actually said, kaiyu om a´naš (Coyote [do] not eat), or kaiyu om api·´ (Coyote [do] not finish, i.e., leave some). Others said, lo´luš tuna´nuna (leave it alone; not literal). "When they hollered this way, Coyote would let go." The Waksachi terms for eclipse of sun and moon respectively were: taraue´ nawa´rit and ta´owᵘ nawa´rit.

W Y 805 221 The following four seasons were distinguished: pua´kɨn, fall, acorn-dropping time [October, November]; tomo´kšiu, winter, cold approaching [December to February]; tiša´miu, spring, green coming [March, April]; haia´lu, summer, grass drying up [May to September]. The months of May and June were spent in seed-gathering. In July and August the people went higher up into the mountains to get piñon nuts. When they returned to the permanent village site, the mourning ceremonies were held in September-October. Following this, the acorn crop was harvested, and the Bear Dance held about November. In February-March tañai-drinking took place, and in April the Snake Ritual was seen in the neighboring Yokuts villages.

W Y 805 B.O. gave the following information in Waksachi terms, which parallel those given by S.O. for the Michahai.

821 192 552

Times, stars, nature:
tapewa´no: daytime
ha´nos: before sunrise
motve´sihop: sunrise
tukita´wena: noon
motara´tahikup: sunset
ure´´uñus: after sundown
totsoi´´idi: dark or fully night
tara´ue: sun
ta´owᵘ: moon
nasu´mi te´gi'up: stars, general; lit., "all stars"
tapu´ha: morning star
so´ěso´ě: Pleiades
te´gi'up wa´tseit: shooting star; lit., "star falling"
na´warit: added to sun or moon indicated eclipse
tuo´pade: sky
to·´uare: clouds
u·´´uare: rain
paho´nop: hail
nu´babi: snow
pi·´bɨp: earth, dirt
pasi´wap: sand
patigui´noba: mud
Y tɨp: granite
W pañe´: soapstone

823 Directions:
192 pite´kimat: south
quiwi´: north [given as west by other Western Mono]

[P. 230 a] Western Mono NS25

W Y 823 192

peda´wi: west by south
paña´ri: east by north
huñwa´r·: wind, might be added after any of the four above to indicate winds from those directions

W Y 805 192

Seasons:
ta·´wano: spring (approximately February to April); clover, greens, jimsonweed
tasa´wano: summer (May to September); rattlesnakes out; "all kinds" of seeds ripe
iu´bano: fall (October and November); acorns, pine nuts; deer hunting
to·´wano: winter (December and January); men made string; women made pottery and baskets

Y [184]

B.O. insisted that four seasons were aboriginal divisions, as did S.O. Perhaps the interpolation of a "fall" season, omitted by valley Yokuts, is climatically correct for the mountain-dwelling peoples.

W Y 773 821

Beliefs and Miscellaneous Data

The footprints of the Pleiades girls are in a rock pile called opo´do (Sun place) near Aukland. There is one little rock which, if stepped on, will cause a rattlesnake to come out and bite the offender.

Eclipses are attributed to Coyote's eating of the moon or sun.

W Y 825

Rattlesnakes were admonished not to bite. Some snake doctors, one of them was Pušl·l·n, told S.O. to say this every time he went out in March or April: "You get out of my way. As long as I live, all the year round, you keep out of my way." Said S.O., "The rattlesnakes heard this and would not come near you or bite you."

A tarantula's bite was not seriously poisonous, so B.O. was told by people of his grandparents' generation. They were not afraid to allow them to crawl on them and bite them, and "to show off" a shaman would hold one on his tongue and be bitten. The black spider (mu´ča, the Black Widow) was poisonous, and only a "big doctor," to show what power he had, would permit one to bite his tongue.

B.O. once swallowed a fly; this made him very sick. An acquaintance of his, however, would swallow them alive "just to show that it didn't make him sick."

W Y 773

The Hewatsi were prehistoric malicious people who "killed on the spot." They were the original owners of the sun, from whom it was stolen.[165]

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

Officials

W Y 622

The chief's (tia'a, Michahai; po´ginape, Waksachi) office was inherited in the male line

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[165] Cf. Gayton and Newman, 38, 32.

W Y 622 and passed to a brother or son of the deceased chief. To which relative it went depended wholly upon the capacities of the possible successor. Differences of opinion between S.O. and B.O. may actually represent differences in Yokuts and Western Mono culture rather than discrepancies of interpretation of their culture. S.O. claimed that, if the male line of a chiefly lineage were exhausted so that there were neither sons, brothers, nor paternal nephews of the chief to replace him, his daughter would function as chief until her oldest son could take her place. S.O. said this was possible "because everybody in the chief's family was just like the chief [i.e., not only called tia'a but respected as such]. However, B.O. stated that the office was never filled by a woman "because only a chief was called 'chief' although all members of the family had Eagle as ibuk [totem]." B.O. continued to say that, if there were no male heirs in the chief's or his brother's lines (though there might be through daughters), the men of the village would convene, select a man they believed suitable, make up a sum of money for him, and offer him the position. A man so chosen was under no obligation to accept. No positive genealogical or anecdotal evidence was obtainable to support either point of view.

The succession of chiefs at Tušao was as follows: Pa´o'ɨč (ca. 1870), Waksachi, then his son Koto´bɨč (Bill Tyner), and then the latter's son, Si´wa (Tom Tyner), still living in 1927. Contemporaneously there was a Michahai chief, the father of Čite'ɨk, whose son did not succeed him but whose grandson did; this was Wo´tuš (Tom Bacon, also known as Sipu´ja).

The succession at the Waksachi village of Čitatu is shown in an already published genealogy.[166] The order is from Wa´nuk to his son Čo'o´po. Then to two of the latter's sons, first Ča´muč, then Wa´kɨt, neither of whom seems to have had children. A third son of Čo'opo, Pala´ha (the informant B.O.), was not mature enough at the time to assume the responsibilities of office. Consequently his parallel cousin on the paternal side, Hɨ´lčap, was selected. When Hɨlčap was approaching death he wanted his son, Claude Osborn, to follow him as chief. But others wanted the office to return to the direct chiefly line, specifically to Palaha who was then a middle-aged man. The age, dignity, and fine character of Palaha were the assets which determined him as chief in the minds not only of the remaining Waksachi but also of the neighboring tribes. In 1927 a few intimates of Claude stubbornly insisted verbally on his chieftancy; as a person of sound character, he probably obtained it upon Palaha's enfeeblement or death.

W Y 624 The secondary chiefs (tuye´yi, Michahai; the Waksachi were said to have no special term)

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[166] Gayton, Yokuts-Mono Chiefs and Shamans, 419.

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624 were "always picked out by the tia'a" (S.O.). Their only function was to assist as financial sponsors of mourning ceremonies or other celebrations for which much money was to be expended. The chief supplied the major sum and the secondary chiefs made up any deficit. The secondary chiefs at Tušao appointed by Kotobɨč (Bill Tyner) were Haloˊpča (Coyote Jim, a shaman), Šo'oˊk (Bob ----), and Haiˊkao (the informant S.O.). The money they contributed was given to the chief, who had it distributed among the reciprocal "washers" at the mourning ceremonies.

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613 The winatum (naˊtinab, Waksachi) had the same duties among Michahai and Waksachi as among the Yokuts tribes. The Waksachi held that Roadrunner (oˊi'oˊi') was the totemic symbol of the winatum lineage, but admitted Dove (heˊwi) as a secondary or equivalent totem. This means that a Waksachi messenger, while regarding Roadrunner as his patrilineally inherited totem, would yet not kill nor eat a dove, and might even say, "Dove is my ibuk," whereas his children would not necessarily respect Dove unless they took up a winatum's office.

W
Y
624 The winatum received payment for all his services, both from the sender and receiver of a message. When going about to announce a mourning ceremony he carried a cane which, according to S.O., was undecorated and about eight feet long.

Lineage Totems

W
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613 The animal associated with a family line, patrilineally inherited and venerated, was called in Michahai poša, in Waksachi, ibuk. The reciprocal word pošam, for the person who had the poša was frequently on S.O.'s lips. In

[text continued on top of p. 231b]

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Person	Tribe
Kɨlmišɨt, winatum	Michahai
Tčaodɨt	Waksachi
Ya'ailat	Entimbich (?)
Takač, chief	Entimbich
Wotuš	(?)
Hawanuč	Wukchumni
Mosus	Entimbich
Čeči	Entimbich
"Buffalo Bill," messenger	Wobonuch
Kučum	Choinimni
Hučač	(?)
Waja, I	Wobonuch
Kuijal	(?)
Wilolohi	Wobonuch
Supana	Wobonuch
Upeˊ'ač	Entimbich (?)
Etak	Waksachi
Halopča	Waksachi
Palaha	Waksachi
Haipuš, singer	Wobonuch
Pušlɨlɨn, shaman	Chukaimina

[list continued on middle of p. 231b]

W Y 613 trying to conclude just what animals were lineage totems, S.O. thought over a number of people, naming, as they came to mind, those whose poša he knew. He carefully distinguished between the lineage animal (poša) and the dream helper (ai´nɨč); when he knew the latter he named it. This list is given below. In the Wakwachi vocabulary of birds and animals given by B.O. (pp. 223-224) is his identification of animals as lineage totems. It will be seen that the creatures so functioning are definitely limited.

W Y 613 778 At Tušao there was no one who had Snake poša, and at Čitatu there was no Bear pošam whom S.O. or B.O. could recall. S.O. had never heard of Fish as a Totem, nor were buzzard or deer ever family symbols. Some people "might have had" Crow, but he did not recall any specifically. Weasel could be "a dream helper for anybody but he was never anybody's poša." Before human beings were here, i.e., in the prehistoric animal era when Eagle was chief, "Crow and Roadrunner were winatums along with Dove. They all ran around and helped." The Waksachi lean toward Roadrunner as the winatum's poša rather than Dove.

W Y 616 Of moieties S.O. knew practically nothing. He said some Tachi had told him about "Eagle being Nutuwich and Falcon Tokelyuwich" [even this is wrong] but he "had never heard of anybody doing like that" [having two classes of people]. He insisted that neither the Waksachi, Wobonuch, and Chukaimina nor the Michahai had any moiety arrangement. About the Choinimni he "didn't know."

W Y 582 People married without regard to totemic animal relationship; the degree of blood relationship was the determining factor.

W Y 613 619 776 778

Totem	Dream helper
Dove	---
Eagle	---
Dove	---
Eagle	---
Eagle	---
Eagle	---
Eagle	---
Bear	---
Dove, Roadrunner	---
Dove	---
Eagle	---
Eagle	---
Dove	---
Eagle	Cougar (for hunting)
Bear	Bear (for dancing)
Eagle	---
Owl	---
Owl	---
Eagle	Cougar (hunting)
Fox	---
Snake	Coyote

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 NS29 Yokuts NS29 [illegible]Mono NS25

[P. 232 a]

Redemption of Totem Animals, Aerie Ownership

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825
432

Ritualistic payment was tendered for the killing of eagles, falcons, bears, and occasionally coyotes.

Eagle.--Eagles were not often killed although, according to both B.O. and S.O., it was not thought dangerous to do so, nor was it necessary to have permission from the chief if the eagle were a stray one. An eagle known to belong to a chief's aerie would not be killed. However, said S.O., "When a man killed an eagle, he took it to a chief -- Eagle is chief." The chief then sent out word, and everyone, regardless of his poša, came to make a payment to the hunter. The chief contributed a larger sum than the rest, but it was he who came into possession of the bird and kept or sold its valuable parts. The head, skin, and leg bones had ceremonial uses as talismans of supernatural power: the head as it was, the skin for its down, and the bones for whistles [sic]. Wing feathers were used on arrows. (The same parts of falcons were similarly used.) When the chief resold these items, he made a slight profit. Both S.O. and B.O. agreed that neither Michahai nor Waksachi honored the carcass with a special burial in earth or water.

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[766]
[432]

Live eagles and falcons were the subject of redemption more often than were dead specimens. B.O. said people would get young eagles to rear in order to sell them eventually to chiefs. "When a chief heard of a person having one somewhere he would send his winatum to have it brought over." As soon as the day of its arrival was known, the chief ordered all the people with Eagle ibuk (poša, totem) to assemble. They came dressed in their best, stood in a long line, and danced while the eagle was held by its owner. A blanket was then put on the ground and the bird set upon it. The chief who was redeeming the bird had a large basket of beads and perhaps a rabbitskin blanket or other valuables. The other people filed past the bird, each one throwing down a handful of beads on the blanket. Finally the chief put down his basket of beads and gifts and took up the bird saying, "That is my ibuk." The former owner then took up his pay. There was no weeping.

W
Y
[231]

W
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The eagle was then kept "by the chief and his family as long as it wanted to stay." It was fed fresh raw meat daily. B.O.'s father had one: it would go off each year and come back for a while; finally it never returned.

For the same procedure with living birds, S.O. stated that "when the birds were grown they were given [sic] to some neighboring chief, like Wukchumni or anywhere." When the owner was ready to dispose of his bird, he sent his winatum to notify the chief whom he had determined upon as the recipient. If the offer was

[P. 232b] ~~Western Mono~~ NS25

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accepted, he took the bird down[167] and was given a paying ceremony as described above (see also Wukchumni, Tachi). The purchasing chief could keep, resell, or free the bird at his will.

Accessible eagle and falcon aeries were owned by chiefs,[168] and the young birds taken from them each year. S.Q. described the procedure of his father, Kɨlmi´šɨt, winatum, and the chief, Pao'ɨč, at Tušao.

W
Y
[423]

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223

In the rocks on the steep hillside above Tušao there was a kini´ hawk's (Duck Hawk, the peregrine falcon) nest. The young hatched about March. Each spring the chief and his winatum went to get them. Although Pao'ɨč was an old man, it was he, rather than the winatum, Kɨlmišɨt, who climbed down over the edge of the bluff. He had a rope of ho' tied around his waist, and Kɨlmišɨt stood above, holding the other end. The nest was in a crevice about forty feet below the top of the rocks and about one hundred feet above the little valley bottom. When Pao'ɨč reached the nest he jerked the rope as a sign that he was safe. He had a deerskin, in which he wrapped the one or two small birds, and put them on his back in a carrying net slung from his shoulders. The old birds usually came back, scolding and making feints at the intruder. Then the chief would talk to the birds, telling them what was to be done with their children, how they were to be honored, and so on. At the same time he would be calling upon his supernatural powers for aid: "Pao'ɨč was helped by all his ainɨč." Then the old man would jerk the rope and Kɨlmišɨt would help hoist him up.

W
Y
231

The little falcons were too young to fly off. They were kept in the house for a while, but as they grew bigger they were put out in near-by trees where they sat or flew off a little as they pleased. Pao'ɨč and Kɨlmišɨt "had to go out every day to hunt fresh meat for the birds."

There was another hawk's nest about a quarter-mile farther up the cañon. This was a tua´kini', "who went off at night but stayed home all day,"[169] but its young were not taken.

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Bear.--Bears were given ritual redemption, but only members of Bear lineages were called upon to pay. When the headman of a Bear lineage, who was usually an elderly man who had acquired dream power from Bear [i.e., he was not merely a plain lineage member] learned that a bear had been brought in to a village, he assembled his people. The head, paws and claws,

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[436]

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[167] The route was usually downward, i.e., plainwards, as the eagles were more prized at a distance from the hills.

[168] I failed to discover how these were inherited, whether they went with the chiefly office or to a natural heir who was not necessarily the succeeding chief.

Y
M
[773]

[169] The identification of tua´kini' is uncertain; as a hero in Eastern Mono mythology he equates with the Yokuts Falcon who may be either the Prairie Falcon or Duck Hawk. The true night hawk is not supposed to occur in California.

Y
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432 and skin of the animal were laid on a blanket,
778 and the Bear pošam formed a line and threw
825 money on the blanket as they filed by. However,
the Bear headman received only the paws or
claws. The animal's head and teeth were thrown
W away. The hunter himself still retained the
Y bearskin which he might give, but could not
[431] sell, to a Bear pošam; he could not give it to
anyone else (S.O.). But according to B.O., the
skin was sold or could be obtained by the Bear
headman through the redemption process. In
either case the hunter kept the carcass, the
meat of which he was free to eat or give away.

W Bear cubs were sometimes reared, but they
Y were never given a ritual redemption as were
231 young eagles. They could be sold to anyone,
usually westward to plains people. B.O. him-
432 self once had a little cub which he "took away
off and turned loose when he was big enough to
look after himself."

W Coyote.--Coyotes were rarely killed. But
a killed coyote could be taken to a man of a
Y Coyote lineage, and some money would be given
in return The skin might be used for a Coyote
432 clown costume, but was not valued otherwise.
778 Evidently coyote redemption was not a regular
practice and, possibly because of its rarity as
825 a lineage animal, was not a profitable one for
the hunter.

Naturally, no killer was totemically attached to the animal killed. Also, for all totemic animals except the bear cubs, the redeemers felt it incumbent upon them to honor their dead totem by the ritual payment.

LIFE CYCLE

Birth and Infancy

W
Y There were no definite observances or pro-
scriptions during pregnancy. Some women ate
843 only soft food as a matter of personal prefer-
ence. Some avoided doing heavy work, such as
pounding acorns, during the last months. If
the prospective mother's residence were patrilocal, the mother-in-law might do her work for her; if she were at home, one of her sisters might do all her work (S.O.). A woman who felt sick did not have to work, relatives of her own family would help her (D.) But D. added that there was no rule for this: convenience and circumstance determined the behavior of all persons concerned.

A pregnant woman was referred to as ča·n
W wit₄p nuš (will be baby [?]), and the act of
Y giving birth was called ax₄ ́diši. The woman
remained in her own house where she lay on her
844 back on a bed of mats during delivery. Two
stakes to which she clung were driven into the
ground on either side. Usually she had one woman assistant who might be any knowledgeable female relative of her own or husband's family. This midwife pressed the parturient around the

W Y 844 waist and over the abdomen, and gave her a cup of hot medicine made by boiling kičena ʾoša[170] in water.

W Y 845 755 In case of difficult birth a shaman was called. He talked to his supernatural helper, pressed his patient's belly, rubbed it with his talisman and blew on it. No singing, dancing, cutting, or sucking was done. Usually a woman called on her own supernatural helper on such occasions: it was chiefly for such purposes that women sought power. Informant D. referred to the Wukchumni M.L.'s power in aiding childbirths.

W Y 844 The shaman was the only man present. The husband, at the time of delivery, moved out to sleep at the sweat house and have his meals with some relatives until his wife had her cleansing ritual. Some men observed a meat tabu during this time.

W Y [853] At the birth of the child the midwife cut its cord (dos) with a section of split cane (kadk·d) and tied the stump with milkweed string. The afterbirth was buried; it was never put in water or in an anthill.[171] The baby was bathed at once in warm water. It was then wrapped in a rabbitskin blanket and bound to a forked-stick cradle (akh·´l·č). The use of a soft mattress-cradle was denied by D., as was the use of shredded bark, moss, or any other type of diaper.

W Y x846 [856] [777] [237] The navel stump came off in three to six (theoretically six) days. It was put in a bead-decorated skin case and hung on the cradle hood for the infant to play with. If the stump were not kept, the baby would crawl around on the ground searching for it and would never learn to walk. It was preserved throughout life "for good luck."

W Y [824] A hot bed of stones and ashes had been prepared for the mother in her own house and on this she lay, covered with deer and rabbitskin blankets for six days. She lay on her back (D.). Each day, either in the morning or evening, she steamed the vaginal tract. Brake fern (ṭoʼo´di) was boiled in a big basket of water. The woman sat on the edge of a log, or on a stick resting between two forked stakes, with the steaming basket between her legs. She covered herself and the basket with deer and rabbitskin blankets, and remained until the steam was exhausted. The process of steaming was called te´ʾena´ošita, and was not used for any other purpose by anyone (D.).

For six days, while on the hot pit, the mother drank copiously of hot water and acorn gruel, her only sustenance. After that she ate seed and acorn mushes but kept the meat tabu for three months, when her cleansing ritual took place. A woman who failed to observe the

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[170] A tall plant with purple blossoms growing abundantly in the mountains.

[171] But D. said the Yaudanchi put the afterbirth in an anthill; and had heard of others who did.

W meat tabu would either grow very fat or become
Y emaciated (D.). Eating meat made the woman
846 sick, "her insides weren't clean" (S.O.).

The mother could not scratch herself during the six-day period.

The tabu period was strictly enforced for the first child, but was lightened progressively with later offspring. Thus, according to S.O., the tabu period on meat was three months for the first child, two months for the second, three weeks or one month for the third. Thereafter it was a matter of choice with the mother, but rarely was the tabu abandoned entirely. Usually no meat was eaten by the mother until the infant's navel stump came off. Even under modern conditions a mother refuses meat from
W two to five days after her delivery.

The naming of the child took place about
Y twelve days after its birth. Until that time,
553 and often for a month or two after, it was
called a´ktač (S.O.); called we´čɪp if a boy,
852 and wi´tɪp if a girl (D.). Personal names were
[551] used in direct address from two months on
through life (S.O.). Normally the name was bestowed by the paternal grandfather or some influential person on the father's side (D.); by the paternal uncle, grandmother, or great aunt (S:O.). "The mother's family had nothing to say" (S.O.). The name was often that of the paternal grandfather, paternal uncle, or aunt. D. insisted that only one name was given and that no other was used after the death of the elder namesake, but this did not hold true for the Waksachi, as the Western Mono frequently have two names at least.

The naming ceremony was called duni´ša, the general word for ceremonies; the ceremony was the same for a male and female infant. The grandfather, within the house and with the parents and parents-in-law present, announced the name. Outside the house the grandfather had a dancer who sang and danced (D. could not say what about). The step was the piston-rod movement with the right fist placed under the left elbow and vice versa, alternating with each step (fig. 8, a, Pt. I.). Everyone came to watch. A Wobonuch named Paila´la, who lived at Sohonto [Ko'onikwe] was noted for dancing on these occasions. His activities were the same for a boy or girl baby. D. was uncertain whether or not the baby was moved into the twined willow cradle with fan-shaped hood at this time; S.O. said it was, but probably this
W was done at the mother's ritual.

The mother's cleansing ritual (epla´ho^{1}
Y unu´malo^{a}, washing daughter-in-law) took place
846 the third moon after her delivery. On the
morning of the day set, the mother-in-law (and
783 sometimes her sisters)[172] came to the mother
with a washing basket, a set of new clothes, and a quantity of meat. They washed her, put

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[172] The infant's paternal grandmother and aunts, as it were.

W
Y the new clothes on her, and any other ornaments
which she already possessed. This washing was
846 purely ritualistic, as the woman had bathed
that day, as usual, after rising from the hot
783 pit. The meat was cooked and they all, including
the father, partook of it, The woman's
parents gave the man's parents "about two sacks
of acorn meal" (S.O.); gave them acorn meal and
blankets (D.). The parents-in-law (maˊkši)
stayed all day; they never quarrelled, were
always congenial. People came to see the
mother and her infant, but there was no singing,
dancing, or playing of games. After this
ritual the man and wife could sleep together

W The cradle (akhɨlɨč), as described by S.O.,
Y had a forked stick as foundation. Across this
were tied with ša' cord several horizontal
352 pieces of split wood. On top of this was
854 fastened a stiff mat of twined "chaparral brush"
(i.e., the normal Mono-type stiff cradle back).
Down each side were a series of buckskin thong
loops to carry the string band which held the
baby in place. When the baby was about six
months old, a shade of twined "chaparral brush"
of the fan-shaped Mono type, was affixed to the
cradle (pl. 2, b herein).

W The baby was first wrapped in an old piece
Y of deerskin or rabbitskin blanket with shredded
willow bark, usually the remains of old aprons,
854 laid in as an absorbent. Over this was wrapped
another blanket of rabbitskin or a single wildcat
skin. The outer wrapping was omitted in
warm weather.

Puberty

W.
Y When a girl's breasts grew large enough
for some milk [sic] to be exuded, she stopped
881 eating meat; otherwise she would have large
[856] breasts. (D. pointed out a fat young girl who
was the result of modern carelessness in this
respect.) She must then begin to use a scratching
stick on her head, as her hair would break
W off and be short if she touched it with her
Y fingers. These observances were continued up
to and through a girl's first menstrual period
[841] and at the two following. There was no separate
hut for menstruating women; they did not
cook, and intercourse was forbidden. Bathing
followed the period.

On the occasion of the first period a little cleansing ritual (ɨplaˊoša) was made by the girl's parents. She was first washed in the river or creek, then taken home where she was ritually washed from a basket. A new deerskin apron or such ornaments as the family could afford were put on her, and she was given meat to eat. There was no dancing or singing on this occasion, although it was not prohibited in any sense. Neither was there any betrothal or association with a youth.

W

Marriage

Y With respect to marriage, S.O. said that 582 no type of cousin marriage was tolerated, but cousins were not "counted" beyond second cousins, sometimes third, depending on propinquity W of residence; beyond third it would be Y "all right to marry." Both the levirate and [587] sororate were common but not compulsory. Usually a spouse waited five or six years before remarrying; "they would die right away if they married too soon."

W At Tušao the advances toward a marriage Y were made by a boy's parents. They talked about it, discussing suitable matches for their 584 son. The girl must not be related in any way: cousins never married. A similar totem animal, however, was no bar to marriage. When a decision had been reached, the boy's parents (or sometimes only the father) would take a present of acorns and visit the girl's parents. They presented the gift, saying that they wanted to be makši (co-parents-in-law) with them and have the girl for a daughter-in-law. After a visit discussing casual affairs, they went home. About six days later (S.O. was not sure how many, "a week maybe") they went back to the girl's home. If their proposal had been accepted, they were given a little feast by the girl's parents. Then the parents consulted their children and, it was said, the couple were usually agreeable. Such arrangements were made when the children were between ten and eighteen years of age, though "a boy wasn't Y often so old." They did this because "they didn't like to have their children go way off W to marry."

585 When all was settled, the makši exchanged gifts, which might comprise beads, baskets, 431 acorn meal, or skins. There was no gift from the boy's family in excess of those from the girl's, "they were just even." The boy himself did not have to bring any gifts.

Y The boy slept with the girl in her home W for about one week (S.O.). He was "bashful" and did not speak with his parents-in-law. Then 606 the couple went to his home where they could re- 591 main if they wished, but more often they soon removed to a home of their own. The choice of residence depended largely on the space available in the boy's home. The girl returned home W frequently for short visits, her husband some- Y times accompanying her. She gathered seeds [574] from her mother's seed localities. She, too, was bashful and did not talk with her parents-in-law.[373]

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[373] S.O. could give no more specific behavior between children- and parents-in-law. Although he gave some 200 personal names in genealogies, he "could not remember" his mother-in-law's name. Because of his blindness he remained in her home many years after his wife's death; he spoke of these years with her with considerable affection and related a dream pertaining to her.

Y
W
601 The husband was termed loto ́pnɨm (my hus-
band), the wife, or any woman with whom a man
had intercourse, yi ́wɨn. There were no changes
in these terms after the birth of children.

Y While chiefs often had two wives simul-
W taneously in the same home, most men did not.
595 Sterility was the most usual reason for taking
a second wife, but sterility was rare. If on
842 the advent of a second wife, the sterile wife
"got mad and went home," the man let her go.
837 The majority of spouses, male or female, were
not overly concerned if the husband or wife had
W relations with others.

Y When quarrels arose, the makši acted as
peacemakers but, if they failed in their at-
602 tempts to make a reconciliation, they remained
586 on good terms. They did not return any of the
prenuptial gifts. A definite divorce was
called wai'ɨkšina. When a husband went off to
live with a woman other than his wife,-it
might be termed katnušu ́šya (quarrelling [hus-
W band and wife]).

Y The Waksachi B.O. said that parent-in-law
tabus were not practiced and he laughed at the
606 idea, but his statement is not compatible with
opinions of other informants. He also said
583 that a payment was made by a boy's parents to
those of the bride, at marriage, but he could
586 not define the amount or procedure. A girl was
591 seldom married against her will, and afterward,
"if she couldn't stand it," she went back to
her parents, taking her children with her.
Residence was usually patrilocal, but the
couple had their own house near their parents-
in-law.

W The Waksachi married among neighboring
Y people to the north, south, and west. But they
582 never married with Eastern Mono, even when a
[648] family or two of that group, having come for
trading purposes, stayed on the west slope all
winter. The reason, B.O. said, was "that they
W didn't want the yo ́'otc coming over here to
Y stay."[174] The only trans-Sierra marriage B.O.
[186] knew of was that of X's son who got into
trouble stealing horses, fled across the moun-
tains, and settled there.

B.O. corroborated S.O.'s statement that
persons with the same totemic animal could
marry, but said that cousins, even second or
third, could not marry. A man seldom had more
than one wife, but B.O. thought "people to the
north" had three or four. He cited M.L.'s
stepfather (Wukchumni) as a man with two wives.
Y There also was a Yaudanchi doctor who had two
W wives; they were not sisters. He thought the
[587] Wukchumni had plural wives more often than the
Waksachi. The sororate and levirate were com-
monly practiced by the Waksachi, but were not
obligatory.

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[174] This sentiment is amusing since the Western Mono presumably came from the same source, evidently not many generations back, and probably by the same filtering process.

The Transvestite

W Y 838 [767] The male transvestite (tono ̆čım, Michahai; tai ́yap, Waksachi) handled and buried the dead (see below). Of actual persons, D. knew of only two; she denied acquaintance or knowledge of their names. One of these transvestites lived with his sister, but D. believed no sexual irregularities could be imputed to this arrangement. A male berdache took up women's activities in earliest youth, learning to cook and to make baskets at the same age a girl would ("probably along with his sisters"), which would be from five to six years, too young to be influenced by dreams. The informant did not know whether or not a normal individual would change his habits in later life at the instigation of a dream helper. This would seem unlikely, as there was no compulsion to accept a dream. In other words, the transition from male to female habits was too early to be dream-influenced, but later on a transvestite might have dreams to impel him to the duties of undertaking.

W Y [787] 767 The corpse-handler's dream help always came from dead people, "that is why they were not afraid of the dead." Not having experienced such a dream, D. did not know who these dead were, but she thought they would be specific deceased individuals, not unknown dead or transient ghosts.

The transformed male accompanied women on their seed - gathering trips, was freely accepted, and his status was no secret. There were perhaps two or three in a large village.

W Y [773] The discussion above applies only to male transvestites. The woman berdache seems to have functioned only in homosexual practices; she did not openly take up men's ways, go about with men at their work, or have any official duties. A male tonočım figures in a myth told by S.O. In all versions of the Pleiades story the young wives are homosexual, though some informants attempt to hide the motivation.

W Y [767] While B.O. described the corpse-handlers as "big women" and gave taiyap as their name or title, he denied the presence of berdachism in his culture.

Waksachi Age Categories (B.O.)

W Y 561-192

na ́na hua ̆čiči: newborn boy
hu· ́pi hua ̆čiči: newborn girl
na ́nači: boy about two years old
si'i ́sači: girl about two years old
hua ́wuha na ́nači (or si'isači): twin boys (or girls). Twins of opposite sex B.O. said he had "never heard of"; he seemed mildly shocked at the idea.
na ́nop na ́nači: boy five to ten years old
hu'u ́pi mo ́nanop: girl five to ten years old
moa ̀bi ̄na ́nop: youth twelve to twenty years old

W Y 561 192

moa´bi hu'u´pi na´nop: girl twelve to twenty years old
moa´bi ti´kinana: young man twenty to forty years old
hu'u´pi tu´amoge: young woman having borne children
moa´bi na´nanyɨp: man forty to sixty years old
moa´bi nana´pi'ɨp: woman forty to sixty years old
moa´bi moa´bh·lɨp: old man
moa´bi hube´či'ɨp: old woman

Death

W Y 763 When a person was seen to be dying, people gathered about and old women began weeping. A winatụm or possibly "just any person" would notify relatives in other villages to come as soon as possible. All the mourners remained W Y 764 near the corpse, weeping throughout the night. Meanwhile, the dead person was washed, dressed in his best clothing, and wrapped in a rabbit-skin blanket. Then the body was flexed, knees to chin, wrapped in deerskin, and tied with sa' cord. In the meantime, grave-diggers (lu´koluč, Michahai) were excavating a pit with sharpened sticks (a´či) and baskets. They did not fear to step into the grave. This service was not paid for.

Cremation.--The informant (S.O.) had never seen cremation, but knew that it was practiced just before his time. He thought that all the "people up this way" (Chukaimina, Michahai, Entimbich, Wobonuch) used cremation before white influence was felt.

At the time of death a winatum was told to get a great amount of dry wood. (S.O. did not know how the wood was arranged.) Early the following morning the corpse was placed on the pyre and burned. Possessions were burned at this time, but after the change to interment they were reserved for the Annual Mourning Ceremony. After the fire had cooled, the bones were collected and placed in water.

W Y [769] S.O. believed that, when cremation was practiced, the bereaved immediately forgot their loss. He thinks that the Annual Mourning Ceremony has been adopted to counteract the sorrow that lingers when the deceased are buried.

W Y [192] In connection with this S.O. gave the following phrases: tu´lšu mai (burn person, cremation); luku´lšu mai (bury person, interment); mai tao'i´či (person dead); pučo´ñ tao'i´či (man dead); muṭi´hoi tao'i´či (woman dead).

W Y 764 767 Burial.--According to S.O., these same men, or sometimes women, carried the corpse to the grave: a man carried a man, a woman a woman. When doing this, they were called šo´noluč (tawa´tsa šonoluč, dead to carry). They were paid for this as a separate service. The corpse was removed from the house by the normal entrance.

W Y 764 Burial took place the morning after death.[175] All the mourners followed the corpse-carrier, walking slowly. As the body was let into the grave, in sitting posture facing north [sic], the carrier made an address accompanied by wails from the onlookers.

"You will never see this person again. This poor old man is gone. Don't worry too much, just take it easy." And to the corpse's spirit, "Don't bother anyone. You're gone. Now go!"

Women, and some men, were afraid of the ghost.

Then all the deceased's possessions -- clothes, bows and arrows, or baskets -- were put in the grave. Then everyone took handfuls of earth and filled it in. When all was done, the corpse-carrier announced, "Go home!" And all went directly and briskly home: it was essential that there be no deviating nor loitering on the way. There was no purification by the mourners or corpse-handlers. W Y [783

W Y 767 All the duties connected with the burying of the dead "went in families," according to S.O. The corpse-handlers were called, generically, tonočɨm, and ghosts of the dead were their totems. However, both S.O. and B.O. thought that the individuals themselves were not transvestites. It appears that both men and women worked at the same time and the workers, at least in washing and carrying the body, were of the same sex as the deceased.

W Y 775 539 Afterworld.--A dead person's spirit is called tawa´tsan i´nɨl (Michahai), tso´ape o´haba·wa (Waksachi). This may be equated with soul or ghost, as a person has but one spirit; it is the same entity which has dream experiences and is, during life, vaguely located in the heart. The following was related by S.O.

> The spirit lies in the ground two days and one night, then on the second evening it leaves just after sundown. It goes west, far beyond our sight [it does not go up]. There is one little road to go. Far, far away he reaches a huge expanse of water. Now he is getting close to the dead. Here, on this side is one big chief (tia'a) sitting in his house. The chief calls the traveling spirit in and asks him where he belongs. When he learns his tribe, he tells him where he will find his dead relatives and friends when he reaches the land of the dead (tibɨ´knɨč).
>
> There is a little bridge that goes clear out over the water -- a long, long bridge. When the spirit is far out on it, a water creature flashes up to scare him; if the spirit is frightened, he will fall in the water never to recover. But if he pays no heed to the creature, he will reach the far shore where many fires can be seen burning. People over

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[175] A death occurring at or after midnight would call for burial, not the next, but the next-after-next, morning, i.e., roughly 24 to 36 hours elapsed between death and disposal.

[P. 237 b] Western Mono NS25

W Y 775 539

there see the new spirit coming; they go to welcome him and lead him to his relatives' fire. Games and dancing are in course everywhere. But when the morning star rises, everything disappears until dusk, when it becomes visible again.[175]

W Y 765 [768]

Mourning.--The house in which death occurred was always abandoned; although it was not invariably burned, no one else would move into it. The former inmates built themselves a new house, not necessarily far off -- "fifty feet maybe." Mourning observances were maintained by bereaved spouses, parents, or offspring; siblings, cousins, grandparents, or relatives-in-law did not observe them unless the circumstances of life -- propinquity, or physical or emotional dependence -- had brought them abnormally close to the dead person. The length of time mourning endured depended again on the degree of bereavement. A widow was expected to mourn a year, a widower but three months, as minimal periods. Usually a small personal ritual ended deep mourning, so to say, after three to six months, but spiritual mourning and the meat tabu, continued until the large annual tribal mourning ceremony was held.

W Y [302 826]

The observances of mourning were as follows. The hair was singed off close to the head with a hot charred stick; the hair was always disposed of in water and weighted down with a stone, never buried nor burned [reason unknown to any informant]. Dirt was allowed, even encouraged by the use of pitch, to accumulate on the face and body; only the hands were washed. No meat or grease might be eaten, although yellowjackets' nests (tabu to pregnant women) were admissible as food. No visiting was done save among relatives, and attendance at any ceremony was unthinkable. A brooding attitude was maintained, and old women frequently released their melancholy in wailing outside the village at dawn and dusk.

W Y 765 551

Verbal observances by others who were not themselves mourners were: a tabu on the name of the dead person, the changing of one's name if it were that of the deceased, and the changing of kinship terms for relatives connected with the speaker through the deceased. The changing of one's name was not a difficulty, as only one person in a family -- usually a paternal grandchild, grandnephew, or grandniece -- could possibly have it. The change need not be permanent, as the tabu was lifted after the Annual Mourning Ceremony. Furthermore, a change could be made by phonetic distortion, as in kinship terms, if one did not wish to take a wholly new name. Nicknames were often coined and applied at such times.

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[175] At this point B.O. volunteered the "Orpheus Myth" in order to explain to me how the nature of the afterworld was known to man (see Gayton, Orpheus Myth; Gayton and Newman, 35).

[P. 238 a] Western Mono NS25

W Y 769 "Little Mourning Ceremony".--This rite (wi´či luni´ša) marked the cessation of mourning. When a mourner felt that he had observed the full restrictions sufficiently long, he told his chief that he wished to end them. The chief usually agreed, merely asking the mourner if he had funds for the expenses entailed. A day was set for the ritual, usually six days W Y [783] [571] ahead, and the chief's winatum was sent to notify the persons who should come to do the ritual washing. The washer(s) was always a certain person, for the function was reciprocal between certain families of differing tribes.[177] The concept is one met before in connection with the Wukchumni, but oddly S.O. did not recognize the term gu´'i, used by them (and by B.O.), saying he "had never heard the word." How this reciprocal relationship came to be established he was unable to say: it had always been so. Both B.O. and S.O. mentioned the Wukchumni as properly reciprocal to the Wakşachi, and said that the Entimbich also functioned in this capacity for both Michahai and Waksachi.

W Y 769 624 783 When the winatum arrived at the village of the washers, he went directly to the chief, who took his cane (carried only when anno[illegible]g a mourning ritual) and gave him food. [illegible]sage was then given to the chief, who [illegible] sent his own winatum to get the perso[illegible]ed [washers]. The washers and their companions decided upon what day they would start for the ritual. When the winatum was ready to depart, the chief paid him a small sum (roughly the equivalent of 50 to 75 cents) and gave him some little seed cakes and other tidbits of food to take home (for himself). The winatum also received back his cane which the chief had taken from him, but in so doing, he paid the chief a trifle (about 25 cents). Then he left and, when he reached home, he reported to his chief "and told the people to get ready."

W Y 769 When the washers came, they were accompanied by their chief, a winatum, and any members of their family or friends who cared to come. This group was encamped in shelters erected for them and fed throughout the entire visit. Professional singers (ahe´nɨč) secured by the local chief came to the fire in the assembly space in the early morning and sang mourning songs. They used no accompaniment. There might be two to four of these, and eventually they received pay.

During the day the local chief would give a speech, saying why people were assembled, that So-and-So had been mourning for a dead person, but that his mourning was now to cease. The bereaved person cried in response, and often some of his family too. These mourners then walked over to pay the singers; men went

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[177] S.O. offered as an example his nephew ("Tom Tyner and all his family"), who always has a Wukchumni of Falcon lineage to wash him [sic] when mourning. The Wukchumni was always [?] To´pino (Jim Britches).

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first giving them money, the women followed giving acorn meal or berries. The singers had large baskets with them to receive these things.

Then the mourners "sang loud and danced around in a circle. Some had effigy dolls at this little fandango." These, and any remaining possessions of the deceased, were thrown on the fire. They were not given to the washers (as at the "big" ceremony).

W
Y
[783]
Next morning, just after sunrise, the washer or washers took baskets of hot water and washed the mourners "all over" and put new clothes on them. They also presented them with meat, which the winatums took to prepare for a general feast. There was no dancing or other festivity at this time. At the end, the mourners, assisted by a contribution from the chief, gave a sum of money to the washers and their companions. The visiting chief "got about three or four times as much money as the others."

Usually a little mourning ceremony of this kind lasted but one day and night, but its length differed with the wealth or the desire for display of the bereaved. Sometimes the affair would last four or five days, i.e., the burning and washing were postponed while the singers sang each morning. (Meanwhile the guests had to be fed and the singers must be paid that much more.) If it was thought that there would not be a "big" tribal ceremony during the forthcoming year, the "little" one was made more elaborate.

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There was no money exchange for interest (lak·na´n·č) connected with the smaller ritual, save as the mourners might have to borrow money privately to meet the expense.

SUPERNATURAL POWER AND SHAMANISM

Training and Practice

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The acquisition and uses of supernatural power were so well understood by S.O. that he could readily formulate the following statements. There are some interpolations from B.O. and D. I think it is safe to assume that S.O.'s account can serve for the culture of all the Central Foothill tribes: it enlarges, but in no way contradicts, the statements of less knowledgeable and intelligent informants. S.O. made it clear, as had others, that the distinction between a common person with a little privately used power and the professional public shaman was one of quantity of power. The procedure for acquiring power was the same for all: the ambitious person continued his efforts and strove for dreams of more and stronger supernatural helpers (e.g., Cougar, Eagle, Coyote, Owl) than the person who was content with one or two dreams of lesser helpers (e.g., Blackbird, Night, Fox). This, of course, did not apply to women who might and did acquire "private" power but never became professional

W Y 756 778 doctors. S.O. said he had "never seen or heard of a woman doctor." There was no shamans' class or society or form of initiation.

W Y 756 778 787 There was no difference between preparation for doctoring (shamanism) and ordinary seeking of power except that of the amount of effort expended. Nor did procedure differ in seeking one tutelary rather than another. The nature of the supernatural power (tɨ´pni) was the same: the quantity of power in terms of the number of dream helpers (ai´nɨč) and the abilities they sponsored determined the difference. All people began to have significant dreams, or at least to notice them, about the time of adolescence. Whether or not these offers of supernatural aid were accepted was entirely a matter of individual choice, as was also the kind of dream. Thus, if a youth wished to become a doctor, he would accept a dream of "doctoring" brought by, say, Owl or Coyote, and discourage or reject a dream from Cougar, who gave hunting power. Theoretically, said S.O., through the medium of dream anything might tell a youth to doctor -- an animal, insect, or even some other doctor, or such elements as Night, Water, Thunder, etc. But actually the things dreamed of were relatively few (when compared to the all-inclusive "anything") and no case of an inanimate object (such as a pestle, basket, or bow) being a dream helper was known. The "best" helper was Eagle; his power was the strongest. But Owl and Coyote were the traditional shamans' sponsors. When dreamed of, they would offer aid to the dreamer, tell him that he could cure people, and what talismans to use.

W Y 787 [869] Although it was not compulsory to accept offers of supernatural aid, it was advised by older people, who would admonish the young to acquire at least a little power for themselves. They would say to their young relatives, "If you don't do this, you will die soon. You are young now. It is time for you to start now [to attend to your dreams]." Old men thus would address the younger generation in the sweat house or when they came to visit in a house. When S.O. was young, he would sit by his father's fire, fanning it, and ask visitors to tell him stories and advise him on conduct.

The procedure for inducing dreams was thus laid down by S.O.:

1. Tobacco must be drunk every night, after supper and before retiring, to cause vomiting.
2. Go to bed with the mind set on the sort of dream desired.
3. Dream; if the dream is irrelevant, ignore it.
4. If the dream is significant, get up and walk some distance from the house, 100 feet or more.
5. There talk to the visitant in the dream, saying it [or its instructions] had been heard, that it is accepted and now "owned" by

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the dreamer and will be used henceforth for all time. [See dreams recorded below.]

6. Return to bed, but do not sleep under any circumstances.

7. Get up in the morning as usual, but do not bathe or eat.

8. Select some secluded spot outside of the village and start for it in time to arrive not a moment later than high noon.

9. When there, at noon, again address the dream helper, asking its aid, asking it to come again in dreams.

10. Speak respectfully to the sun, moon, and stars, when seen at such times of address or prayer.

11. Refrain from eating meat or grease in any form. Acorn mush and gruel is the regular diet during such quest periods.

This routine was continued as long as one wished but, if one were deeply serious, one might also:

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[778]

12. Drink jimsonweed every spring.

13. Go off alone to bask in the sun [advisable but not essential]. Doctors often went out to lie down in the sun. S.O. today (1926) spends much of his time sitting in the sunshine beside his house, fingering and stroking his eagle-down talisman (fig. 2 herein). He attributes his good health to his doing this: "the sun hears and knows everything, both day and night."

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The ordinary person who sought dream power but had no intention of becoming a shaman did

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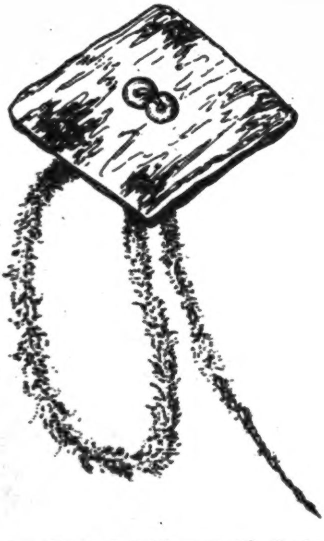

Fig. 2. Sacred talisman of abalone shell and eagle-down cord belonging to Michahai informant S.O.

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Y so to obtain longevity. A man, like S.O.,
could ask his dream helper to cure or aid some
787 other person, often a young relative, without
782 being considered a real shaman. The desire for
good health and long life was a common one; as
181 voiced in prayerful address to the sun, moon,
and stars it usually ran something like this:
"I see you [Sun], I see you all the time. Help
me to have a good life." Water, particularly
that of springs, was thought to be immortal --
"it is everywhere all the time" -- and, if
dreamed of, was a sponsor of longevity. When-
ever S.O. came upon a little spring or creek he
"sprinkled a little bit on himself so he would
live long."

W The dream, the dream helper, and the talis-
mans used to represent the helper were all
Y called by the same term, ainɨč. The talisman
787 was usually some part of the animal dreamed of,
and while, as a profane object, it might be
778 secured by purchase, it was nevertheless sacred
776 and empowered with the supernatural force,
tɨ'pni. Once it became a talisman, it was
never sold.

A dream helper could visit only one person
at a time, but yet might visit several persons
the same night. [The likelihood of many per-
sons having the same dream the same night is
slight; and the fact might not happen to be
disclosed, as such matters were not spoken of
in open or common conversation.] When a talis-
man of a certain helper has been used once, it
loses its power and must be redreamed. Hence
the need for several dream helpers and talis-
W mans if one wanted much and dependable super-
Y natural power. Talismans were loaned among
[425] friends and worked as well for another as for
the owner. (Wukchumni mention thefts of these.)
But they were never sold. Shamans frequently
assisted each other by lending talismans, or,
retaining them themselves, used them to help
another accomplish his purpose.[178]

W As to the nature of dreaming, S.O. could
Y only say that it was one's spirit moving about
and having the experience. "When you go to
787 sleep, you walk around some place. I have gone
off to those springs around here lots of times.
828 Your spirit [aha'bawa, Michahai] goes anywhere."
It is the ahabawa that has all dream experience:
people who meet in dreams are ahabawa. To il-
lustrate this further S.O. said he once had a
home in Drum Valley where he was very happy,
living with his wife, and after her death he
continued to live there with his mother-in-law.
Now, even today, his ahabawa goes over there:
he sees the place, although he is blind and he
knows the house is no longer there. He often

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[178] This was especially true when shamans allied for nefarious purposes (cf. Gayton, Yokuts-Mono Chiefs and Shamans, 393).

[P. 240b] ~~[illegible]~~ NS25

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787 dreams that his mother-in-law is there too.[179]
When people dreamed of someone in this casual
828 manner (i.e., not a "power" dream), they might
speak of it to each other, saying, for example,
"I saw your brother" (uhe´wia nü u´bunɩt,
W Waksachi).

Y Significant or "power" dreams were told
only to the most intimate friends, usually only
787 to one who was also seeking tɩpni. There was
778 no formal prohibition on disclosing them;
rather it was a matter of wisdom and good taste
[577] not to talk of, and particularly not to brag of,
756 one's supernatural power.[180] Other people were
aware, of course, of a seeker's activities and
knew that he was by way of being a doctor. A
man was usually thirty to forty years old before he felt that he knew enough to cure as a
professional shaman. It was often through the
intimate acquaintance of two friends who knew
of each other's supernatural experiences that a
budding shaman secured his first patient.

W Thus, a man who had a sick child might be
Y too poor to pay a high fee or might be distrustful of established shamans. The intimate
755 friend of the novice would suggest to the
756 father that he let So-and-So try, that he knew
he had much power. Or the father himself might be aware of the young man's efforts and want to try him. Whichever the circumstance, the father would approach the young man with a sum of money (less than would be offered a professional practitioner) and ask him to come try to cure his child. If the novice felt he had enough power to attempt it, he would do so; if not, there was no compulsion for him to agree. He would be likely to refuse unless confident of success, as failure always laid a doctor's motives open to suspicion, especially repeated failures. A young doctor, like an old one, was entitled to keep the fee whether the cure succeeded or not, and was often given additional presents of baskets or blankets, if successful.

However, the novice must begin sometime and, if he accepted the fee, would go and do his best. His talismans would be those indicated by his dreams, and his methods of curing would be sucking, blowing, and rubbing, as with all doctors. If the patient recovered, he was recommended to others and so little by little set up a practice, so to say. He continued his training procedure, for always he must reëmpower his used talismans, and an accumulation of power was not only desirable but indispensable when he became sufficiently successful to attract attention as a possible rival to older shamans. An initial failure to cure usually led to redoubled efforts to seek power; but

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W [179] Although S.O. insisted that there was no mother-in-
Y law tabu in his society, it is worthy of remark that he
"could not remember" his mother-in-law's name in spite of
[606 the fact that his genealogical memory carried over 200
153] names and his dreams of the woman were cordial.

[180] A story pointing a moral against bragging of one's power appears in Gayton and Newman, 37.

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W Y [755] 756 continuing failures might dissuade the novice from pursuing a shaman's career.

An advance in the attainment of supernatural power was marked by a shaman's entrance into the Shamans' Contest, as only "big" doctors could make the airshot believed derived from the sun. A shaman with little power would fear to attempt it. Moreover, it was customary that entering shamans make and exhibit airshot to the managing winatum before the contest commenced.

W Y [754 156] Young doctors were not feared as malevolent, as were older, powerful shamans. "Bad doctoring," the sickening of others for the attainment of wealth through fees, political power, or for malicious pleasure, was thought to be a matter of personality. It was a misuse of power by the individual, and was not due to different or evil dream helpers,[181] although it was thought that assistance from several very powerful helpers such as Eagle, Cougar, Coyote, and Owl might endanger a man's good character by putting excessive power in his way. Whether a doctor was good or bad was believed to result largely from his choice of companions. There was a tendency among shamans to form cliques which became mutually antagonistic. S.O. summarized his long exposition by concluding: "A doctor was just a person who had too much power. Sometimes they got mean, tried to see what they could do, and got so they thought they could do anything. People would be here yet if the doctors weren't so mean."

W Y 755 756 The procedure between patient and established doctor was much like that given above for the novice. When a person became ill, some member of the family would go after the doctor whom they had selected, taking a fee with him. More money or objects of value might be given the doctor during the course of curing. It was this practice of "bleeding" a patient's relatives that led avaricious men to the shaman's profession and, when carried too far, brought the outraged family to the conclusion that the patient was in truth the shaman's own victim. Even if death resulted, the initial fee was not returned; the doctor "usually was told to keep it." But S.O. knew of instances wherein half was returned; to obviate suspicion a conscientious doctor would want to do this.

W Y 755 [237 778] The doctor summoned would normally agree to visit the sick person, but he would proceed to curing only if he felt disposed to do so. The first thing he would try would be rubbing the patient with his talisman. Cutting (for sucking) was not thought good practice. The doctor's talisman, which might be a weasel skin, owl's head, stone, etc., was dipped in a basket of water and rubbed on parts of the patient's body. As he did this, the shaman talked to the

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[181] Cf. Chukchansi; a Chukchansi man might become the unwilling abettor of his supernatural helpers.

[P. 241 b] Western Mono vs 25

W Y 755

dream helper the talisman represented or to the object itself. He would blow on the affected part, such as the head or abdomen, and press the talisman against it. In so doing he would address the talisman "and tell it to tell the ill person not to be sick." This procedure did not always cure, and cutting and sucking might be resorted to. During the course of treatment a doctor would stop to smoke and also to go off to some secluded spot to commune with his helpers. By means of this supernatural information he would learn what to do, what was the cause of the sickness. He would not always tell what this was; particularly would he hesitate to disclose that some other doctor had deliberately sickened the patient. That is, he would not dare to announce whom he specifically believed to be responsible unless he felt that his own power was greater, as the accused doctor would certainly take revenge by supernatural means.

W Y 756 627

If the patient died, his relatives might doubt the sincerity of the shaman's curing efforts, particularly if the doctor previously had lost patients. "They would get mad and talk about it, saying, 'He doesn't know much,' 'He is a bad doctor,' and so on. And while they talked they'd get madder and decide to kill that doctor." Some relatives of the deceased would do this; there was no official "shaman-killer." Sometimes they would be too enraged to wait for the chief's permission to take action. Although relatives of the victim combined for revenge, it was not permissible, or even thinkable, that they should avenge themselves on any of the shaman's relatives. He alone was responsible for the offense. The action was condoned as one of public benefit, particularly if in the normal course of consultation with the chief and older men they had advised it. However, if the shaman's family doubted the justice of his punishment, they could take up his cause and a feud would result. By anecdotal evidence this was rare. A shaman's own relatives tended to ignore him when he became antisocial in behavior.

Dream Experiences

W Y 787 [276] 755

1. When S.O. was living at Dunlap his wife and three children were still alive. He had been ill and apathetic. He drank a little tobacco every night merely as a cleansing tonic. It caused vomiting: then he would fall asleep immediately with no thought of dreaming.

But one night two hummingbirds "came away up from the south." They addressed him: "What do you get sick for? Just a little sickness like that! I want to help you. I have come from far away. I have come to see you. You will be well in the morning. Go to the spring now and wash. We are going back now."

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S.O. woke up instantly and saw the birds as they flew off.[182] He went directly to the spring and, as he had no eagle-down cord (pisesan) with him, he dipped his hands in the water to put it on himself. While doing so he addressed the water: "Mɩčkɩt [hummingbird][183] told me to use you. Now I will be well in the morning. I come to you. I am talking to you. Now I am all right."

He returned to the house but did not sleep: "What I dreamt was right there with me" [keeping it on his mind]. When daylight came, he ate no breakfast but told his wife and children to eat without him. Understanding, they made no comment. Then he went out into the woods and walked around until midday. Then he again addressed his dream [the hummingbirds] saying: "Now I am all right. Everything is gone." Then he came home. He ate only acorn mush that day. Thereafter he was well.

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2. According to S.O., water is a powerful curing medium. He considers it immortal "because it is everywhere and never dies." Often he has "dreamed of springs and gone to talk to them in the night." One such dream was this.

He was standing near a spring of water. The water "began to rise up as if it were going to pull me in." This S.O. regarded as a sign that the spring wanted him to use it as an ainɩč (curing talisman). As soon as he awoke he went directly to a nearby spring. He said: "You help me as long as I live. If I get sick I'll use you to help me. If someone else gets sick I'll use you to cure him. I dream about you. You are mine."

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S.O. has used water in curing himself many times. He cured Sam Calhoun's wife with it, and reported the following instance.

Sometime after this Tom Tyner's baby swallowed some kind of seed. Its abdomen began to swell up. They didn't know what to do for it. Finally they sent for S.O., who was known to have a little power. When he arrived, the child was "nearly dead." The eagle-down cord which he had with him S.O. dipped in a little basket of water and rubbed over the baby's belly. This was late in the evening. The following morning the swelling had diminished and the child recovered.

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3. All dreams did not involve songs, but all curing songs were so derived. After the death of S.O.'s wife and sons he mourned continually. Nothing could console him. He didn't even think of getting dream help. He couldn't sleep.

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[182] This was one of the many occasions on which, regrettably, I did not ask S.O. if he had yet lost his sight.

[183] Untranslatable; refers to hummingbird but is not the usual term. It may be one of the "old time" mythical names, encountered in myths. S.O. could not explain its use.

[P. 242 b] [redacted] NS25

W One night when he was staying with a
Y friend he fell asleep suddenly. Then Night
787 spoke to him chidingly, saying that S.O. was
treating him badly, ignoring his efforts to
533 help him. Then "he gave me a song to make me
happy and told me to sing it whenever I felt
sad." [It is in Michahai.]

W hunai ´'awi·[184] [repeat 3 times]

Y ta´wapun pa·´na· [repeat 3 times]
all right my world

[539] hi´am .na mum taw· ´nĭi
now I am sorry

hunu´mău na
to be too weak to move from prolonged
  fasting I

hunai ´'awi· [repeat 3 times]

ta´wapun pa´'ana· [repeat 3 times]

S.O. woke up instantly and began singing the song lest he "lose it." His friend awoke asking what was the matter. But S.O. continued to sing; he ate no breakfast and later he went out to talk to Night in solitude. He said: "Give me well-being, Night." [·niša´man wa·ni'i´nwa toiyo´ni; ·nsiš is "good," prosperity, satisfaction; perhaps "blessing" would best fit in the phrase. Any other name, Water, Cougar, etc., could be substituted in this phrase, which was standardized.]

S.O.'s friend said nothing about his behavior; he understood. Thereafter S.O. was happy and he sang the song whenever he began to feel depressed.

W 4. Not all dreams were accepted, since a
Y dreamer might not want the type of power proffered. As an example of this S.O. related the
787 following. He dreamed it some years ago; he
said it was a common type, that he had dreamed
778 it more than once and that many other people
had experienced it.

He dreamed he was walking along somewhere off in the hills. He sat down on a rock. Immediately it began to grow. It kept rising until he "was about fifty feet up in the air." He wondered how he was going to get down. He looked all around, and was afraid to move for fear of falling off. Finally he discovered that a live oak tree was growing right beside the rock. So he climbed into it and made his way down. As soon as he reached the ground the rock shrank to normal size.

Although S.O. did not want to use this dream, he addressed it as a matter of respect.

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[184] S.O. could not translate this word, saying "it just meant 'let me go' or 'don't trouble about me,'" which does not seem at all applicable. He said the word was always repeated three times in a reciprocal greeting between dreamer and dream helper.

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Y "I just said, 'As long as I live I will see
787 you, Rock. I see you all the time.'"[185]

To accept a dream of this type, i.e.,
778 getting down safely off a height, would give the dreamer power to do this in real life. S.O. explained his rejection of this by his blindness which did not permit him "to go around any places like that."

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5. It was not considered wise or in good taste to boast of one's supernatural power, but
Y particularly was it a matter of caution not to let a shaman suspect one of having a competi-
756 tive amount of tɨpni. "People never told what they dreamed or what their talisman was except
778 to their most trusted friends." If one person said to another, "You have lots of power," the
787 person addressed replied in kind, "It is you who have lots of power," as the perception of power in another was thought to indicate the possession of power by the perceiver. Since shamans, of course, had this power (of perception) it was thought to be difficult to keep them from knowing about one's private abilities. Apropos of this, S.O. told the following dream experience and its aftermath.

Once he dreamed that he was over at Watoki Dam and saw a bright green rattlesnake swimming towards him across the water. As it was the fall of the year [hibernation period], he was greatly puzzled, especially by its verdant aspect. He told no one.

The very next day Senai´ja, a shaman, came. He knew beforehand that S.O. had seen the snake, and the following conversation ensued.

Shaman: What did you see last night ?
S.O. (being wary): Yes, I saw something.
Shaman: You saw something close to you last night ?
S.O.: Yes, I saw a rattlesnake.
Shaman: That's just what I mean.

Bystanders wondered what this conversation was about but recognized that the shaman had some supernatural apperception. Then Senaija told S.O. that the reason he saw the snake was "because he had been following the old ways" (i.e., dreaming, praying, sun-basking, etc). He said he (Senaija) knew all about it. S.O. "just laughed but he was mad inside." He was chagrined because he was following the old ways and did not wish it to be known.

[That the shaman's perspicacity was verbal pretense did not appear to S.O. If so intelligent a person as S.O. was blind to the verbal trickery involved, the delusions perpetrated by "mean" shamans on dull people must have been facile indeed.]

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Flying Power

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A special type of power, that of jumping
791 or "flying" through space for a considerable

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[185] Another standardized phrase for addressing anything supernatural: ama´mao pa´'anao na mum ia´'ika (whole, or round-of-the-year, every place I you see).

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distance, was called mai´ʔiwɨn by both Michahai and Western Mono. The concept seems to center in the upland area of Chukaimina, Michahai, Waksachi, and Wobonuch. It was used especially as a protective device, as it gave the owner a means of invisible escape. It was also used to move other objects, like the corpse in the anecdote of the malicious shaman.[186] The source (supernatural sponsor or dream helper) of this power could not be specified by S.O. But he gave two anecdotes concerning it.

1. A shaman [Etak ?] was assaulted early one morning. A lot of people went over to his house. He was expecting this. He asked the people to sit down. They surrounded him. He seized his talismans, jumped on a man in passing, and said "hwi·i·i·i·!" and flew off into the air. He was invisible. But, unfortunately for him, "he landed in a bunch of people." As soon as he struck the ground, he became visible. They shot him to death at once.

2. A Wobonuch, whose name S.O. could not recall, went out hunting. He saw a cinnamon bear which started to run him down. This man had many talismans. Just as the bear was upon him he called out, "hwi·i·i·i·!" and flew off. This he repeated several times until he neared a tall tree. He flew up into it and remained there until the bear lost patience and went off.

Miscellaneous Data

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The lineage totem animal (poša) might serve as a supernatural helper (ainɨč) in the same manner as any dissociated or random animal which appeared in a dream experience. In this way did Bear Dancers or Snake Doctors dream of their family creature. Such an experience was that of Hai´puš (Samson Dick, the Wobonuch singer) who had Fox (a´oča) as his poša. Incidentally, this was the only instance of a Fox lineage known to S.O.

Haipuš had a daughter who ran off with a white man. Her father and old Wilolohi went after her; they separated and Haipuš went down a gulch where he saw people encamped. Two Wobonuch girls were there; he saw his girl and talked to her. She said she was satisfied and wanted to stay. Then the white men came up and threatened Haipuš with a gun, so the old man ran off. The men came right after him. In despair Haipuš called on Fox for aid. Instantly a fox appeared and, running a zigzag path between Haipuš and his pursuers, attracted the latters' attention. While the men were trying to shoot the fox, Haipuš escaped. And so, S.O. said, did the fox.

S.O. said, "All doctors talk about Coyote."

One day he and some companions were walking from Squaw Valley to Antelope Valley. He

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[186] Cf. Gayton, Yokuts-Mono Chiefs and Shamans, 393.

W Y 613 825

saw what he thought was a dog coming along the trail, but it proved to be a coyote. Immediately after, they met Pušl꞉l꞉n and Ko´'o (both Chukaimina shamans) and a third man. As they came up, Pušl꞉l꞉n said, "Did you see my poša ?" "Yes," said S.O. And Pušl꞉l꞉n replied, "He always goes with me at night. I make him do that by dreaming of him every night."

W Y 778

The talisman in most common use by Michahai people with supernatural power was the eagle-down cord (pisesan). This was somewhat comparable to the loose eagle down used by the Wukchumni and other Yokuts. The one belonging to S.O. is illustrated (fig. 2). He freely offered it to me to examine and often sat with it in his hands while talking. He stated definitely that it had been made for him by D., a Michahai woman who was also my informant. She, however, as firmly denied having done so when questioned about it. The misunderstanding may be mine.

Waksachi Shamanism

W Y 756

The following very general information on shamanism was given by B.O.

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A man who was a doctor (poha´gɤ) might get his power from "most anything." When he cured, he wore the Yokuts-type feather headdress of crow and magpie feathers. Sucking and rubbing with eagle down were the only curing techniques.

There were no women doctors among the Waksachi, nor were there any specialists. A doctor who cured snake bites was called ṭu'u´dəm (Yokuts word), but he gave no dancing performance or Snake Ritual like his Yokuts analogue.

W Y 764

The burial of a shaman was like that for an ordinary person.

W Y 756 683

The killing of evil shamans was thought justifiable. There was no special person for this duty. Men who wanted to kill a shaman would go to their chief for advice and consent, then do the deed themselves. While the death of the shaman himself was condoned, it was not permissible to injure any member of his family. For their part, the shaman's relatives never retaliated, under normal circumstances. If a doctor, so murdered, had several horses, they would be divided among the killers; other property was disposed of by his relatives as in an ordinary death.

B.O. related one anecdote of a shaman's death.

W Y 765 683

A mourning ceremony was being given by the Yokod at their village [near the present site of Yokohl]. B.O. and his brother George, who were renowned hunters, were asked to come and bring some deer. They went, stopping at Rancheria Flat over night, and en route killed six deer. They reached Yokohl on Thursday, well in advance of the final ritual on Saturday night.

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The Yckod had some grudge against a Wukchumni doctor, Ka´čua. On Sunday morning just after the washing rite several men decided the time had come to kill him. The participants in the ceremony were all still standing in line; the shaman, alone, was some one hundred feet away. A man walked toward him and seized him. Another shot at the shaman with an arrow but struck his captor. The doctor was apparently armed, for he shot several times before rushing into a tule house to defend himself. Nevertheless he was surrounded and shot to death within.

W Y 754 683

An example of an evil shaman's activities was related by B.O. Since the setting and actors are Wobonuch, he did not know the persons' names.

There was living at Apuwijiwana (Local Map G, no. 7) a fine young shaman who had just married. He was a good hunter and he had much yucca (ob¹) stored for winter. There were three other couples living there: the young man's brother-in-law and his wife, and the son and daughter of a very powerful old shaman, each with his spouse. Now this old shaman and his wife came to visit their son and daughter. But soon after their arrival the young bride fell ill and died. Not long after, her brother, the young shaman's brother-in-law, also died. Then the shaman's own son died. These deaths were blamed on the old man, and even his wife was alarmed, for she said to her son-in-law, "We'll all be killed. We'd better go away." But the son-in-law just told the old shaman to go bury his son. The young shaman went down to Pajipuwe (Local Map F, no. 22) and told people what was going on. When he got back, the old shaman's son-in-law lay dying. The old shaman's wife went off toward Pawuhaba (Local Map G, no. 1) by herself and kept crying and crying. Then the young shaman went back to Pajipuwe and got the chief. The chief sent some women out with food and covering to find the old woman who was wandering alone. Then the chief and the young shaman went down to Tomokozono (Local Map F, no. 15), where people were already talking of the scandal. They were joined by some men and all went over to Učibikwe (not located) where it was thought the old shaman was coming. He did come and was killed at once. Then the young shaman died, and his people came up and buried him at his home at Apawijiwana.

Causes of Sickness

W Y 753 [774]

There were two causes of sickness, intrusion and poisoning. A third, soul loss, was discussed so confusedly that it cannot safely be added: S.O. said that a person's spirit might be stolen, which resulted in instantaneous death, but how this was accomplished or by whom, he could not say.[187]

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[187] Since even this slight information was elicited only by close questioning, it would seem that the idea of soul loss certainly did not play an important part in Michahai culture.

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Y The symptoms resulting from intrusions and
poisoning are impossible to distinguish, al-
753 though S.O. tried to categorize them. Intru-
sion caused delirium, "made the patient grab
around." The intruding object, which might be
"anything," but usually proved to be such
things as fingernails, the hair of a dead per-
son, sand, or insects, was thought to enter
W into the blood and lodge between the eyebrows.
Y Intrusive objects were always projected by a
[755] shaman. If not removed, they proved fatal. The
technique for removal was cutting and sucking.
The irritant was always exhibited by the doctor
(or by his winatum) and destroyed by fire or
burial. The cure was immediately effective.

Poisoning was a vague cause to which many
kinds of sicknesses were attributed, particu-
W larly those accompanied by severe pain, perhaps
in the joints, which could scarcely be caused
Y by an actual intestinal poison. It seems to be
[789] based on a concept of contagious magic. Thus
persons fell ill from touching "poisoned"
objects such as baskets, articles of clothing,
etc. The cure for this was the blowing and
rubbing technique. [Yet we saw above S.O. used
this technique for curing an objective sickness,
the swallowing of injurious seeds by a baby.]
Poisoning was thought far more dangerous than
intrusion, and most deaths were attributed to
it.

W
Y S.O. said that "a person receiving a
severe fright would know that a doctor was
754 going to sicken him." In such cases the fright
was believed to be as much a contributing cause
of death as the subsequent poison. Thus a
malevolent shaman would send a coyote to scare
a man who, seeing a coyote under peculiar cir-
cumstances, would realize at once he was some-
one's victim. His fear would bring on a self-
induced illness. Another favorite method of
shamans was to send an owl to hoot outside a
specified house: on hearing it the inmates
felt a foreboding. S.O. knew of one incident
when a dove fell dead amongst a group of people,
and the person nearest it thought he was doomed:
no ordinary dove would so behave. Such crea-
tures would also come as doctor's messengers
to foretell death in dreams.

The malicious activities of shamans were
well known to S.O. and attested by several
anecdotes, which have already been published.[188]

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Rain-making

789 There were no persons among the Michahai
or Waksachi who had power to control the
791 weather. Like informants from other central
and northern Yokuts-Mono tribes, B.O. and S.O.
said that all weather shamans were "southerners."
Two rain-makers, Su´mɨk and Taku´mum, visited
the Michahai village of Tušao and displayed
their powers.

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[188] Gayton, Yokuts-Mono Chiefs and Shamans, 391, 393, 394.

[P. 245b] Western Mono ws25

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788 Sum‹k was recalled by D., who gave the following account.

791 There were no rain-makers except in the south around Kernville and Tejon. A rain-maker was called hoto´ʼo ti šaš (rain to-make) and got his power by dreaming, D. thought, about Thunder.

There was one man named sum‹k who traveled along the foothills as far north as Tušao [perhaps farther] to make money. When he came, he told the chief what he was going to do and, when permission was given, he sat down on a tule mat before the chief's house. The winatum announced what was to be done, and the men of the village approached and paid him for the coming display. With him he had a large white stone and some ka´wa seeds: these were his talismans (ain‹č). He scattered the seeds over the ground and then retired to a house where he remained quiet or slept all day. Toward evening he came out and harangued the people, telling them not to let their children play with hail (howo´to),[189] not to make fires with wood that had been struck by lightning or talk about Thunder, for the lack of rain was due to Thunder's anger. During his talk the white stone was kept beside him under a rabbitskin blanket. By-and-by it rained.

D. said she could not remember further details, as "she was just a little girl." She added that "when Sum‹k died, someone found his white stone and threw it away so no one could make rain any more."

Even S.O. barely recalled Sum‹k and his companion and professional rival Takumum, who already were old men in his childhood. He said Sum‹k threw fine gravel [seeds ?] up into the air with a scattering gesture, at the same time "talking to the up above." Soon it grew cloudy and began to rain; a high wind came too. As a spectacle these two rain-makers would work against each other, one making the rain cease as soon as the other started it. "They made money by going around where people wanted the weather changed or maybe just wanted to see it done."

CEREMONIES

W
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Jimsonweed Ritual

Jimsonweed (ta´ñai) was drunk ritually by
796 men and women at both Tušao and Čitatu. The affair at Tušao, as described by S.O., was the
276 more orthodox and Yokuts-like; that at Čitatu was described by B.O.

At Tušao the drink was taken in March by
W participants about eighteen to twenty years of
Y age. To take it was not compulsory although
[256] S.O. felt that a doctor of real ability should

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[189] Hail is called "Thunder's bullets or shells" (sic) in English. Children often ate, played, and particularly had fights with coarse hail when it fell.

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796 take it at least once, and perhaps in several successive years. A powerful doctor would take 276 it at the same time as the plain people. There [756] were more men than women partakers: the men "took it to find out things," the women "just [751] to be doing it," S.O. thought. It was regarded as a kind of insurance of good health throughout life.

The leader of the affair did not have a special supernatural knowledge of, or dream relationship with, jimsonweed; his knowledge of the plant and how to administer it was believed to come from practical experience. He had no title, said S.O., "he was just called ma ta ´ñai wa ´namuts" (you jimsonweed give). But he was always elderly and well thought of.

About midwinter those who intended to drink jimsonweed in the spring would inform the leader. He instructed them to abstain from meat or grease for about two or three months before the probable time of drinking. They were also expected to remain rather quietly at home, not participating in hunting, in ceremonies, or merrymaking. The actual day of the drinking was announced six days in advance by the chief's winatum, after the leader himself had set the day. From then on the participants subsisted on very thin acorn gruel, and on the morning of the day ate nothing at all. All these restrictions were observed by the leader, although he did not partake of the drink.

At the time of the drinking, the participants met the leader at the village dance space; onlookers, especially relatives, were present. The leader had with him uncooked jimsonweed on a tray, the leaves and stems of which he mashed, put in a large basket, and covered with water. As he did this he talked to it, asking it "not to hurt these people but to help them." There was no singing or dancing, but the drinkers made a circuitous run around the dance space. Then they sat down in a row and each was given a drinking basket full of the liquid (about one pint). There were no ritually repetitive offers or attempts at drinking. They were instructed to drink it rapidly without smelling it, as the odor was nauseating. W Soon the drinkers "began to tremble all over Y and fall down." They were carried, by persons assigned to the task, to shades[190] set near the [343] fire so they would not become chilled after sundown. Toward dawn of the next morning the drinkers began to move; some would sit up, others reach about, but all were yet speechless. Then, becoming restless, they would get up and, as they grew more active, they were guarded against flight or self-injury. "If they saw bears, they wanted to run off." As soon as they were able to walk they would be

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[190] Exactly what or where these were S.O. could not convey, except that they were "little houses near the fire." They were probably especially built booths such as the Yokuts were adept at constructing for spectators and visitors at their frequent ceremonies.

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Y taken to various sick persons. With eagle feathers they would brush off the sick one; al-
796 though they did not say what the sickness was, the jimsonweed enabled them to see it. They
276 were not paid for this service.

During all this time there was no mirth aroused by any of the antic behavior. Every act was watched and any speech listened to attentively by the spectators.

Thereafter the narcosis gradually diminished. The drinkers lay around, babbled, slept, and recovered "in two days if they had good luck, but usually it took three."

Six days after the drinking a little feast was held. Meat was provided, but only a mouthful or so was taken by the drinkers, "because even then it made them sick." The feast was given by the drinkers' families, and at it they gave the leader the pay for his services. A winatum managed the affair. There would be dancing only if there were a special request for some doctor who was present to perform the
W kam.

Y Medicinal use was made of jimsonweed, often as a poultice for severe wounds or frac-
757 tures; it was also drunk as an anaesthetic.

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Once Pao'·č broke his leg. He went one day without food "although he was too sick to eat anyway." He got someone to fix tañai and he drank enough to keep him unconscious for several hours. During this time the bone was set, the leg wrapped in a jimsonweed poultice, and tied up with deerskin.

Jimsonweed was not used in this way under the direction of a shaman: "anyone who knew how" would mix the drink or attend fractures and wounds. No other medicine of this type was
W known.

Y At Čitatu also, both sexes took the drink, B.O. said, at about the ages of twenty to
796 twenty-five. It was not compulsory and was taken but once. One who particularly wanted to
276 might take it again after three or four years. Always it was taken in spring. While B.O. denied having tried it, he said two of his brothers did.

W
Y The jimsonweed plants (taña´ñibᵘ) was gotten from the Wukchumni as it did not grow in
[438] Waksachi territory [sic].[191] Two men, Ki´l·š and Koti´diš, were in charge of the ritual and were paid for their services; they were not distinguished in any way with power, wealth, or any other special knowledge. They secured the plants, mashed them, soaked them in water; the jimsonweed was never cooked.

Those who were to take the drink maintained a gruel diet for twelve days. On the

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[191] S.O. said it grew plentifully at Tušao, a statement I prefer to trust. B.O. may feel that the plants came from the original source of the ceremony, that is, Yokuts territory.

W
Y morning of the rite they "ran once around the
796 village; down at Kingsburg [Wimilchi territory] they ran around the house." Then they knelt on
276 a blanket. The two leaders sang songs about the narcotic, then held the basket of liquid to each drinker's lips. If the first dose were not effective, more would be given. When the drinkers fell over unconscious, they were carried to their homes. They slept about twenty-four hours. But when they roused from this, they did not cure others of sickness by brushing or in any other way perform for public benefit. The narcosis was believed to be a preventive "good medicine" for the drinker himself.

W
Y Jimsonweed was used as an anaesthetic when broken bones or painful injuries were treated.
752 The sufferer was given enough of the decoction to keep him in at least a seminarcosis for forty-eight to sixty hours. Such treatment was given by "anyone who knew how to mix it."

W
Y The two Choinimni who died from the effects of jimsonweed were mentioned by B.O. How-
796 ever, his version was that they did not observe the meat tabu. He said that they ate meat
276 "right up to the day and drank the next morning though everybody told them not to. They died that night."

Rattlesnake Ritual

W
Y The Waksachi had neither snake doctors nor the Snake Ritual, but both informants had seen
796 the performance, B.O. at Squaw Valley, at a village on Kings River, and at Dunlap, and S.O.
825 at Squaw Valley. In all these rituals Choinimni doctors were either the instigators or cen-
751 tral figures. S.O. described the ritual as he remembered it at Squaw Valley, a Chukaimina-
756 Michahai area.

There were two doctors, Čokonιk and Pušlιlιn, who were snake doctors (te'ι'li čecisu'm, lit., rattlesnakes pet-their). They made this dance every spring about March just before the rattlesnakes were ready to leave their dens. The purpose of the ritual was to prevent persons from being bitten during the coming season.

These doctors went to a rattlesnake den, taking with them eagle-bone whistles (pusač), cages of twined stiff grass, and eagle down. They whistled for the snakes and fed them eagle down when they appeared. They talked to them gently, repeating constantly, "Maiya'ιn" (keep quiet!). The snakes understood and permitted themselves to be picked up by the back of the neck and put in the baskets. Carried home, the cages were hung up outside until the appointed day. The day for the ritual had been chosen with the chief's consent and set [at least] six days in advance. The winatum went around announcing the affair and "told everyone to come and have their money ready."

[P. 247b] [redacted] VS 25

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On the day set, the winatum dug two holes in the dance space. These were about 4 feet apart, about 2 feet deep, and 1 foot in diameter. The snakes were put in these and sprinkled with eagle down. The doctors, who wore the usual feather dance skirts, were lavishly ornamented with eagle-down strands around their necks and bands of down rope on their arms.

When all was ready the chief announced that it was time to pay, whereupon all present filed past four or five singers who were holding baskets, and threw some money in them. The line passed across the snake pits, and each person stamped beside the pits as he crossed them.

Čokonɨk and Pušlɨlɨn each stood beside his pole and, holding a large basketry tray in a vertical position, face outward, swung it slowly back and forth. Everyone, men, women, and children, chiefs, shamans, and winatums, took part in this. Then they all sat around as spectators while the snake doctors displayed their abilities.

The singers were singing continuously, and the managing winatum told the doctors to get their pets. The doctors picked up their snakes and put them on the trays where they lay coiled. They talked to them continually, saying "Maiya´'ɨn, maiya´'ɨn." They walked about close to the onlookers.[192] Then the chief would have his winatum ask for the "handling," at which the doctors put the snakes on their shoulders allowing them to crawl around. Then the chief asked for the "biting," and for this spectacle the doctors were again paid. The snakes were laid on the ground and angered by teasing with eagle feathers. The doctor held out his hand so a snake struck it. Winatums immediately carried the stricken doctors to shades or a house where a snake doctor from some other place sucked out the wounds. "The snake doctors never died from this because Snake was their poša."

S.O. added that the next morning the reptiles were returned to their dens; if their "owners" were still too sick, winatums were sent out with the snakes.

W
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Coyote clowning was not a specific part of this ritual as done by the Choinimni. (See Coyote clowning, below.)

The account given by B.O. was brief and less knowledgeable than the foregoing.

To get the snakes the doctors (ṭu´dum) went to the snake dens carrying whistles, trays, and cages made of tule. At the rock pile they whistled to the snakes, who came out and were "herded round" by the doctors. One or two were selected and, when they coiled, they were lifted onto trays and thence into the cages. The cages were hung upon shades at home until needed.

At the ritual there were two singers. The doctors "danced around," letting the snakes "crawl all over them." Another man followed

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[192] To discover who was going to be bitten? See Wobonuɨch account (p. 285).

W Y 796 825 751 756 [541]

with a basket to collect the pay. A chief, through his winatum, ordered that the doctors be bitten. A doctor would throw his snake on the ground, then pick it up by the tail. When it turned and struck, he released the tail so the creature hung by its fangs. A doctor who did this would be sick for two or three days; he would be cured by another snake doctor. "There was no purpose to this dance except to make money."

Various Dances

W Y 796 541

Bear Dance.--According to B.O. the Waksachi had no Bear dancers: the one man who transformed himself into a bear did not dance. This is curious and somewhat dubious since the Wobonuch Western Mono, as well as surrounding Yokuts, had such performers in their Bear lineages. B.O. said that he saw a Bear Dance (noho'o kam) at Tušao given by two men and one woman "who had come from somewhere. They were some relation to Bear." This was in the fall.

S.O. stated that relatively few people had Bear as a family totemic animal; this possibly explains the Waksachi situation. At Squaw Valley there was a Chukaimina named Ko´ʼo who danced, but the Wobonuch dancer, Supa´ha, most impressed S.O. One or two daughters of these men usually danced with them. S.O. gave the following description.

The Bear Dance was made in September before the acorns were ripe. The men wore belts of blue-jay feathers [sewed together through the quills] and bear-claw necklaces, but no bear hide. [The girl's costume was not described.] The two accompanying singers used cocoon rattles. The dance step was, for the men, three jumps forward, a move backward toward their previous position: this was repeated three times. Meanwhile the girl stood at one end behind them, remaining in her place and holding up her hands with elbows close to her sides, and swayed her torso slightly from side to side. No matter how greatly the performance was admired, it could only be repeated once; i.e., there might be two complete performances, one original and one encore, as it were. Spectators paid the singers, who collected for the dancers and shared in the collection. The dance was given in the morning and a feast with new acorns followed.

S.O. could not say who provided this.

W Y [789]

Skill as a Bear dancer was not related in any way, S.O. thought, to the ability to transform oneself into a bear, of which he seemed to know little. He had heard in all his life of just three men who could do this, a Tachi, a "southerner," and a Wobonuch, but he did not know the men personally or by name, nor did he know how the transformation was accomplished.

Beaver Dance or fish display.--This S.O. had heard of but could not describe. He claimed the performance was given by only two

[P. 248 b] ~~Western Mono~~ NS 25.

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Y men, who were Wukchumni shamans, Tapu´ša and
796 Ilɩ´pča. (Ilɩ´pča was Joe Pohot's maternal
541 grandfather's brother, possibly one of the performers at the display Mary Pohot witnessed as a little girl.)

Huhuna Dance.--The following description was given by S.O. and has been previously published.[193] While the Huhuna Dance was part of the mourning ritual series it might be performed out of its ceremonial context at any time.

> The Waksachi did not have a Huhuna dancer among their own people. There was one from the Wukchumni and one from the Tule River Reservation who came up to Waksachi villages with their chiefs. They came to the Michahai too. Their names are not remembered. They came to ceremonies at Tušao. There they made money for the local chief, Pao´ɩč, but they were paid for doing this.
>
> The Huhuna could hear money that was hidden, this was his special ability. Before the performance began, the chief sponsoring the affair had money hidden, possibly in the ground, under bushes, or in the rafters of the shades around the dance space. The chief himself supplied the money, though others might add to the sum if they wished. Huhuna was then brought in. Sometimes he wore a mask which covered his eyes. He danced around. As soon as he "heard" the hidden money he pointed toward it with a stick he carried. He had his own winatum, who thereupon dug up the money and
> W put it in a basket. If the Huhuna had not brought a winatum with him, the local chief
> Y would assign one to assist him. After the money had all been discovered, a shaman came on
> 796 the scene. The winatum of the chief made a little fire at which the shaman manufactured
> 541 invisible airshot (toiyuš). Huhuna was told
> 789 where to sit down when "shot," and a blanket was laid out for money which would be paid the
> 956 shaman. When the shaman was ready, he danced about and then cast the shot at Huhuna, who fell over unconscious. His winatum carried him off to one side, whereupon all the spectators present threw down money beside him. This money, however, went to the chief sponsoring the rite, and from it the chief paid the shaman for his part in the performance. After he received his payment, the shaman proceeded to revive Huhuna by sucking the shot from him. If a chief had come with Huhuna, he too received presents of money or acorn meal for the spectators.

B.O. said that the Huhuna Dance was never performed by the Waksachi, but that he had seen it "three or four times in Wukchumni places [villages]."

W Pleasure Dance.--This dance (hɛ š̃ɩšnə´nɩč)
Y was done in the evening at any time of year, though it would not be done for more than one
535 night in several weeks, i.e., it would not be made two or more nights in succession. There

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[193] Gayton, Yokuts-Mono Chiefs and Shamans, 375.

W Y 535 was no special costume, no singers, no payment, and [inferentially] no women participants. The dancers were usually youths of eighteen to twenty years, though married or older men could join if they wished. About ten men would stand in a circle with a leader in the center. At his command each one sang and danced in turn. S.O. could not describe the songs or steps. There was no training or special knowledge for this: "a man just learned by watching."

Women's dance.--Both S.O. and B.O. agreed that there were no dances exclusively for women participants among the Michahai, Chukaimina, and Waksachi. B.O. pointed out that, "even when women danced with men, the latter outnumbered them."

W Y 535 522 Coyote clowning.--Coyote clowning which, according to S.O., constituted a coda or accompaniment to any kind of ritual celebration, was associated with a lineage having Coyote as its totem. The performers would be asked to various celebrations and they "had to go" although they were paid for the service. The best Coyote dancers came from the Wukchumni, among whom the most notable performer was a Gawia, Ka´osana;[194] there was another at Squaw Valley whose name was not recalled. At the village of Tušao "there was no one who knew how to do it right but they'd get in and play too if they felt like it." W Y [831] The informant so strongly sensed the obscenities of the clowning that he not only refused to describe the behavior, but was reluctant to discuss the matter at all. He said the performers had large circles of black, white, and red paint on their faces. They "danced around" outdoors, never entering houses.

Shamans' Contest

W Y 756 789 This performance was not a Waksachi or Michahai institution and, if given in connection with the Annual Mourning Ceremony or at any other time, was presented by outsiders who were hired to make the spectacle. Both S.O. and B.O. had seen it at Tušao but not at Čitatu. S.O. described it.

Two fires were made by local winatums who assisted the shamans and were paid both by them and by their chiefs for so doing. A group of five or six singers sat at one side, but sang for the benefit of all contestants. At this time they were called a´ṇtahum ile´hɨč (doctors' singers). As accompaniment they used the cocoon rattle (čaoɨč) and clapper (ṭa´ohɨl).

Normally the chief responsible (the host) would have his winatums ask for an exhibit of airshot by each entrant to assure their capacity as fit participants. The airshot which was visible (tusa´š) "looked like little white

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[194] Henry Aichow's father-in-law. See M.L.'s account for the Wukchumni.

[P. 249 b] Western Mono N: 25

W Y 756 789 pebbles," but the killing shot (toi´uš) was invisible. The shot was made at the fire, which in some manner drew power from the sun. The shamans sprinkled eagle or falcon down on the fire and something called ai´'ap, which "looked like salt." They made seizing motions over the fire with their hands and slapped them on their basketry trays where the pebblelike shot appeared. While doing all this, they addressed the sun prayerfully.

Any shaman who thought he had sufficient supernatural strength was free to enter. They chose their own side of battle; no chief told them. (However, with shamans' cliques and chiefly sponsorship of shamans there was undoubtedly prearrangement, at least among the shamans, in some contests.)

W Y [534] When the contest was to start, the opposing shamans stood opposite each other some thirty feet apart. Each had an eagle-bone whistle in his mouth which he blew constantly and he held his tray loaded with airshot in his hands. At a shout from a winatum the shamans slapped their trays on the ground to propel the shot at their opponents. They might do this two or three times before a hit was made. When a victim fell unconscious, he was carried aside by winatums. As usual, the surviving shaman had to go around extracting shots from the fallen. If these were let remain, "a sickness would grow from them" even if the doctor regained normal consciousness. The method of recovery, as described by S.O., was rubbing the victim with hands cupped, not by sucking. If a shaman seemed to have lingering ill effects after the contest, his chief sent his winatum to summon the shaman believed responsible: the shaman had to remove the cause and was not paid for this second effort.[195]

Annual Mourning Ceremony

W Y 769 Villages the size of Čitatu or Tušao would have a large mourning ceremony (unarano´gan, Waksachi) about every two years. Normally there were not a sufficient number of deaths to warrant one every year; that is, the expenses were too great for just one family, say, to support. Money, baskets, and other gifts of value, and great quantities of food stuffs had to be accumulated in advance. W Y [426] The lending of money for interest in this connection was known to both Waksachi and Michahai and called by the Yokuts term, lak·na´n·č, but it is doubtful that the custom was practiced here; certainly it was not established.[196]

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[195] In spite of this obligation the Shamans' Contest was a vehicle for intrigue if conniving chiefs and shamans cared to make it so (cf. Gayton, Yokuts-Mono Chiefs and Shamans).

W Y [182] [196] That is, money-lending, which was a normal part of everyday life, was not integrated with the mourning ceremony.

W Y 769 The chief's consent was necessary, yet if all the village seemed to want a ceremony held there that year, he could not veto it. The chief's main concern was with available finances: the mourning family should be able to cover the expenses, which were considerable. If, at the time of the event, it proved that they had not, he and his subchiefs (tuyeyi) had to make up the deficit. However, when the families involved had made satisfactory arrangements with the chief, he sent his winatum to the tribes to be invited to announce it for twelve days hence.

The procedure at this point differed slightly from that when a small or "private" ceremony was being announced. As usual, the messenger went directly to the chief, was fed, and told the chief his news. Then the chief sent his winatum to call all the villagers, men and women, to the assembly space. Here the visiting messenger made his announcement publicly, saying that his chief was "making" a mourning ceremony twelve days hence at his village and that they all were invited. When he finished, everyone contributed a little money to pay him, which was collected and presented to him by the local winatum. According to S.O., the chief, now invited, could tell
W Y 767 783 574 anyone who came to the village meanwhile of the coming ceremony and they might attend it if they wished. The Wukchumni, as the official washers, were always in the majority as visitors, the other most numerous attendants were Michahai and Chukaimina from Squaw Valley and Entimbich from Dunlap. B.O. added that Wukchumni and Entimbich came as washers. This was true of a ceremony given "by his father and some other men," and of the recent aberrant one described below.

W 769 574 The visitors arrived as they pleased during the week of celebration: the very old and very young usually did not come. They brought only blankets, as the host group provided all food, shelter, firewood, and water. The local winatum (natinab)[197] secured the wood and water, and the women of their families did the cooking. They told the people when to eat. Those persons who were going to do the washing, however, brought the necessary clothing, paraphernalia, and deer meat.

W Y 769 524 No restriction was placed on dancing, gambling, and gaiety during the week. The most popular games were pitching poles (aikaš), hoop and pole (hoʼotuš), the woman's dice game (hučuˊšiko) and, at night only, the hand game (henaoˊšiko).

W Y 769 184 Lacking here were the Huhuna Dance and Shamans' Contest as part of the ritual series, although both spectacles were well known. The Shamans' Contest was sometimes performed at

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[197] At this time B.O. used the Waksachi term tuˊbuhiñanuwidi for the natinab, for which I could get no translation or explanation. He said they were the same natinab as usual; that "Dove was their ibuk."

[P. 250b] Western Mono NS 25

W
Y Tušao, but never at Čitatu; the Chukaimina and
Entimbich "had this dance on Sunday night"
769 (B.O.). That is, these spectacles, if pre-
184 sented at all, followed the washing and served
as part of the postritual celebration: they
were not an integral part of the mourning cere-
mony but an irregular addition.

W During the six days of the ceremonial week
Y the mourning families gathered morning and
evening at the assembly fire to weep. Two or
769 three paid singer-weepers, secured and paid by
the host group, performed at the same time.
[533 They were not berdaches; they were called
ya´kohovi'e´roti, (Waksachi). One well-known
767] singer was named Šie´mil·t. Also during the
week the women of the mourning families made
the effigy dolls (woi´loša, Michahai;
u·narira´gaikan, Waksachi).

On the sixth [Saturday] evening after supper the local chief called together the families who had instigated the ceremony and collected money from them, which was to be given to the visitors. If the sum was deficient, and apparently it usually was, a few men called tuye´'i [Yokuts word], previously selected by the chief, made up the deficit.

"Then everyone cried all night." The visiting chief told his winatum to make a fire, at which his people gathered. The host or mourning group, headed by their chief, were already at their own fire, where they wept continually. The visiting chief made a speech, exhorting the mourners to grieve no more, saying that this ceremony was being made to end their sorrow, and so on. Twice during the night, at approximately 10 p.m. and 1 a.m., the mourning group left their own fire to make a circuit of the other. These people were not dressed in any special way, rather they exhibited the dishevelment of mourning. Led by the chief, the men went first, carrying dolls representing deceased male relatives, and then the women with female dolls. The sex of the effigy was indicated by its clothing. Other members of the group carried clothes, beads, and baskets, "for the dead"; these would later be thrown on the fire or given to the visitors. Two circuits of the fire were made, then came a rest period during which the visiting chief again harangued the assemblage. On the next parade around the fire (1 a.m.) one circuit was made and then, according to individual choice, the dolls and valuable paraphernalia were either thrown on the fire or given to the visitors. S.O. said, "Everyone does what he pleases but most gave away." He also mentioned a difference in the practice of giving: the visitors were made to line up, whereupon the Wukchumni practice was to throw the gifts toward the recipients who seized what they could, whereas the Waksachi practice was to call over each person to receive his present. At this time the baskets of money for the visitors were given to their chief, who distributed it.

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The following [Sunday] morning a breakfast, prepared by the visiting winatums, was provided, of which all would partake eventually. Meanwhile the visiting chief announced that it was time for the washing. The persons selected as washers from his group came forward with baskets of water, new clothes, and any finery or gift of money they might choose to add. The mourners were called, i.e., the actual mourners, and were washed individually. Each individual was washed by a person of the same sex, and, according to S.O., invariably by one having the same totem animal. Thus chiefs washed chiefs. The hair was also washed and trimmed and the new clothes put on. The washing baskets and any other gifts were given to the now released mourners.

Then all the other people in the host tribe were lined up and each had his or her hair washed by some visitor. Then all went to eat breakfast, which was literally a breaking of the meat fast for the mourners. The visiting chief made a speech saying that now everything unhappy was forgotten, it was all in the past, that now everybody was to eat and have a good time.

What with the washing and feasting the day was well advanced. Games were played until nightfall, when shamans would be paid to dance for entertainment. They received frequent contributions as stimulation to continue. "Any girl that knew how would dance with them"(B.O.).

Recent Mourning Ceremony

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[607]

The two informants B.O. and S.O. were not related by blood but were brothers-in-law, S.O.'s sister, Huna´nčai (Sally) having married B.O. Sally died about 1922. After some two years B.O. proposed to S.O. that they have a mourning ceremony. Both men were mourners, but in opposing relationship, i.e., affinal and consanguineal, to the deceased. The account of this was given by S.O.

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[783]

B.O. went to S.O. to suggest the ceremony; they talked over plans and "agreed to wash each other because the right people weren't living." B.O. told S.O. "not to get him any new clothes because he [S.O.] was too poor." B.O., however, got a new shirt and pants for S.O. Crawford and Mel Osborn, grandson and son respectively of B.O., acted as winatums. S.O. said he "should have done this [his father was a winatum] but could not because of his blindness." Another winatum, Buffalo Bill, came with visitors from Dunlap. Also from Dunlap came two singers, Samson Dick and his sister Nellie.

The scene of the ceremony was B.O.'s house. He provided all the food for the entire week, killing a steer for the purpose. No attempt was made to have any Huhuna Dance or Shaman's Contest.

Every morning the two singers would go out in the yard before sunrise and sing. When they

W returned, all ate breakfast. This was repeated
Y again before sundown. During these days S.O.
and B.O. remained quietly indoors, S.O. fre-
769 quently talking in consoling terms to B.O.,
telling him that this was "the end of our
sorrow."

On the sixth [Saturday] night they had the
"cry dance." For this B.O. had a doll made of
crossed sticks covered with a little blanket;
to it was fastened a tiny basket and bead belt
to denote its sex. All those present were
divided into two groups who represented the
mourners and the visitors or gu´'i, i.e., the
W reciprocal "washers." The reciprocating tribe
for the Waksachi was normally the Wukchumni,
Y but none of these people came, though invited,
owing to a quarrel between the Pohots and
[578] Tillie Wilcox over a piece of land. [Even in
1927 S.O. still regretted their absence,
shaking his head and saying "they should have
been there."] The mourning group remained in
the house. These were: B.O., S.O., Jim Wilcox,
Tillie Wilcox, Joe Wilcox, Dinky, Mary Sanwaihat,
and Claude Osborn. The visitors outside were:
Claude's wife Minnie (the eldest Wilcox
daughter), Samson Dick, his sister Nellie, his
wife Kohoi´nɨk, and his daughter Maggie, and
two genealogically unidentified people, Lucia
and Ed Hunter. The winatum from Dunlap,
Buffalo Bill, built a fire outdoors near which
the visitors sat. Twice during the night the
mourning group emerged and circuited the fire.
On the second trip an impasse arose over the
disposal of the doll "because the right people
weren't there to give it to." Finally B.O.
"gave Jim [Wilcox] a dollar to burn the doll up
and talk to it."[198] Jim put the doll on the fire
and said, "Now all is over. We have made this
dance for you. Now I put you on the fire and
I will never remember you any more." Then the
mourners returned to the house, while those
outside began to prepare their breakfast, for
it was nearly morning.

Then Tillie and Dinkey [mourners] "got a
W basket full of water for S.O. and washed B.O.
Y for him" [because of S.O.'s blindness]. But
S.O. stood by and did the appropriate talking,
769 telling B.O. "that he could do as he pleased
from now on" [lay aside all mourning restraint].
783 Then B.O. went to S.O. "with a little basket of
water and the new shirt and trousers." He
washed S.O. and spoke to him in the same terms.
Then he gave S.O. the clothes, basket, and
$5.00. Then, "since there was no real gu'i
there, B.O. had to wash all those who had
stayed in the house with him during the night.
He gave them each a dollar or two."

Thereupon the mourning group put together
a sum of money to give to the visitors. The
winatum, Buffalo Bill, was called to take the
money to his group and divide it up. "And this
was the last of that fandango."

W
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The most important fact to come from this
[556] description was this: that this "self-washing"

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[198] This is an instance of the peculiar regulations of paying. If the "right people," i.e., the Wukchumni reciprocators, had been there it would have been given to them to burn; as it was, the service had to be paid for. Why someone from the visiting group was not selected for this duty or the subsequent washing I could never discover.

[P.252a] Western Mono NS25

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769 within the mourning group does not represent an adjustment to changed conditions, but "was
783 often done in the old days too when people hadn't enough money saved up to pay the regular
556 washers," as B.O. said.

GHOST DANCE OF 1870

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[177]

The reports of three informants were combined in another paper[199] to give a coherent picture of the great dance in Eshom Valley. S.O.'s contribution to that synthesis follows; his account makes it appear that the Eshom Valley affair occurred early in the Ghost Dance diffusion. Actually, a year or perhaps more elapsed between the introduction of the movement via the Northfork Mono and its culmination in the great dance in Eshom Valley.

The Ghost Dance was called the "round dance" (ka´man soi´wɨš) by Michahai and Waksachi. The term "war dance," used by local white settlers and taken over by the Indians when speaking English, was due, so S.O. said, to the fact that "the Paiutes danced a war dance and the white folks thought this was the same thing."

W
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[177]

The dance and its doctrine were introduced to the Michahai-Waksachi by a group of ten or twelve Wobonuch singers led by a man named Ta´punači. (The only one living in 1926 was Ya´ki, who would not be an informant.) They came to an Entimbich village, Kičeyu (Dunlap) and told the chief, Ta´kaš (Little George) and his brother, Košo´wi, a powerful doctor, that they wanted to have an assemblage. The Eshom Valley site was chosen, perhaps because of its rather central yet secluded locality. The two Entimbich chiefs acted as sponsors although the area belonged to the Waksachi. Messengers were sent to the Patwisha, Wukchumni, Gawia, Yokod, Telamni, Michahai, Chukaimina, and probably other tribes. From three to five hundred people responded, many of them from the more distant Kings River, Tulare Lake, and Southern Valley tribes.

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The Eshom Valley gathering most impressed S.O. because of its numbers and the unflagging energy exhibited. Never before nor after did such an affair take place. As usual, winatums looked after the food supply, not necessarily obtaining it themselves but seeing that hunters were dispatched and that their own women relatives kept up with their cooking. In spite of this, hardships resulted from lack of food.

On the evening of the day appointed for the dance the chief Takaš addressed the multitude. He explained why the meeting had been called: that certain men had come with important news, and they wished to teach all these people their new songs and dances. Then Tapunači spoke somewhat as follows:

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[199] Gayton, Ghost Dance of 1870, 68-72.

[P. 252b] Western Mono NS25

W Y 796 668 "We are having this dance, and we want to tell you what we have heard. Where we got these songs and dance one man told us about what is going to come.

W Y [775] "We are having this dance for a dead man. He is where we got these songs.[200] After a few more years this dead man is going to come from where we got these songs and dance. Right now that man is very far off, he is at watsatsa ´ošao pa´'a nɨm (the crack-in-the-world our home) way off to the east. There is a fire there all the time, playing [games], and dancing all the time. The people there disappear in the daytime. We are making this dance for those ghosts (ɨ´nɨl). You must do this all the time. Then there will be no more getting sick and dying."

W Y [783] Tapunači also told the people to swim or bathe themselves each morning. But no verbal ritual comparable to baptism was prescribed and, as morning bathing was customary with Yokuts and probably Western Mono, this was probably a reëmphasis of native custom.

Then the dance began with singers using songs which were meaningless to S.O. The only one he recalls is this:

he´barɨn, he´baya, he´nani
[repeated over and over]

W Y [535] Dancers of both sexes indiscriminately joined hands and, facing inwards, circled to the left [clockwise]. Never did they go in the opposite direction in this or any other dance. The arms were bent upward at the elbows, and the clasped hands beat downward at each step. The dancing continued until the company was exhausted, when they sat down to listen to a short exhortation by Takaš, Košowi, or one of the Wobonuch singers. The alternate dancing, preaching, and resting were continued from about eight o'clock in the evening until daylight. W Y [302 631] There was no sequence or climax to the routine, so far as S.O. knew. Although "any kind" of clothes were worn, all the participants had red and black paint on their faces. The common pattern was three horizontal lines (male) or rows of dots (female) across the cheeks and nose.

Eventually there were so many participants that two concentric circles of dancers were formed. The singers sat between two fires within the circle. When speakers addressed the company, they stood in front of the singers.

W Y [517] During the day the people were free to play games or do as they pleased, but the majority were so tired that they merely bathed, slept, and lounged. This continued for six days.[201]

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[200] Presumably in the Land of the Dead where the Paiute originator of the cult may have journeyed in his trance, as did most prophets of such movements (see Spier, The Prophet Dance of the Northwest and Its Derivatives).

[201] S.O. omitted any hint of the final routing of the dancers by white settlers, an episode of which I later learned elsewhere.

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 NS29 Yokuts NS29

[P. 253-4] Western Mono NS25

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After this dance the singers went on down to the reservation at Tule where the people in the south end of the valley assembled for a dance. S.O. thought that the singers did not visit the Tachi, Wowol, etc., of the lake region, but that these tribes learned the songs and doctrine by attending the foothill dances.[202] On their return the singers stopped at Kičeyu (Dunlap) and a small dance was held. At some time one was held at Carpenter's Flat. The songs were taught to persons from neighboring villages and small local dances were held every month or so. These were attended by visitors from other villages or tribes just as were older established ceremonies. S.O. thought the Ghost dances continued with less and less frequency and enthusiasm over a period of about two years. Finally the various chiefs felt that the efforts were not only futile but injurious to their people. Takaš, for one, called his people together at Kičeyu and spoke to them, pointing out that, in spite of their dancing, people were still getting sick and dying, that their hunting and household duties were neglected, and that the disorganized life and exertions were injuring their health. And he concluded by saying, "If that man's coming, he'll come anyway."

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[202] Actually some singers did go to Telweyit, a Tachi village, according to Wobonuch information.

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B.O.'s account of the Ghost Dance (ni´gat da´man) was singularly brief and corrupted even for his usual tacit manner.[203]

He said the first [sic] big dance was held at the south end of Eshom Valley, Waksachi territory, although the site had no special name. It was instigated by Wobonuch or horo´gidi [?] singers who "sent word all over the foothills and to the lake for people to come." They went on foot to the Tule River Reservation and southern end of the valley, but did not hold any dances en route.

At the resulting assemblage in Eshom Valley there were four or five hundred people, about equally mixed Yokuts and Western Mono. There were about twelve singers. These men were not paid, nor did they use any instrumental accompaniment. B.O. disclaimed knowledge of any purpose for the dance, i.e., any doctrine, and said it was done "just to be doing it."

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Y
[302]

The singers sat between two great fires. Around them men and women circled in single file. [Direction not recalled by informant.] All had their faces painted with red and white vertical or horizontal stripes or rows of dots. The dancing was kept up throughout each night until the participants were exhausted. The affair lasted about one week.

[pp. 254-290 not processed]

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[203] It is noteworthy that this informant omitted all references to its true purpose, as well as to the dramatic break-up described by others.

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 NS29 Yokuts NS29

[P. 291 a]

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BAE-B	Bureau of American Ethnology, Bulletin.
JAFL	Journal of American Folklore.
PMM	Public Museum of the City of Milwaukee, Bulletin.
UC-AR	University of California Publications: Anthropological Records.
UC-PAAE	University of California Publications in American Archaeology and Ethnology.

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[P. 292 contains NO TEXT]

PLATE AND EXPLANATION

[P. 294] western Mono NS25

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Explanation of Plate 2

Yokuts and Western Mono Specimens, Göteborg Museum

a, Wobonuch winnowing tray, burden basket; b, Wobonuch rock-lifter, mushbasket, cradle; c, Wobonuch fish basket, sieve, individual eating basket; d, Wobonuch pestle for bedrock mortar, handstone, arrow straightener; Wukchumni tobacco mortar and pestle; e, Waksachi fire fan, Wobonuch soaproot brush and "treasure" basket; f, Wukchumni gambling tray, dice, counters.

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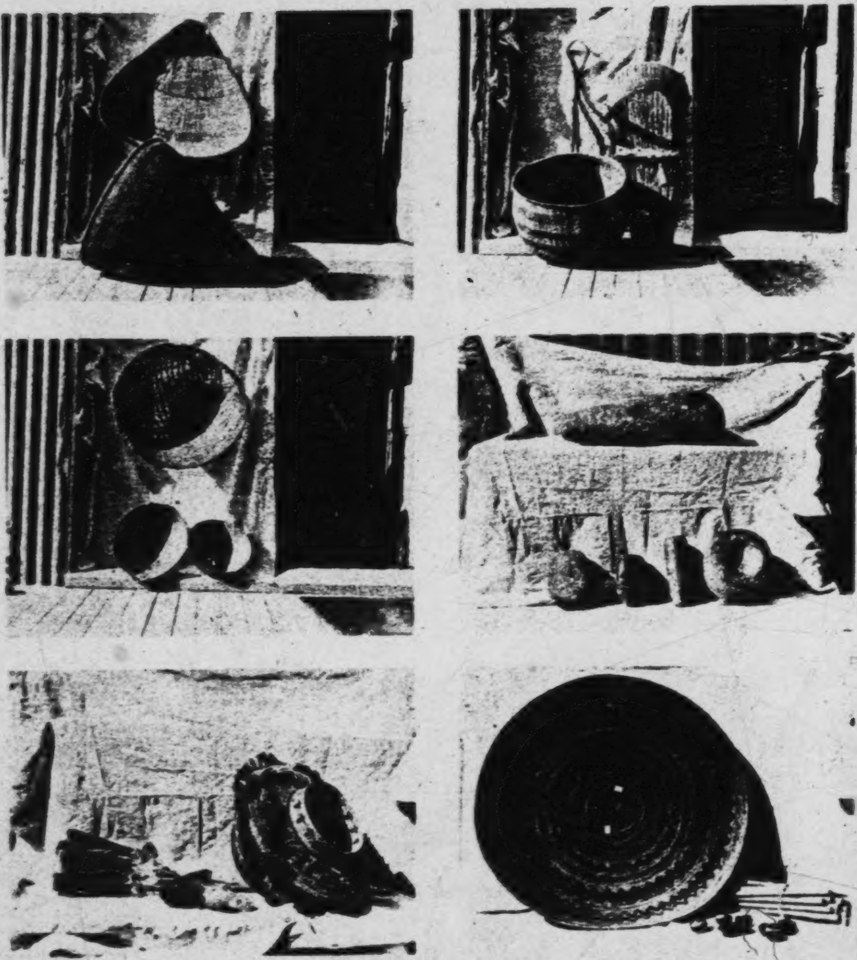

PLATE II. YOKUTS AND WESTERN MONO SPECIMENS, GÖTEBORG MUSEUM

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[P. 296 contains No Text]

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